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Urnamma of Ur in Sumerian Literary Tradition

Flückiger-Hawker, Esther

Abstract: This book presents new standard editions of all the hitherto known hymns of Urnamma, the founder of the Third Dynasty of Ur (fl. 2100 B.C.), and adds new perspectives to the compositions and development of the genre of Sumerian royal hymns in general. The first chapter (I) is introductory in nature (historical background, the reading of the name Urnamma, Sumerian royal hymns). The second chapter (II) presents a general survey of Urnamma's hymnic corpus, including arguments for a broader definition of Sumerian royal hymns and an attempt at classifying the non-standard orthography found in Urnamma's hymns. The third chapter (III) deals with correlations of Urnamma's hymns with other textual sources pertaining to him. A fourth chapter (IV) is devoted to aspects of continuity and change in royal hymnography by analyzing the Urnamma hymns in relation to other royal hymns and related genres. A discussion of topoi of legitimation and kingship and narrative materials in different text types during different periods of time and other findings concerning statues, stelas and royal hymns add new perspectives to the ongoing discussion of the original setting of royal hymns. Also, reasons are given why a version of the Sumerian King List may well be dated to Urnamma and the thesis advanced that Išmēdagan of Isin was not only an imitator of Šulgi but also of Urnamma. The final of the chapter IV shows that Urnamma A, also known as Urnamma's Death, uses the language of lamentation literature and Curse of Agade which describe the destruction of cities, and applies it to the death of a king. The last chapter (V) presents critical editions of Urnamma hymns A-H.

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Esther Flückiger-Hawker

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Esther Flückiger-Hawker

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P R E F A C E

This book is the published form of my dissertation which was submitted to and accepted by the Arts Faculty of the University of Berne in June 1996. Official readers were Profs. P. Attinger and M. Wäfler. The topic of the dissertation was first suggested to me some years ago by Prof. J.S. Cooper who felt that there was a need for new editions of all hitherto known hymns pertaining to Urnamma, the founder of the Third Dynasty of Ur, whose hymns are among the earliest examples of Sumerian royal hymns and are therefore crucial to the study of the genre of royal hymns in general. Whereas the studies in Sumerian hymnography have concentrated on the hymns of Urnamma's son and successor Sulgi and on the literary dependence of the Isin and Larsa rulers on his hymns, Urnamma's hymns have never been treated as a corpus and compared to both earlier and later writings. The purpose of this dissertation is to meet this need.

I express my gratitude to all my teachers at the University of Berne and Johns Hopkins University who guided my studies and stimulated my interest in ancient Near Eastern texts. Special thanks go to Profs. P. Attinger and J.S. Cooper who kindly served as advisors for this dissertation and without whose help and patience this thesis would not have been possible. I am also particularly grateful to Prof. M. Wäfler who has always shown keen interest in and support of my academic endeavours, has furthermore enabled me to gain teaching experience over the years, and kindly served also as official reader.

Through the generosity of a number of scholars and institutions I have been given access to materials from their collections and permission to incorporate them in the various editions. I am particularly indebted to Prof. Å. W. Sjöberg of the University Museum, Dr. B. André-Salvini of the Musée du Louvre, and Prof. J.A. Brinkman of the Oriental Institute in Chicago, for allowing me to study published and unpublished materials, and to Prof. C.B.F. Walker for providing excellent photos which are published by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

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Engelberg, January 1999

Esther Flückiger-Hawker

ABBREVIATIONS

1. Bibliographic Abbreviations

All abbreviations used are basically those of the Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (Chicago-Glückstadt 1956-), for Sumerian compositions those of the Sumerian Dictionary of the University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia 1984-). Exceptions and additions follow below:

AUWE	Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka Endberichte.
Codex Urnamma	= Laws of Urnamma: edition in M.T. Roth, <i>Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor</i> , SBL (Writings from the Ancient World Series) 6 (1995) 15-22; line numbering of the prologue according to D.R. Frayne, <i>Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods</i> (= RIME), vol. 3/2: <i>Ur III Period (2112-2004 B.C.)</i> , Toronto-Buffalo-London (1997) 46-49.
Correlations	D.R. Frayne, <i>The Historical Correlations of the Sumerian Royal Hymns (2400-1900 B.C.)</i> , Ph.D. Thesis Yale University (1981).
CRRAI	Compte rendu, Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale.
Death of Gilgameš A, B	Cf. S.N. Kramer, "The Death of Gilgameš", <i>BASOR</i> 94 (1944) 2-12 and A. Cavigneaux, F. Al-Rawi, "New Sumerian Literary Texts from Tell Haddad (Ancient Meturan): A First Survey", <i>Iraq</i> 55 (1993) 93.
Dialogue 3	= Enkimansum and Giriniisag: edition in W.H.Ph. Römer, <i>UF</i> 20 (1988) 233-45.
Dialogue 4	= Supervisor and Scribe (= Eduba C): unpub. ms. UM.
Éléments	P. Attinger, <i>Éléments de linguistique sumérienne, la construction de du₁/e/di "dire"</i> , OBO Sonderband, Fribourg-Göttingen (1993).
Emesal-Studien	M. Schretter, <i>Emesal-Studien</i> , Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft, Sonderheft 69, Innsbruck (1990).
ENEWO	C.A. Benito, <i>'Enki and Ninmah' and 'Enki and the World Order'</i> , Ph.D. Thesis University of Pennsylvania (1969); line numbering of Enki and the World Order according to unpub. ms. UM.

- Enl.sudr. = Enlil in the Ekur: edition in D. Reisman, *TNSRH* (1969) 41-102.
- Figurative Language M. Mindlin, M.J. Geller, J.E. Wansbrough, *Figurative Language in the Ancient Near East*, School of Oriental and African Studies, London (1987).
- Gungunum A Cf. D.R. Frayne, *Correlations* (1981) 369 and 375, fn. 12; edition in Å.W. Sjöberg, "Miscellaneous Sumerian Hymns", *ZA* 63 (1973) 24-31 (no. 4).
- Ibbīsu'en A Cf. D.R. Frayne, *Correlations* (1981) 291; edition in Å.W. Sjöberg, "Hymns to Meslamtaea, Lugalgirra and Nanna-Suen in Honour of King Ibbīsuen (Ibbīsīn) of Ur", *OrSuec* 19-20 (1970-71) 144f. (no. 2), 161-63 (commentary).
- Ibbīsu'en D Cf. D.R. Frayne, *Correlations* (1981) 291; edition in Å.W. Sjöberg, "Hymns to Meslamtaea, Lugalgirra and Nanna-Suen in Honour of King Ibbīsuen (Ibbīsīn) of Ur", *OrSuec* 19-20 (1970-71) 145-47 (no. 3), 163-66 (commentary).
- Ibbīsu'en E Cf. D.R. Frayne, *Correlations* (1981) 291; edition in Å.W. Sjöberg, "Hymns to Meslamtaea, Lugalgirra and Nanna-Suen in Honour of King Ibbīsuen (Ibbīsīn) of Ur", *OrSuec* 19-20 (1970-71) 149 (no. 5), 170f. (commentary).
- Iddindagān A = Inana and Iddin-Dagān (= Isin *6): edition in D. Reisman, *TNSRH* (1969) 147-211; idem, "Iddin-Dagan's Sacred Marriage Hymn", *JCS* 25 (1973) 185-202.
- Iddindagān B = Isin *7: edition in W.H.Ph. Römer, *SKIZ* (1965) 209-35.
- Iddindagān D Cf. D.R. Frayne, *Correlations* (1981) 381; edition in O.R. Gurney, S.N. Kramer, *Sumerian Literary Texts in the Ashmolean Museum*, OECT 5 (1976) 20-26.
- Inanna F. Bruschweiler, *Inanna, La déesse triomphante et vaincue dans la cosmologie sumérienne*, Les Cahiers du CEPOA 4, Louvain (1987).
- Isin *30 = a d a b of Inana mentioning Urnīnūrta: edition in A. Falkenstein, "Sumerische religiöse Texte", *ZA* 52 (1957) 58-75.
- Išbi'erra B = Išbierra and Kindattu: edition in J.J.A. v. Dijk, "Išbi'erra, Kindattu, l'homme d'Elam, et la chute de la ville d'Ur", *JCS* 30 (1978) 189-208.
- Išbi'erra D = Isin *1: edition in W.H.Ph. Römer, *SKIZ* (1965) 77-82.

- Išmedagān A = Isin *12+*19+*20 = Enlildiriše: unpub. ms. UM; cf. M.-C. Ludwig, *Išme-Dagan* (1990) 2-4 and S. Tinney, *OLZ* 90 (1995) 20f.; partial edition in W.H.Ph. Römer, *SKIZ* (1965) 39-55.
- Išmedagān B = Isin *9; cf. M.-C. Ludwig, *Išme-Dagan* (1990) 4f. and S. Tinney, *OLZ* 90 (1995) 22; edition in W.H.Ph. Römer, *SKIZ* (1965) 236-65.
- Išmedagān E = Isin *21; cf. M.-C. Ludwig, *Išme-Dagan* (1990) 7.
- Išmedagān K = Isin *15; cf. M.-C. Ludwig, *Išme-Dagan* (1990) 12 and S. Tinney, *OLZ* 90 (1995) 22; edition in W.H.Ph. Römer, *BiOr.* 45 (1988) 24-35; 35-54 (commentary).
- Išmedagān Q Cf. M.-C. Ludwig, *Išme-Dagan* (1990) 16; edition in Å.W. Sjöberg, "Miscellaneous Sumerian Hymns", *ZA* 63 (1973) 16ff. (no. 3).
- Lugalbanda I = Lugalbanda Epic I: unpub. ms. UM; cf. C. Wilcke, *RIA* 7 (1987-90) 121f. s.v. "Lugalbanda".
- Lugalbanda II = Lugalbanda Epic II: cf. C. Wilcke, *Lugalbandaepos*, Wiesbaden (1969).
- MHEO Mesopotamian History and Environment, Occasional Publications.
- Ninegala = Ninegalla Hymn (*SEM* 87 // *SEM* 89 // CBS 14187 // 3N-T 339 // *BE* 31 12 // UM 29-25-557 // Ni. 9721): unpub. ms. UM.
- Nippur Lament S. Tinney, *The Nippur Lament, Royal Rhetoric and Divine Legitimation in the Reign of Išme-Dagan of Isin (1953-1935 B.C.)*, Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund 16, Philadelphia (1996).
- Nungal = Nungal Hymn; cf. P. Attinger, *Eléments* (1993) 51, s.v. "Nungal"; edition in Å.W. Sjöberg, "Nungal in the Ekur", *AfO* 24 (1973) 19-46; cf. also, Civil, *Studies Hallo* (1993) 72-74.
- "Paradigm and Propaganda" = J.S. Cooper, "Paradigm and Propaganda, The Dynasty of Akkade in the 21st Century", in M. Liverani (ed.), *Akkad, the First World Empire: Structure, Ideology, Tradition*, History of the Ancient Near East 5, Padua (1993) 11-23.
- "Politik und Literatur" = C. Wilcke, "Politik im Spiegel der Literatur, Literatur als Mittel der Politik im älteren Babylonien", in K. Raaflaub (ed.), *Anfänge politischen Denkens in der Antike, die nahöstlichen Kulturen und die Griechen*, Schriften des Historischen Kollegs, Kolloquien 24, München (1993) 29-75.
- Recueil de Travaux Recueil de Travaux et Communications de l'Association des Etudes du Proche-Orient Ancien.

- "Sacred Marriage and Popular Cult" J.S. Cooper, "Sacred Marriage and Popular Cult in Early Mesopotamia", in E. Matsushima (ed.), *Official Cult and Popular Religion in the Ancient Near East*, Heidelberg (1993) 81-96.
- SGL 1 A. Falkenstein, *Sumerische Götterlieder*, 1. Teil, AHAW Phil.-hist. Klasse 1959/1, Heidelberg (1959).
- SGL 2 J.J.A. van Dijk, *Sumerische Götterlieder*, 2. Teil, AHAW Phil.-hist. Klasse 1960/1, Heidelberg (1960).
- Sîniddinam A Cf. D.R. Frayne, *Correlations* (1981) 371 and 376, fn. 18; edition in J.J.A. v. Dijk, *JCS* 19 (1965) 21f.
- StPohl (SM) Studia Pohl (Series Maior), Dissertationes Scientifcae de Rebus Orientis Antiqui (Rome).
- Sumer and Ur Lament = Lamentation over Sumer and Ur; cf. P. Michalowski, *Lamentation* (1989).
- "Sumerische Königsliste" C. Wilcke, "Die Sumerische Königsliste und erzählte Vergangenheit", in J. v. Ungern-Sternberg, H. Reinau (eds.), *Vergangenheit in mündlicher Überlieferung*, Colloquium Rauricum 1, Stuttgart (1988) 113-40.
- Šūilišu A = Isin *4: cf. D.R. Frayne, *Correlations* (1981) 366; editions in W.H.Ph. Römer, *SKIZ* (1965) 91-127; Å.W. Sjöberg, "Miscellaneous Sumerian Hymns", *ZA* 63 (1973) 2-13 (no. 1), and S.N. Kramer, "BM 100042: A Hymn to Šu-Sin and an Adab of Nergal", *Studies Sjöberg* (1989) 303-16; line numbering according to Sjöberg, *ZA* 63 (1973) 2-5.
- Šūsu'en D Cf. D.R. Frayne, *Correlatons* (1981) 266; edition in Å.W. Sjöberg, "Hymns to Ninurta with Prayers for Šūsîn of Ur and Būrsîn of Isin", *AOAT* 25 (1976) 412-15, 421-24.
- ThŠH J. Klein, *Three Šulgi Hymns, Sumerian Royal Hymns Glorifying King Šulgi of Ur*, Bar-Ilan Studies in Near Eastern Languages and Cultures, Ramat Gan (1981).
- TMH NF Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Sammlung, Friedrich Schiller-Universität Jena, Neue Folge.
- TNSRH D. Reisman, *Two Neo-Sumerian Royal Hymns*, Ph.D. University of Pennsylvania (1969).
- TSO Texte und Studien zur Orientalistik.
- Ur III Catalogue M. Sigrist, T. Gomi, *The Comprehensive Catalogue of Published Ur III Tablets*, Bethesda (1991).
- UT C. Wilcke, *Urnammus Tod, Tod und Bestattung eines Königs in neusumerischer Zeit*, unpub. Habilitationsschrift (1972).

2. Other Abbreviations

Cf. further the abbreviations given in the Lexical Index of Urnamma Compositions, p. 301.

Akk.	Akkadian	OB	Old Babylonian
C	consonant	obv.	obverse
coll.	collation, collated	om.	<i>omisit</i>
DN	Divine Name	p.	page
ed(s).	editor(s)	pp.	pages
ED	Early Dynastic	pl(s).	plate(s)
f(f).	and following	rev.	reverse
fn(s).	footnote(s)	sect.	section
frgm.	fragment	suppl.	supplement
gen. ind.	general index	UM	University Museum, Philadelphia
lex. (sect.)	lexical (section)	unpub.	unpublished
MA	Middle Assyrian	V	Vowel
MB	Middle Babylonian	var(s).	variant(s)
ms.	manuscript	vs	<i>versus</i>

3. Symbols

/ /	allomorphe
{ }	morpheme
//	duplicate source(s)
	new line
	1. parallel line(s), 2. parallel Sumerian term(s)
/	1. indented line on cuneiform tablet 2. alternation
≈	approximately
...	untranslatable word(s)
[...]	break in the text
<i>cursive script</i>	tentative translation
H	indicates no contraction between a final vowel of a lexeme and a subsequent /e/

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. Historical Background

We know little about the complex events that followed the collapse of the Akkade dynasty (ca. 2300-2200 B.C.), founded by Sargon, which reached its zenith under Narāmsu'en, Sargon's grandson, and saw its final moments under Šarkališarrī, Narāmsu'en's son. In the aftermath of its fall, parts of lower Mesopotamia, known as Sumer, with parochial states such as Uruk, Ur, Lagaš, Umma and Šuruppak, seem to have come under temporary domination of the Gutī, whom Utuḫeḡal of Uruk (ca. 2100 B.C.), sole member of the fifth dynasty of Uruk, claimed to have expelled. Urnamma, š a g i n a "military governor" of Ur under Utuḫeḡal and very possibly a member of the royal family at Uruk,¹ asserted the independence of Ur from Uruk and was able to found a new dynasty which is commonly known as the Third Dynasty of Ur, or Ur III (ca. 2100-2000 B.C.).² Urnamma reigned eighteen years (2111-2094 B.C.) and was succeeded by his son Sulgi (2093-2046 B.C.), under whose reign the house of Ur rose to become the first large territorial state after the Akkade empire, matching "its scope and power, through the unification of Babylonia and control of the periphery, its elaboration of an imperial bureaucracy, and its new conception of royalty that included, among other things, the deification of the king".³ The Ur III state, however, was not to last long. As sudden and swift as its rise was its decline under Sulgi's son Amarsu'en (2045-2037 B.C.) and his successor Šūsu'en (2036-2028 B.C.), ending in complete destruction under its last king Ibbisu'en (2027-2003 B.C.).

New texts and interpretations of previously available data have enabled scholars to make progress in establishing the relative chronology of the Ur III state and

¹ Wilcke, *CRAI* 19 (1974) 180; 192f., fn. 67; idem, "Sumerische Königsliste" 119; idem, *Studies Sjoberg* (1989) 566; idem, "Politik und Literatur" 32. Cf. also Cooper, "Paradigm and Propaganda" 20, and fn. 43 for his reservations that Urnamma was Utuḫeḡal's brother. Urnamma's unnamed "father" (a b - b a) is mentioned in the Ur III administrative document I 870 (= Neumann, Hruška, *ArOr.* 62 [1994] 241) 8 which also lists another family member (?) by the name of *Damīqtum*, possibly his mother (Boese, Sallaberger, *AoF* 23 [1996] 29).

² For proposals for the complex chronological and political situation between the fall of the Akkade empire and the beginnings of the Third Dynasty of Ur, cf. e.g. Carroué, *ASJ* 7 (1985) 89-96 (especially the chart on p. 96); Monaco, *ASJ* 12 (1990) 101 (chart); Glassner, *N.A.B.U.* 1994/9 with previous literature; most recently Carroué, *ASJ* 17 (1995) 69ff.

³ Cooper, "Paradigm and Propaganda" 12.

other dynasties, although substantial problems regarding these states' internal chronologies and interrelationships still await solutions. It is possible to establish contemporaneity, though not absolute synchronisms, between Urnamma and representatives of some of these successor dynasties to the Akkad empire, namely, besides the aforementioned fifth dynasty of Uruk under Utuḫegal, Awan, Mari, Gutium and Lagaš II:

In Isin an Old Babylonian tablet (IB 1537)⁴ was discovered which contains copies of earlier inscriptions, of which one can probably be attributed to Urnamma.⁵ It mentions a military conflict in the north-east, involving Puzur/Kutik-Inšušinak of Awan⁶ whose reign has traditionally been dated ca. fifty years earlier, following that of Šarkališarri, the last ruler of Akkade. As a result of this new text the interval between the end of the Akkade empire and the beginning of the Third Dynasty of Ur under Urnamma has been recently estimated by J.-J. Glassner to have been no more than thirty years.⁷

An Old Babylonian collection of abbreviated (probably mostly Sulgi) inscriptions from Nippur (N 2230 + N 4006)⁸ establishes the synchronism between Urnamma and Apilkin, the *šakkanakku* at Mari.⁹ The inscription MŠ C 1 (= Gelb, Kienast, *FAOS* 7 [1990] 366) vii 5'-12' mentions Apilkin's daughter Tarāmur(i)am as the e₂ - g e₄ - a, i.e. probably the "daughter-in-law" of Urnamma.¹⁰

Contemporaneity between Urnamma and a Gutian named Gutarla can be established on the basis of an inscription on a cylinder fragment from Nippur (6N-T 908a (+)),¹¹ if it can indeed be attributed to Urnamma. Gutarla might have unsuccessfully aspired to the throne¹² by joining forces with Elam, Babylonia's enemy to the east.

The earlier prevailing opinion that the Lagaš II dynasty ended with the defeat of its last e n s i₂ Namḥani by Urnamma,¹³ at the very beginning of the latter's reign and that therefore the dynasty's greatest ruler, Gudea, and some of his

⁴ Published by Wilcke in Hrouda (ed.), *Isin-Išān Baḥrīyāt III, Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 1983-84*, ABAW NF 94 (1987) 108-111. [cf. now also Frayne, *RIME* 3/2 (1997) 65f. as *RIME* 3/2.1.1.29].

⁵ Also Michałowski, *Lamentation* 2; Glassner, *OLZ* 88 (1993) 382 and idem, *N.A.B.U.* 1994/9. With reservation W.G. Lambert, *CRRAI* 36 (1991) 54, fn. 8.

⁶ According to Vallat in *N.A.B.U.* 1997/37 the final subduer of Puzur/Kutik-Inšušinak was Gudea of Lagaš in the course of his conquest of Anšan (refuted by Quintana, *N.A.B.U.* 1997/71).

⁷ Glassner, *N.A.B.U.* 1994/9.

⁸ Published and discussed by Civil, *RA* 56 (1962) 213 and idem, *Or.* 54 (1985) 37-45. [cf. now also Frayne, *RIME* 3/2 (1997) 86 as *RIME* 3/2.1.1.52].

⁹ For the synchronism Apilkin 35 = Urnamma 1, cf. Durand, *M.A.R.I.* 4 (1985) 153ff.; Wilcke, *Studies Sjöberg* (1989) 560, fn. 20 with literature on Mari in Ur III times. For Apilkin and his relations with the Ur III kings, cf. most recently Boese, Sallaberger, *AoF* 23 (1996) 24-39.

¹⁰ For Tarāmur(i)am as Sulgi's wife and probably the mother of Amarsu'en, cf. Boese, Sallaberger, *ibid.* 34f. Frayne, *RIME* 2 (1993) 219 cites an inscribed seal from Ur bearing her name. [now as seal inscription *RIME* 3/2.1.1.53].

¹¹ Edited by Civil, *Or.* 54 (1985) 27-32. [cf. now also Frayne, *RIME* 3/2 (1997) 66-68 as *RIME* 3/2.1.1.30].

¹² Civil, *ibid.* 31 ad 4'-6'.

¹³ Based on Codex Urnamma 75-78 n a m - ḥ a - n i l e n s i₂ | l a g a š k i - k e₄ | ḥ e₂ - m [i] - ḥ x ṽ. The final sign is surely not u g₅ implying Urnamma's defeat of the Lagaš ruler, but apparently i l₂ "to install, promote", cf. Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*, SBL (Writings from the Ancient World Series) 6 (1995) 15. [cf. now also Frayne, *RIME* 3/2 (1997) 46 (coll. Donbaz)].

successors must have reigned prior to Urnamma, has recently been challenged by P. Steinkeller.¹⁴ He was able to show that the same officials were engaged in the distribution of garments in documents dated from the reign of Gudea up to year 11 of Urnamma's son and successor Sulgi (2093-2046 B.C.). This finding seems to considerably substantiate the possibility of an overlap of Gudea's reign with that of Urnamma and Sulgi, since an administrative career rarely lasted more than twenty years.¹⁵ However, F. Carroué has recently put forth arguments for dating the end of Gudea's reign again prior to Urnamma's.¹⁶ Also, if we maintain an overlap of Gudea's reign with Urnamma's and even Sulgi's, as P. Steinkeller suggests, it does indeed become difficult to accommodate Gudea's successors within the reigns of Urnamma and Sulgi, or else they must have each reigned very short periods of time.¹⁷ Unfortunately, however, the chronology of the Lagaš II dynasty remains an enigma in the reconstruction of Mesopotamian history despite all the efforts of recent years.¹⁸ Problems yet to be solved include the number and order of the rulers, the length of their reigns and the relative chronology between these rulers and those of the Uruk IV-V, Ur III, Umma and Gutium dynasties. E. Sollberger's and A. Falkenstein's chronological charts of the Lagaš II dynasty¹⁹ have been recently challenged by T. Maeda and S.F. Monaco. On the basis of two economic texts, T. Maeda has suggested two different rulers by the name of Urningirsu, namely Urningirsu I, the father of Piriḡme, and Urningirsu II, Gudea's son.²⁰ The ruler Nammaḡni, son-in law of Urba'u,²¹ Gudea's predecessor, is generally viewed as being identical with Namḡani, the ruler who is mentioned in Codex Urnamma and is therefore Urnamma's contemporary.²² S.F. Monaco, however, has argued for a distinction between them and furthermore equated the *e n s i*₂ Nammaḡni of Lagaš with the *e n s i*₂ of Umma by the same name.²³ The differences in the

14 Steinkeller, *JCS* 40 (1988) 47-53.

15 A possible overlap of Gudea's dynasty with that of Urnamma and his successor Sulgi was voiced by several scholars prior to Steinkeller's finding (cf. Frayne, *Correlations* 96 and 130, fn. 45 with previous literature, and Steible, *FAOS* 9/1 [1991] 7 with previous literature). Most recent proponents of a contemporaneity between Gudea and Urnamma include Vallat, *N.A.B.U.* 1997/37 and Quintana, *N.A.B.U.* 1997/71.

16 Carroué, *ASJ* 16 (1994) 72f. Cf. also Fischer, *BaM* 27 (1996) 215, and fn. 1 with reference to Renner, *Zur Chronologie der Gudeazeit* (in preparation).

17 If e.g. Uraba was *e n s i*₂ of Lagaš under Urnamma, as outlined immediately below, then Gudea's reign can hardly have overlapped Sulgi's.

18 Cf. Maeda, *ASJ* 10 (1988) 19-35; idem, *ASJ* 15 (1993) 294-97; Monaco, *ASJ* 12 (1990) 89-105, and most recently Carroué, *ASJ* 16 (1994) 47-75.

19 Sollberger, *AfO* 17 (1954-56) 45; Falkenstein, *AnOr.* 30 (1966) 6.

20 Maeda, *ASJ* 10 (1988) 19-35; idem, *ASJ* 15 (1993) 294-97.

21 Nammaḡni 7 (= Steible, *FAOS* 9/1 [1991] 380) 9-13. The numbering of inscriptions of the Lagaš II rulers follows Steible, *FAOS* 9/1 (1991) 123-430. The latest edition of Lagaš II inscriptions by Edzard, *Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods* (= *RIME*), vol. 3/1: *Gudea and His Dynasty*, Toronto-Buffalo-London (1997) appeared too late to be used systematically.

22 Maeda, *ibid.* Note that both Nammaḡni and Namḡani seem to be associated with a female person by the name of Ningula (Maeda, *ASJ* 10 19 rev. 2-3 and Perlov, *CRRAI* 26 78 rev. 25-26), which argues for an identity of the two persons.

23 Monaco, *ASJ* 12 (1990) 89-105; also Grégoire, *Lagaš* 40. Positively inclined towards an identification of Nammaḡni of Lagaš with Nammaḡni of Umma is Sallaberger, "Urkunden aus der Zeit der Dritten Dynastie von Ur, eine Einführung" in Attinger, Wäfler (eds.), *Mesopotamien, Akkade-Zeit und Ur III-Zeit, Annäherungen* 3, OBO XXX (in preparation).

sequence of these rulers proposed are readily apparent in B. Lafont's convenient chart in *BiOr.* 50 (1993) 677f.: the father-son succession Urningirsu — Piriġme appears in T. Maeda's proposal before Urba'u and Gudea, whereas E. Sollberger had previously dated these two rulers after Gudea. In the sequence Urġar — Uraba — Urnamma — Na(ma)ḥ(a)ni, established by T. Maeda, S.F. Monaco inserts Nammaḥni, whom he considers distinct from Namḥani, between Urġar and Uraba. In view of these uncertainties it is not yet possible to establish the exact synchronism between the Lagaš II rulers and the first pair of kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur.

There is also no general agreement as to the precise nature of relations between Lagaš and Ur before Urnamma takes control of the former. B. Lafont and others are inclined to see no hostility between these two cities, whereas F. Carroué recently argued for a rivalry between them.²⁴ It is quite possible that Lagaš controlled Ur sometime after the downfall of Akkade.²⁵ Gudea's predecessor Urba'u is known to have installed his daughter under the name Enanepada as e n- priestess of Nanna in Ur and may therefore have dominated that city at that time.²⁶ A rivalry between these two cities must have existed during the time of Utuḥeġal, under whom Urnamma served as "military governor" in Ur before usurping power: three of Utuḥeġal's inscriptions²⁷ tell us that he settled a boundary dispute between Ur and Lagaš in Lagaš's favour, which may indicate that Uruk had control over both cities during this time.²⁸

The texts available do not permit us to grasp the circumstances of Urnamma's rise in Ur and his subsequent claim on hegemony over all Babylonia by assuming the title "king of Sumer and Akkad" (l u g a l k i - e n - g i k i - u r i (- k)).²⁹ It might be that the fragmentary prologue of the Codex Urnamma³⁰ tells us how Urnamma came to be king of Ur.³¹ Urnamma may have taken over power from the

²⁴ Lafont, *BiOr.* 50 (1993) 678 and 681 (with previous literature) draws attention especially to the persistence of local elites and traditions at Lagaš in the Ur III period; Carroué, *ASJ* 16 (1994) 75 is in favour of a rivalry in view of both these cities' claim upon the religious and cultural heritage of Uruk. This view is also shared by Wilcke, "Politik und Literatur" 60.

²⁵ Wilcke, *ibid.* 44.

²⁶ Urba'u 11 and 12 (= Steible, *FAOS* 9/I [1992] 150-52). Cf. also Carroué, *ASJ* 16 (1994) 64. Urnamma 35 (= Steible, *ibid.* 142) tells us that subsequently a daughter of Urnamma was e n-priestess of Nanna in Ur under the name of Ennirġalana.

²⁷ *RIME* 2.13.6.1-3.

²⁸ Carroué, *ASJ* 16 (1994) 47-75 and *idem*, *ASJ* 17 (1995) 70ff. argues for a dominance of Uruk over Lagaš during the time of Gudea and his son Urningirsu.

²⁹ Steinkeller, *SAOC* 46 (1987) 15; Wilcke, "Politik und Literatur" 32, fn. 15 with previous literature.

³⁰ For the latest edition of Codex Urnamma known from later manuscripts found at Nippur, Ur and Sippar, cf. now Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*, SBL (Writings from the Ancient World Series) 6 (1995) 15-22 and 249. [now also Frayne, *RIME* 3/2 (1997) 43-49 as *RIME* 3/2.1.1.20, without the edition of the actual laws]. For a translation, cf. also Saporetti, *Le leggi della Mesopotamia, Tradotte dai testi originali*, Studi e Manuali di Archeologia 2 (1984) 21-25. For the attribution of this law code to Urnamma, cf. the recent persuasive arguments in Michalowski, Walker, *Studies Sjöberg* (1989) 384-86; Sauren, *OLP* 20 (1989) 5-21; Geller, *ZA* 81 (1991) 145f.; Wilcke, "Politik und Literatur" 37, fn. 45. Arguments in favour of a Sulgi authorship have been voiced by Steinkeller, *SAOC* 46 (1987) 15f., fn. 1 and 17, fn. 10 with previous literature; Neumann, *AoF* 19 (1992) 37f.; Gomi, *ZA* 83 (1993) 31, fn. 1.

³¹ Cooper, "Paradigm and Propaganda" 20, fn. 42.

legitimate heir as a supposed member of the royal family following Utuḫeḡal's death and then decided to move the capital to Ur because he was already in residence there and because Ur, as Sumer's most important seaport, offered the best conditions for sea trade with the Gulf region of Magan. Urnamma 28³² reports the excavation of the ^d n a n n a - g u ₂ - g a l-canal³³ at a time when Urnamma had already assumed the titular "king of Sumer and Akkad" and had conducted reconstruction work on Enlil's Ekur in Nippur. The canal is called on Urnamma's stela the "boundary canal of Ningirsu"³⁴ and must have therefore demarcated the territory of Ur under Urnamma and that of the city-state of Lagaš under an unnamed ^e n s i ₂. According to Urnamma 28, 1:14 its "outlet" (k u ḡ x)³⁵ was made to reach the sea waters (a - a b - b a (- k)),³⁶ thus opening the way to Gulf trade for products from Magan. According to inscriptions 26, 47, and Codex Urnamma 79-84, Urnamma, as "king of Sumer and Akkad", was able to take control of the Gulf trade when Namḡani was ^e n s i ₂ of Lagaš (Codex Urnamma 75-78). At that time Urnamma must have already been in control of Lagaš for some time, at least as early as the ^e n s i ₂-ship of Uraba, who, according to T. Madea's and S.F. Monaco's list, was ^e n s i ₂ in Lagaš before Urmama and Namḡani. Two of Urnamma's year names,³⁷ "4" and "8", possibly a third, namely "6", appear on tablets from Ġirsu together with the statement that Uraba was ^e n s i ₂ (*RTC* 261//263; 264; 265). Nevertheless, the fact that the local Lagaš calendar was used in Ur until Sulgi's regnal year 30,³⁸ shows that the cultural effect of an earlier domination of Lagaš over Ur persisted into the Ur III period.

There is evidence for Gutian settlements around Ur III times in the south³⁹ and some references to the conflict with the Guti in the texts pertaining to Urnamma⁴⁰ and his successors.⁴¹ Urnamma might have been involved in military action while governor of Ur under his lord Utuḫeḡal who claimed to have expelled the Guti under Tirigan in the vicinity of Umma and returned kingship to the control of Sumer.⁴² Urnamma credits himself alone with the Guti's complete defeat, perhaps to further

³² Urnamma 28, 1 (= Steible, *FAOS* 9/2 131) 10-13. The numbering of inscriptions of the Ur III kings follows Steible, *FAOS* 9/2 (1991) 93-317. The latest edition of Ur III inscriptions by Frayne, *Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods* (= *RIME*), vol. 3/2: *Ur III Period (2112-2004 B.C.)*, Toronto-Buffalo-London (1997) appeared too late to be used systematically.

³³ For collected references for this canal dating from Ur III times and onward, cf. Sauren, *ASJ* 2 (1980) 147f., and fns. 57-60.

³⁴ Urnamma 29, b 1 (= Steible, *FAOS* 9/2 136) 10"-11". Note the recent reconstruction of Urnamma's stela by Canby, *Expedition* 29/1 (1987) 54-64.

³⁵ Literally "tail", k u ḡ x *zibbatu* (in opposition to k a . k) designates "the point where a river or canal joined another body of water - either the sea, a storage basin or another canal" (Frayne, *AOS* 74 [1992] 34).

³⁶ Edzard, G. Farber, *Rép. géogr.* 2 (1974) 251 s.v., differentiate between a sea west and one east of Lagaš.

³⁷ Due to the lack of a date list, the sequence of Urnamma's year names is still not definitively fixed (cf. Renner, *BiOr.* 44 [1987] 468 and recently Waetzoldt, *N.A.B.U.* 1990/6). In view of this, year numbers follow those in Sigrist, Gomi, *Ur III Catalogue* 319f. in quotation marks.

³⁸ Sallaberger, *Kalender* 7 and Wilcke, "Politik und Literatur" 44; similarly already Sauren, *ZDMG Suppl.* I/1 (1969) 127f., fn. 41.

³⁹ Civil, *Or.* 54 (1985) 30, and fn. 5 with previous literature.

⁴⁰ Civil, *ibid.* 27-32; Urnamma C 90f., perhaps 57f. (the storm as a metaphor for the Guti?); Ni. 4375 iv 4'-6'.

⁴¹ Cf. Sjöberg, *Studies Hallo* (1993) 212 for references to the Guti in literary texts.

⁴² *RIME* 2.13.6.4.

legitimise his new independence at Ur, or he might actually have had to face persistent attempts of Gutian intrusion throughout his rule which may have continued into his successor Sulgi's reign.

Much of the extent of the Ur III state at its height during the second part of Sulgi's reign⁴³ had already been reached by Urnamma, for Urnamma had assumed the role played by Gudea (Stat. B 6:64-69) and earlier rulers of combating Babylonia's enemies to the north-east, Anšan and Awan/Elam,⁴⁴ thereby laying the ground for fixing the empire's north-eastern boundary. Several documents bear on Urnamma's activities in the north-east: the so-called Cadaster text of Urnamma, in the form of two Old Babylonian copies from Nippur, copied from an original stela,⁴⁵ delineates the four neighbouring districts of Kiritab,⁴⁶ Apiak, [Uru]m⁴⁷ and Marada,⁴⁸ which may be correlated to the area, mentioned in Codex Urnamma 125-34, in which the cities of Akšak,⁴⁹ Marada, ĠIRkaI,⁵⁰ Kazallu and Ušarum lay, whose freedom from Anšan's control Urnamma establishes. Control over cities on the Kazallu canal downward was of strategic importance as they gave access to the water route to Ur in the south.⁵¹ The status of the cities and territories mentioned in connection with a military conflict against Puzur/Kutik-Inšušinak of Awan⁵² is uncertain. They are Awal, Kismar and Maškanšarrum, and the m a - d a "territories" Ešnuna, Tutub, Zimudar, Agade [...] (IB 1537 rev. 16'-23'). The first three cities are located in the Diyāla and Ġebel Ĥamrīn basin and may have been first occupied by Puzur/Kutik-Inšušinak's troops⁵³ before coming under control of the Ur III state. This area controlled the main access to Elam and thus the main Transtigradian trade routes⁵⁴ and was in time fully incorporated into the Ur III state, for the military personnel of these cities are known to have paid tax, the so-called

43 Cf. Steinkeller, *SAOC* 46 (1987) 15-33 (especially p. 31); Maeda, *ASJ* 14 (1992) 135-72.

44 For Gudea's military conflict with the Elamites, cf. Vallat, *N.A.B.U.* 1997/37.

45 Edited by Kraus, *ZA* 51 (1955) 45-75; cf. also Steinkeller, *JCS* 32 (1980) 23-33; Edzard, *RIA* 6 (1980-83) 62 ad § 3.7, s.v. "Königsinschriften, A. Sumerisch"; Frayne, *BiOr.* 48 (1991) 388 passim; idem, *AOS* 74 (1992) 22ff. [cf. now Frayne, *RIME* 3/2 (1997) 50-56 as *RIME* 3/2.1.1.21, including several stone fragments (*PBS* 15 28-30, 32, 33-39) which might come from the original stela].

46 For Kiritab, cf. the references in Römer, *UF* 21 (1989) 325 ad 1.

47 For the restoration, cf. Kraus, *ZA* 51 (1955) 62f. and especially Steinkeller, *JCS* 32 (1980) 25, and figure 1, p. 33 (a hypothetical reconstruction of the district of Urum).

48 For a reconstruction of the Ur III district of Marada, cf. Frayne, *AOS* 74 (1992) 51, map 5.

49 The reading Akšak instead of Umma (for Umma as a reading, cf. Yildiz, *Or.* 50 [1981] 87, and fn. 1, followed by e.g. Römer, *TUAT* I/1 [1982] 18, Frayne, *AOS* 74 [1992] 27, idem, *RIME* 3/2 [1997] 48:126, and Sallaberger in Attinger, Wäfler [eds.], *Mesopotamien, Akkade-Zeit und Ur III-Zeit, Annäherungen* 3, OBO XXX [in preparation]) was first proposed by Kramer, *Or.* 50 (1981) 455f., fn. 15, followed by Michalowski in Weiss (ed.), *The Origins of Cities in Dry-Farming Syria and Mesopotamia* (1986) 141, fn. 22, Steinkeller, *SAOC* 46 (1987) 15, fn. 1, and Wilcke in Hrouda (ed.), *Isin-Išān Baḥrīyāt III...*, *ABAW* NF 94 (1987) 111. For the uncertain location of Akšak, cf. Frayne, *AOS* 74 (1992) 43 (map 4), 47f., and fn. 380 with previous literature.

50 For the reading Ġ I R ₂ . K A L ^k i instead of Š u b u r ^k i, cf. Michalowski, *ibid.* (coll.); Steinkeller, *ibid.*, with reference to Michalowski; Wilcke, *ibid.*

51 Frayne, *AOS* 74 (1992) 26.

52 Cf. above, p. 2.

53 Glassner, *OLZ* 88 (1993) 382.

54 Steinkeller in Gibson (ed.), *Uch Tepe 1: Tell Razuk, Tell Ahmed al-Mughir, Tell Ajamat*, Copenhagen (1981) 163-68; idem, *JNES* 41 (1982) 289 for the location of Maškanšarrum.

g u n₂ m a - d a (attested from Sulgi's year 43 on).⁵⁵ The region marked out by the above mentioned texts remained the main northern and north-eastern line of defences throughout the Ur III period.⁵⁶

The territorial expansion climaxing under Urnamma's son Sulgi during the second part of his reign had thus already been set in motion by the father. We may also surmise that it was Urnamma who had laid the basis for economic, administrative and political reforms that were carried out under Sulgi and which led to a centralized⁵⁷ bureaucratic state. Urnamma is known to have imposed the standardization of weights and measures within the borders of his state, initiated a "scribal reform",⁵⁸ and, by excavation of numerous canals, Urnamma laid the foundation for a well functioning irrigation system and infrastructure. Unfortunately however, only a small amount of administrative tablets that date to his reign are available⁵⁹ and as a result the beginnings of Ur III institutions which comprised the bureaucratic state under his successor Sulgi⁶⁰ are still poorly understood. Hopefully future excavations may produce a significant batch of Urnamma texts that could add to our knowledge of his year names and reign.

Urnamma A, a literary composition of epic length and unique content,⁶¹ tells us of an evil that has come upon Ur and of Urnamma's premature death, the causes of which are kept in the dark. It may be that Urnamma actually faced military defeat,⁶² though at whose hands we do not know,⁶³ or he may have died from an illness. He is simply returned to his capital where he dies and vanishes to the realm of the dead. After Urnamma's death, his son Sulgi succeeded him on the throne of Ur as legitimate heir.

⁵⁵ Steinkeller, *SAOC* 46 (1987) 25ff.

⁵⁶ Cf. Maeda, *ASJ* 14 (1992) 135-72, especially 153-56; 161-63.

⁵⁷ Opposed by Waetzoldt, *JAOs* 111 (1991) 638f. ad no. 10.

⁵⁸ Waetzoldt, *ibid.* 638 ad nos 6-8.

⁵⁹ Sigrist, Gomi, *Ur III Catalogue* 99.

⁶⁰ Cf. Steinkeller, *SAOC* 46 (1987) 16ff.

⁶¹ Cf. below, II 1., p. 16f., and V 1.1, pp. 93ff.

⁶² Apart from the very broken line 32 there is no mention of military action in Urnamma A. In line 58 k i - l u l - l a is generally viewed as meaning "the place of treachery, slaughter" and thus taken as evidence that Urnamma died on the battlefield, but the philological commentary ad 58 in V 1.4, p. 169 argues that k i - l u l - l a may instead be the dwelling place of a "spirit (of a dead person)" (g e d i m) whose case has not yet been decided by Utu. Cf. also the commentary ad 168 for n i₂ - b a in *ibid.*, p. 177. The only passage that may mention an unnamed enemy demolishing Urnamma's palace is found in lines 47f.

⁶³ For Wilcke's surmise that it may have been the Guti, cf. the commentary ad 6-7 (with references) in V 1.4, p. 164.

2. The Reading of the Name (d)ur-dnamma

Both elements of the name (d)ur-dnamma have been the subject of controversy regarding their correct reading.⁶⁴ The reading of the first element UR as ur, against E. Sollberger's proposed reading sur_x,⁶⁵ is very probable but not certain: the non-standard writing⁶⁶ si-pa ur-dna-na-ma-ke (Urnamma B 53; 56; 60; 64; 68, source B), instead of si-pa su-ur-dna-na-ma-ke, and the non-standard writing 𒊕𒌷⁶⁷ in the inscription Ur C 1 = Sulgi 54 4 (= Gelb, Kienast, *FAOS* 7 [1990] 344)⁶⁸ argue for /ur/. The reading of the second element LAGAB × HĀL (ENGUR) is complex because attested spellings in both lexical texts and texts in non-standard orthography contradict each other. The conventional reading is nammu, but more recently M. Civil has argued for a reading nama.⁶⁹ The following discussion presents the evidence which makes a reading nama in the name UR . dNAMMU preferable, and argues that LAGAB × HĀL (ENGUR) might originally be both a single and a reduplicated lexeme.

For LAGAB × HĀL (ENGUR) the Old Babylonian lexical list Proto-Ea 53 (= *MSL* 14 33) gives the readings na-am-ma (1×), na-ma (1×), and five manuscripts have -mu as final sign. The lexical list Ea 1 71 (= *MSL* 14 180) has na-am-ma (1×) and nam-mu (2×) (cf. also Aa I/2 235, nam-mu). Thus, the lexical evidence makes it difficult to decide if nammu or nama is the original reading. In view of the non-standard writing ur-dna-na-ma-ke (for ur-dnamma-ke₄) in source B (= *TCL* 15 38 = AO 6316) of Urnamma B 53; 56; 60; 64; 68 and the Akkadian *ur-na-am-ma* in the bilingual Ur C 1 = Sulgi 54 6 the reading /nama/ in the name UR . dNAMMU is preferred here over /nammu/.

Besides the non-standard writing of the name in source B of Urnamma B ur-dna-na-ma-ke, there is another non-standard writing in the bilingual Ur C 1 = Sulgi 54 4 𒊕𒌷 - na-am-na-am-mi, the Sumerian version's equivalent of the Akkadian version's *ur-na-am-ma*, mentioned above. na-na-ma can be explained as < na(m) - nama and na-am-na-am-mi as

⁶⁴ For the first element ur, cf. Sjöberg, *OrSuec* 10 (1961) 7; Sollberger, *RA* 61 (1967) 69; W.G. Lambert, *RA* 75 (1981) 61f. and *RA* 76 (1982) 93f. (response to Steinkeller, *RA* 74 [1980] 178f.); Sollberger, *RA* 79 (1985) 87f. For the second element namma, cf. Falkenstein, *SGL* 1 (1959) 89, fn. 5; Sjöberg, *OrSuec* 10 (1961) 7; Wilcke, *CRRAI* 19 (1974) 211 ad D.2. and fn. 28; Civil, *Or.* 54 (1985) 27, fn. 1; Jacobsen, *Harps* 155, fn. 5; Römer, *BiOr.* 49 (1992) 678 ad 198.

⁶⁵ Sollberger, *RA* 61 (1967) 69.

⁶⁶ For non-standard orthography in general, cf. II 3.2, pp. 23ff.

⁶⁷ Reading according to Conti, *EVO* 16 (1993) 87:4; 89, against 𒊕𒌷₂ 𒌷 (also Sollberger, *RA* 79 [1985] 87f. maintains that the sign is not ur₂), with i/u- and l/r- alternation. Compare also v. Dijk, *ActOr.* 28 (1964) 9, fn. 13 who reads the sign in question as [a] l -.

⁶⁸ For this unusual inscription, cf., besides the standard editions in Kärki, *StOr.* 58 (1986) 59ff. and Gelb, Kienast, *FAOS* 7 (1990) 344ff., also Wilcke, *CRRAI* 19 (1974) 211, fn. 28, Steible, *FAOS* 9/2 (1991) 201 ad Sulgi 54 (bibliography), and most recently Conti, *EVO* 16 (1993) 87-96.

⁶⁹ Civil, *Or.* 54 (1985) 27, fn. 1.

< n a m - n a m (i). This looks like { n a m m a + n a m m a }, an original reduplicated lexeme */ n a m m a n a m m a / which developed into > */ n a m n a m m a / and finally > / n a n a m a /⁷⁰ according to the pattern / b a r b a r / > / b a b b a r /. In the last stage, the m either assimilated to the following n or dropped out.⁷¹ A similar instance of a noun that is a reduplicated lexeme may be K A₂ "gate", for the non-standard writing k a - a ḡ₂ - k a (- a n) in Manchester Tammuz 19 and 21 (// Dumuzi-Inana H rev. 4' and 6' which has K A₂) and the evidence from the lexical lists Proto-Ea 238 and Kagal I i 26 argue for a reading / k a n k a n / which reflects { k a₂ + k a₂ }, next to / (a) k a n /.⁷² The reading / k a n k a n / for K A₂ is also attested for ḡ e š - K A₂ - n a (- k) ḡiškānaku "door-frame" for which compare the non-standard writing n i - i š - k a - a n - k a - n a - a k ? - e n for ḡ e š - K A₂ - n a - k a (H 103 iv 15) in A. Cavigneaux, F. Al-Rawi, *Iraq* 55 (1993) 94.

This shows that we may have to postulate for the sign L A G A B × H A L (E N G U R) both a single and a reduplicated lexeme. In summary, the reading of the name U R . d N A M M U cannot be established with certainty, but the comments made above argue for / u r n a n a m a / or / u r n a m m a / rather than / u r n a m m u / or / s u r n a m m u /. The reading / n a m m a /, instead of / n a n a m a /, is maintained in this study because it is a conventional reading.

3. Sumerian Royal Hymns

Sumerian royal hymns, which have come down to us almost exclusively in copies of the Old Babylonian scribal schools, go back at least to Gudea of Lagaš (ca. 2100 B.C.) and span a time period of something like four hundred years (ca. 2100-1700 B.C.), from the Ur III period to the first dynasty of Babylon, that is the Old Babylonian period. The finest examples of royal hymns come from the Ur III (2100-2000 B.C.) and the succeeding Isin-Larsa periods (2000-1750 B.C.).⁷³ Aside from the hymn Gudea A, which makes reference to Gudea of Lagaš, the hymns pertaining to Urnamma present the earliest stream of royal hymnic tradition culminating in the hymns of his son and successor Sulgi (2093-2046 B.C.) whose literary themes are still apparent in the hymns of the Isin-Larsa kings. It is to the Sulgi hymns and the hymns of the Isin kings that scholars have paid most attention in their studies of Sumerian hymnography. These hymns have been the subject of many articles and monographs. W.H.Ph. Römer, whose monumental work *Sumerische 'Königshymnen' der Isin-Zeit* (1965) gave a comprehensive overview of the Isin hymns, presented a classification based on A. Falkenstein's earlier attempts and edited a representative selection of them. A recent study,

⁷⁰ Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi in ZA 83 (1993) 174, fn. 7 apparently reach the same conclusions regarding the reading of E N G U R as / n a n a m a /, without supplying any arguments.

⁷¹ For a very different interpretation, cf. Jacobsen, *Harps* 155, fn. 5; Compare also W.G. Lambert, *Studies Birot* (1986) 186.

⁷² Cf. Attinger, ZA 85 (1995) 135, fn. 33.

⁷³ For an extensive bibliography of Ur III, Isin and OB royal hymns, cf. Klein, *ThSH* 226-34.

focusing on the Isin ruler Išmedagān, was undertaken by M.-C. Ludwig in *Untersuchungen zu den Hymnen des Išme-Dagan von Isin* (1990). But it is undoubtedly J. Klein who should be most credited for the progress in Sumerian hymnography. Many monographs and articles bear witness to his laborious task of studying and comparing royal hymns with each other to elucidate their literary dependence, their stylistic features, and their orthographical and grammatical peculiarities. These studies have been done mainly within the framework of his project of editing the numerous hymns of Sulgi and which in some cases served as literary models on which the Isin kings, especially Išmedagān, composed their hymns.⁷⁴

With the exception of Urnamma G, all Urnamma hymns have been previously treated by others. Standard editions include those of J. Klein for Urnamma B⁷⁵ and of M. E. Cohen for Urnamma EF.⁷⁶ The edition of Urnamma C by G. Castellino has become outdated.⁷⁷ Most recently S.N. Kramer presented a composite text of Urnamma A without, however, including a score of individual text sources and without the composition's version from Susa.⁷⁸ W.W. Hallo's edition of Urnamma D lacks a philological commentary and a detailed comparison of the two recensions from Nippur and Ur.⁷⁹ This study therefore presents in Chapter V new editions of the Urnamma hymns, incorporating previously known and new duplicates. It endeavours to follow the same direction taken by J. Klein, and to some degree also by W.H.Ph. Römer and M.-C. Ludwig, in their various editions of royal hymns. Chapter II offers a general survey of the hymns including a typology, which recapitulates the attempts in that area made first by A. Falkenstein and followed by W.H.Ph. Römer, J. Klein and M.-C. Ludwig, and argues for a broader definition of the royal hymns (1.), a catalogue of the hymns (2.), a discussion of the orthography, including an attempt at classifying the non-standard orthography (3.) and glosses (4.), as J. Klein has done for the Sulgi hymns. Chapter III evaluates and expands on the findings which D.R. Frayne presented in *The Historical Correlations of the Sumerian Royal Hymns (2400-1900 B.C.)*, Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University (1981) with regard to Urnamma and thus presents an overview of Urnamma's endeavours during his reign based on his royal inscriptions, year names, the Cadaster text, the prologue of his law code, and his hymns. A first section (1.) shows that the picture of Urnamma and his deeds in the hymns correlates well with what is reported in the other textual sources pertaining to him, thus corroborating W.W. Hallo and D.R. Frayne's theory that events narrated in literary compositions may be correlated with events known from sources such as year names and royal inscriptions. A following section (2.), however, illustrates that contrary to D.R. Frayne's theory, self-laudatory hymns such as Urnamma C do not have a chronological order which follows the sequence of year names. Chapter IV is

⁷⁴ For comparative studies in particular, cf. e.g. Klein, *ASJ* 11 (1989) 27-62; idem, *Studies Artzi* (1990) 65-136; in general, idem, *Studies Sjöberg* (1989) 289-301.

⁷⁵ Klein, *ASJ* 11 (1989) 44-56; 61f. (footnotes).

⁷⁶ Cohen, *JAOs* 95 (1975) 596-600.

⁷⁷ Castellino, *ZA* 53 (1959) 118-31.

⁷⁸ Kramer, *Studies Mikasa* (1991) 193-214.

⁷⁹ Hallo, *JCS* 20 (1966) 133-41.

devoted to aspects of continuity and change in royal hymnography by analysing the Urnamma hymns in relation to other royal hymns and related genres. A first section (1.) concentrates on aspects of legitimacy and kingship. It gives reasons why the Sumerian King List may well have been first compiled in Urnamma's reign (1.1), and discusses topoi of legitimation and kingship (1.2), Urnamma's royal titles and epithets (1.3), and Enlil's outstanding role in Urnamma's kingship (1.4). It can also be shown (2.) that Išmedagān's self-laudatory hymn A contains passages directly borrowed from Urnamma C, indicating that Išmedagān was not only an imitator of Sulgi but also of Urnamma. The discussion of topoi of legitimation and kingship, and narrative material describing royal achievements (1.2 and 3.1), show much continuity from Pre-Sargonic to Isin-Larsa times, but appear in different text types in different periods. The fact that during the Lagaš II, Ur III and Isin-Larsa periods they are attested in royal hymns as well as in statue and stela inscriptions, shows a close affinity between the two text types. In addition to other findings concerning statues, stelae, and royal hymns presented in another section (3.2), this bolsters in general W.W. Hallo's thesis that royal hymns were originally inscribed on stelae and statues. On the other hand section (3.2) also restricts W.W. Hallo's thesis insofar as it argues for the possibility that during the transmission of royal hymns on monuments to copies thereof, the Old Babylonian scribes in fact adapted the texts in many instances, rather than copying the texts on stelae and statues verbatim. In the Larsa period, royal inscriptions which encompass statue and stela inscriptions and inscriptions inscribed on smaller artefacts, such as cones, bricks, etc. are given such a strong literary flavour that they are often congruent with hymns of the same period. A study of Urnamma D illustrates that hymns praising a deity may have been adapted to royal hymns in which the praise is centered on the king instead (3.1). The final section (3.3) presents a comparison between Urnamma A, which describes the king's death and its consequences, and lamentation literature, which includes laments over the distant god or person, and city laments. It shows how Urnamma A uses the language of lamentation literature and the Curse of Agade which describe the destruction of cities, by applying them to the death of a king.

This study and the text editions that form its core show that the use of royal hymns, first evident in Lagaš II, was reinforced under Urnamma both formally and functionally in the same manner that would continue throughout the Third Dynasty of Ur and in the centuries following.

CHAPTER II

A GENERAL SURVEY OF THE URNAMMA HYMNS

1. Typology

The basis for the study of Sumerian hymnography was laid in the first postwar decades by A. Falkenstein in articles and monographs in which he presented editions of hymns and an attempt at their classification. Subsequent years have seen considerable progress in this field with the appearance of many more editions of Sumerian hymns. Hymns are "songs" of praise, and depending on what the object of praise is, we generally speak of divine hymns praising a deity, royal hymns praising a king, temple (and city) hymns praising a temple and/or a city (e.g. Išmedagān W_A), and hymns praising objects like a hoe (Creation of the Hoe), a chariot (Išmedagān I), or a boat (Sulgi R).¹ The inadequacy of this simple categorization² is readily apparent: all these categories or types of hymns do not exclude each other, for temple hymns naturally encompass the praise of the deity to whom the temple is dedicated, and divine hymns very often praise an anonymous or named king. Also, many hymns of the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods praise the king as a deity, a custom connected with the practice of deifying kings at that time.³ The so-called Dumuzi texts, for example, portray the king as Inana's divine lover. It is evident that these hymns are really royal and divine at the same time and a division is therefore often made more on practical than formal grounds.⁴ A case in point is source A of Išmedagān J. In one line it substitutes Dumuzi's name with that of the king.⁵ The last decades have seen much work on the royal hymns in particular, with the publication of W.H.Ph. Römer's *Sumerische 'Königshymnen' der Isin-Zeit* (1965), J. Klein's *Three Šulgi Hymns* (1981), his monograph on the royal hymns of Sulgi⁶ as well as many other articles, and most recently M.-C. Ludwig's *Untersuchungen zu den Hymnen des Išme-Dagan von Isin* (1990).

¹ Edzard, *OBO* 131 (1994) 21f.; Klein, *ThŠH* 21f., and fns. 3ff., divides Sumerian hymns into the three categories of divine, royal and temple hymns.

² Cf. also Tinney, *OLZ* 90 (1995) 6.

³ Klein, *ThŠH* 29-36.

⁴ Cf. Edzard, *OBO* 131 (1994) 21.

⁵ Cf. Römer, *SKIZ* 22:24 and Hallo, *BiOr.* 23 (1966) 244, fn. 51, and 245:34.

⁶ Klein, *TAPS* 71/7 (1981) 1-48.

W.H.Ph. Römer refined A. Falkenstein's classification of the royal hymns, and he was followed by J. Klein and M.-C. Ludwig in their above mentioned studies. W.H.Ph. Römer classified hymns that are addressed to a deity but contain a petition and blessing for a king as royal hymns type A, in contrast to the royal hymns proper (type B) in which the praise is centered on the king himself, either in 2nd and 3rd person (type B. I), or in 1st person (type B. II).⁷ The earliest known type A hymn that fits this definition is Gudea A, a t i g i of Ba'u mentioning Gudea of Lagaš (STVC 36).⁸ It is usually maintained that type A hymns contain rubrics marking subdivisions within the composition, and end with a subscript, either named after a musical instrument, e.g. t i g i (₂) (a kind of drum), labelled š i r ₃ - n a m - x (- a (k)), "a such-and-such song", e.g. š i r ₃ - n a m - g a l a ("g a l a-ship song"), or designated b a l - b a l - e, a term whose meaning is still obscure.⁹ Type B hymns often end with a z a ₃ - m i ₂ doxology¹⁰ which is mistakenly considered by W.W. Hallo (and others) as having almost "generic force".¹¹ In fact a formal division into hymns with either rubrics and subscripts (type A), or z a ₃ - m i ₂ doxologies (type B) is often not possible,¹² as some contain both.¹³ Also, the hymns Išmedagān K, T, (W_A +) W_B + W_C,¹⁴ and AC¹⁵ all sharing the concluding "punchline" d i š - m e - d a - g a n - m e - e n d u - r i ₂ - š e ₃ k a - k a m u - n i - ḡ a r, focus exclusively on the praise of a deity and should therefore be categorized as type A hymns but have no rubrics at all. Finally, some hymns with rubrics which should consequently belong to type A really belong to type B because they almost exclusively praise the king and his deeds, and not a deity.¹⁶

The Urnamma hymns which, aside from the just mentioned Gudea hymn, represent the earliest stream of royal hymnic tradition, illustrate this point: together with some of Sulgi's hymns¹⁷ they do not fit the traditional classification of royal hymns of type A and B thereby showing that these standard definitions, almost exclusively based on the Isin(-Larsa) material that A. Falkenstein and especially W.H.Ph. Römer have worked on, are inadequate for the classification of the entire

⁷ Römer, *SKIZ* 5f.

⁸ Cf. Falkenstein's translation of the text in *SAHG* 85-87 (no. 16).

⁹ Ludwig, *Išme-Dagan* 29, and fn. 18 with previous literature; also Sefati, *Studies Artzi* (1990) 50.

¹⁰ Edzard, *OBO* 131 (1994) 20f. with previous literature.

¹¹ Hallo, *BiOr.* 23 (1966) 240, and 241 ad 5.

¹² Cf. e.g. Reisman, *AOAT* 25 (1976) 357.

¹³ Cf. Cooper, *AnOr.* 52 (1978) 4, fn. 8; Ludwig, *Išme-Dagan* 34, and fn. 41. Also Ningēšzida A rev. 4'-5' [e] n ^d n i n - g e [š - z] i - d a [z a ₃ - m i ₂] - z u d u ₁₀ - [g a (- a m ₃)] l b a l - b a l - e [^d n i n - g e š - z i - d] a - k a; CBS 10220+// (= Sjöberg, *JCS* 34 68) iv 12-13 (partially broken). *UET* 6 101 (= Steible, *Haja* 5-16) adds to the z a ₃ - m i ₂ doxology the ḡ e š g e ḡ a l and / u r u / - b i sections (for the / u r u / - b i section, cf. in general, Ludwig, *Išme-Dagan* 32, and fn. 32). Note in addition that Išmedagān AB contains rubrics and ends with a z a ₃ - m i ₂ doxology; also Iddindagān A (= Inana and Iddindagān) has rubrics and a z a ₃ - m i ₂ doxology near the end (line 220).

¹⁴ For the problematical reconstruction of Išmedagān W, cf. Ludwig, *Išme-Dagan* 93-95 and now Tinney, *OLZ* 90 (1995) 14-17.

¹⁵ Cf. Tinney, *ibid.* 15; 18-20.

¹⁶ Cf. below, p. 14f. for examples.

¹⁷ Cf. below, p. 14.

corpus of Sumerian royal hymns.¹⁸ The Isin(-Larsa) hymnic corpus contains a very high proportion of a d a b compositions forming the core of hymns that belong to type A and whose content consequently gave rise to its narrow definition.¹⁹ These a d a b compositions, to which we can add Ur III hymns like Sulgi U and Ibbīsu'en C,²⁰ usually follow a well-formed structure praising a deity, but contain a petition and blessing for the king which always appear in the ḡ e š g e ḡ a l and / u r u / - b i sections.²¹ However, such a narrow definition hardly applies to every a d a b composition or to hymns with other subscripts, and this is especially true of the Urnamma and some Sulgi hymns: Sulgi G is an a d a b hymn which is not primarily concerned with Enlil in whose praise the hymn is sung, but really with king Sulgi's birth and his subsequent investiture. Likewise, URNAMMA B, a t i g i of Enlil, which according to its subscript should be considered a type A hymn, is really a type B. I hymn and has hardly any praise of Enlil. Instead it narrates Urnamma's divine selection and his building of the Ekur in the first section (s a g i d a), and continues by praising him in 3rd person in the following s a ḡ a r a section.²² Similarly, Sulgi R, a t i g i or a d a b of Ninlil,²³ and Išmedagān I, a t i g i of Enlil,²⁴ addressed to the boat and chariot respectively, whose construction and dedication the hymns narrate, end with a petition for the king who commissioned their construction. In content Urnamma B, Sulgi R, and Išmedagān I in fact resemble the building reports of Gudea found on his cylinders and on some statues which the scribes put into a hymnic form for liturgical use. URNAMMA EF, a š i r n a m š u b of Nanna, is unique among š i r n a m š u b compositions because the king is named and figures prominently in it. This is not the case in other š i r n a m š u b compositions, which focus more on the deity and his or her deeds. Urnamma EF praises Urnamma, not Nanna, in the 2nd and 3rd person and therefore fits the definition of a type B. I hymn. Thus compositions with a "liturgical" subscript do not always address a deity and primarily praise his or her deeds, but were also composed to praise a king's deeds.

Just as the accepted distinction between types A and B can no longer be upheld for the whole Sumerian royal hymnic corpus, so too must previous characterization of the type B hymns be modified. URNAMMA D ends with a z a ₃ - m i ₂ doxology in the 2nd person and would therefore be a type B. I hymn, but the main and longest section of the composition (Nippur lines 7-36 || Ur lines 10'-37') is in

¹⁸ Wilcke, however, assumes that the early stream of royal hymnic tradition represented by Urnamma's and Sulgi's corpus had not yet developed a well-formed formal and contextual structure apparent in the hymns of their Ur III and Isin-Larsa successors (*Kindlers Literatur Lexikon im dtv*, Band 10 [1986] 9099, s.v. "Sumerische Königshymnen").

¹⁹ Cf. Hallo's listing in *BiOr.* 23 (1966) 240, and 241, fn. 16, Wilcke's in *AS* 20 (1975) 266-73, and Klein's in *ThŠH* 227-33.

²⁰ Edition in Sjöberg, *OrSuec* 19-20 (1970-71) 147-49 (no. 4), 166-70 (commentary).

²¹ Cf. Falkenstein, *ZA* 49 (1950) 87ff.; especially 97ff. for the ḡ e š g e ḡ a l and / u r u / - b i sections.

²² For these rubrics, cf. Ludwig, *Išme-Dagan* 30; with Wilcke, *AS* 20 (1975) 259f., possibly musical terms or annotations; also Kilmer, *CRRAI* 35 (1992) 104ff., Černý, *ArOr.* 62 (1994) 25, and most recently Kilmer, *RIA* 8 (1995) 471 ad § 4.2., s.v. "Musik A. I.".

²³ Cf. Klein, *Studies Artzi* (1990) 80.

²⁴ For a possible literary dependence of Išmedagān I on Sulgi R, cf. Klein, *Studies Artzi* (1990) 68ff.

direct speech (i.e. type B. II) letting the king describe his election and praise his irrigation projects for his city Ur. The hymn further displays a symmetrical structure of repetitious parallelisms lacking in both B. I and II type hymns²⁵ but which are common in *bal bale* compositions,²⁶ a type of hymn which normally has no rubrics,²⁷ just as B. I and II type hymns. In fact, the Nippur version of Urnamma D shares lines 25-30 with a *bal bale* of Nanna²⁸ so that Urnamma D might be an adaption of a *bal bale* composition, generally considered as a type A hymn.²⁹ URNAMMA C seems to be the earliest example hitherto known for a type B. II hymn which we find more fully developed under Urnamma's successor Sulgi³⁰ and the Isin kings Išmedagān and Lipiteštar.³¹ Such hymns contain a king's self-praise including mention of his divine genealogy, special endowments by the gods, and his achievements and deeds for the gods. Urnamma C shows a very similar structure to Nungal,³² a divine hymn, with which it shares a *za₃ - mi₂* doxology.³³ So in fact many Urnamma hymns resemble hymns of the same types to deities. This finding, and the occasional archaic spellings in the Urnamma hymns which substantiate the assumption that they originated in Urnamma's times,³⁴ support the notion that many of the divine hymns we know from Old Babylonian manuscripts are modernized versions of genuine Ur III originals.

The findings outlined above show then that the classification of the royal hymns, first attempted by A. Falkenstein and followed by W.H.Ph. Römer, J. Klein, and M.-C. Ludwig, cannot be fully applied to the Urnamma hymns and only to a lesser degree to Sulgi's. It also shows how difficult it is to find appropriate criteria which enable a categorization. Attempts on neither formal nor contextual grounds are wholly satisfactory: rubrics, subscripts (type A) and *za₃ - mi₂* doxologies (type B) do not exclude each other, nor do we yet fully understand the

²⁵ Pace Hallo, *BiOr.* 23 (1966) 241 ad 5.

²⁶ E.g. URNAMMA G. Other examples of *bal bale* compositions with a symmetrical structure of repetitious parallelisms are "love song" *bal bales* of Inana in dialogue form, and Ning'ešzida A. Note that Urnamma G is so far the sole example of a *bal bale* to Enlil, with *bal bales* to Inana, almost exclusively in "sacred marriage" context, overwhelmingly first in number and Nanna a distant second (cf. Wilcke, *AS* 20 [1975] 274-77).

²⁷ Cf. Wilcke, *AS* 20 (1975) 274-80. Three certain exceptions so far are Išmedagān E (= Sjöberg, *OrSuec* 23-24 [1974-75] 166f.) and *TMH NF* 4 7 iii 107- iv 168 (= J. Westenholz, *Studies Sjöberg* [1989] 552-55), which have a *gešgegal* section before the subscript, and Dumuzi-Inana C (= Alster, *RA* 79 [1985] 146-52), which has a *gešgegal* section after the subscript.

²⁸ *TMH NF* 4 7 iv 190-95 // (cf. Hall, *Moon-God* 779f.).

²⁹ Cf. in detail IV 3.1, p. 74ff.

³⁰ Sulgi B, C (doxology missing), E, probably Y (doxology missing), and a self-laudatory Sulgi hymn fragment (N 3130 + 3131) published by Klein, *Studies Hallo* (1993) 124-31. Sulgi A may also have to be considered a type B. II hymn, rather than a hymnic epic (cf. below) because it is entirely written in 1st person with the exception of the "doxology" at the end (lines 95-102), cf. also Wilcke, *RIA* 4 (1972-75) 540 ad § 3.5., s.v. "Hymne, A. Nach sumerischen Quellen".

³¹ Išmedagān A (doxology missing), Lipiteštar A.

³² Cf. Attinger, *Éléments* 51 s.v. "Nungal" for references to the edition and subsequent additions. An additional partial translation and commentary is now at hand in Civil, *Studies Hallo* (1993) 72-78.

³³ Cf. in detail IV 3.1, p. 73.

³⁴ Cf. below, 3.1, p. 22f.

meaning of and exact reason for setting rubrics, so these formal criteria cannot be used in a satisfactory manner to construct a system of categorization. Likewise, a classification on the basis of context is difficult because it is often not evident why the ancient scribes should have assigned certain compositions with such diverse content to the same "genre".³⁵ Especially type A needs a broader definition to include hymns with an initial address to a deity or an object³⁶ followed by the praise of the king as its core.

URNAMMA A, also known as "Urnamma's Death", is unique within the corpus of literary Sumerian compositions, insofar as it honours a king posthumously and tells of his actual death. The core of the composition is made up of laments, some in direct speech, as those of Urnamma himself and Inana, Urnamma's divine lover.³⁷ The overall lamenting tenor of this composition is reflected in the two last lines (241f.) $\lceil \text{lu ga l} - \hat{\text{g}} \text{u}_{10} ? \rceil$ $\lceil \text{x (x) i} \rceil \text{r}_2 - \text{a m}_3 \text{ i} - \text{l u} - \text{a m}_3 \mid \lceil \text{u r} - \text{d n a m m a} ? (\dots) \rceil \text{ i r}_2 - \text{a m}_3 \text{ a} - \text{n i r} - \text{a m}_3$ "My? lord [...] are tears, are wails! [Urnamma? (...)] are tears, are laments!".³⁸ The composition's proximity to lamentation literature can be demonstrated by comparing Urnamma A with lamentation literature in general.³⁹ It shows that the author of Urnamma A utilized the same language as lamentation literature and the Curse of Agade. However, Urnamma A lacks the k i r u g u sections known in all the major lamentations, which indicate their liturgical use. The only other compositions that can be compared as a whole with Urnamma A⁴⁰ are the Two Elegies which are made up, following an introductory narrative section, of dirges by Ludiġira over his father $\text{d n a n n a} - \text{a}$ and his wife *Nawirtum*. The second dirge ends in $\text{i} - \text{l u} - \text{z u}$ $\lceil \text{g i} \rceil \text{g} - \text{g a} - \text{a m}_3$ "your dirge is bitter!" which is comparable to the ending of Urnamma A.⁴¹ Some passages of Urnamma A are reminiscent in content and form of the Death of Gilgameš, another composition which deals with the death of a king,⁴² despite major differences.⁴³ On the other hand, Urnamma A undeniably shows traits that characterize the so-called "hymnic epics", a term coined by J. Klein to translate C. Wilcke's "Königsepen".⁴⁴ These compositions consist of a narrative or narrative sections with epic traits centring around the king and including passages in direct speech. Examples of hymnic epics are Sulgi D, whose

³⁵ Cf. Michalowski, *JCS* 39 (1987) 40f.

³⁶ Cf. Išmedagān I; Sulgi R, mentioned above, and hymns with an introductory address to a city or temple.

³⁷ Cf. also V 1.1, p. 93.

³⁸ Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 93f.

³⁹ Cf. IV 3.3, pp. 85ff.

⁴⁰ Cf. Wilcke, *UT* 48-50.

⁴¹ A b a l b a l e of Nanna, *TMH NF* 4 7 ii 67- iii 106 (= J. Westenholz, *Studies Sjöberg* [1989] 550-52, and fn. 52 with previous literature), whose last line before the subscript has a parallel structure (line 105 $\text{d n a n n a} - \hat{\text{g}} \lceil \text{u}_{10} ? \rceil \text{i} - \text{l u} \rceil - \text{z u} \text{z e}_2 - \text{b a} - \text{a m}_3 \text{i} - \text{l u} \text{š a}_3 - \text{a b} - \lceil \text{m a} - \text{k a m} \rceil$) shows that these kind of endings cannot be considered as a generic designation.

⁴² For a nearly complete non-Nippur version from Meturan/Tell Ḥaddād of the composition, cf. in general Cavigneaux, Al-Rawi, *Iraq* 55 (1993) 93.

⁴³ Wilcke, *UT* 27f. with previous literature.

⁴⁴ Cf. the bibliography in Ludwig, *Išme-Dagan* 33, fns. 37f.

conclusion is thought to be Sulgi X, Sulgi F, and Sulgi P.⁴⁵ Sulgi D + X and F share with Urnamma A the same $z a_3 - m i_2$ doxology, preceded by a hymnic epilogue.

2. Catalogue

There are at least eight separate literary compositions which can be assigned to Urnamma. With the exception of hymns E, G and H, whose beginning and/or end are broken off, every hymn is more or less preserved in its entirety. They have come down to us in Old Babylonian copies (ca. 1800 B.C.) but are, like the hymns of Urnamma's son and successor Sulgi, almost certainly genuine Ur III (ca. 2100 B.C.) compositions.⁴⁶ The assumption that the Urnamma hymns are genuine documents of that king's time is based on the occasional archaic spellings that some of his hymns preserve and on the correlations between the hymns and events of Urnamma's reign, as proposed by D.R. Frayne in his dissertation *The Historical Correlations of the Sumerian Royal Hymns* (1981). Corroboration also comes from one fragmentary manuscript (source D) of Urnamma B which very likely dates to Ur III.⁴⁷ In any case, it is unlikely that Urnamma's hymns would have been composed after Ur III, with the one possible exception of Urnamma A, which was composed just after his death, in all likelihood by the same scribes that composed his hymns when he was alive. The manuscripts of the Urnamma hymns are mostly from Nippur, but there are also tablets from Ur (Urnamma D), Babylon (Urnamma B), Lagaš (Urnamma E), possibly Sippar (Urnamma F) and Susa (Urnamma A). Both Urnamma D and EF appear in catalogues from Nippur; Urnamma D was also known in Uruk.⁴⁸

An additional fragmentary piece, *ISet* 1 (1969/71) p. 177 (no. 119), Ni. 4375,⁴⁹ case-ruled, in short-line format⁵⁰ and therefore originally probably inscribed on a stela, could be part of a self-laudatory hymn of Urnamma, as S.N. Kramer and

⁴⁵ For Sulgi A, a borderline case between a hymnic epic and a self-laudatory hymn (type B. II hymn), cf. above, p. 15, fn. 30.

⁴⁶ Indeed, most Sumerian compositions are only known from Old Babylonian copies. For the very few known original Ur III literary texts, cf. Sallaberger, "Urkunden aus der Zeit der Dritten Dynastie von Ur, eine Einführung", in Attinger, Wäfler (eds.), *Mesopotamien, Akkade-Zeit und Ur III-Zeit, Annäherungen* 3, OBO XXX (in preparation).

⁴⁷ Cf. now also the Ur III text mentioning Urnamma published by Civil, *AuOr.* 14 (1996) 163-67. The article appeared too late to be fully incorporated into this study.

⁴⁸ Catalogues CBS 8086 (an inventory of tablets) in Michalowski, *OA* 19 (1980) 265-68, and *STVC* 41 rev.[?] in Hallo, *StOr.* 46 = *Studies A. Salonen* (1975) 77-80. The "Yale Catalogue" YBC 3654 published by Hallo, *JAOS* 83 (1963) 167-76, which most probably registers the opening line of the second *ki ru gu* section of Urnamma EF, is of unknown provenance. The fragment published by Cavigneaux in *AU/WE* 23 (1996) 45 as no. 83, containing the Urnamma D *incipit*, may be a letter partly in Akkadian containing ritual instructions. What is left of the reverse may be an enumeration of Sumerian *incipits* (cf. Cavigneaux, *ibid.* 45).

⁴⁹ For a transliteration of the major parts of Ni. 4375, cf. Frayne, *Correlations* 82ff. (subsequently in *BiOr.* 42 [1985] 16-17). [Cf. now the edition in Frayne, *RIME* 3/2 (1997) 20f. as *RIME* 3/2.1.1.1].

⁵⁰ For a classification of this type of line format into groups, cf. now Tinney, *OLZ* 90 (1995) 9ff.

J. Klein surmise,⁵¹ rather than a copy of a royal inscription of a narrative nature which might, according to M. Civil,⁵² be part of another copy of a royal inscription on the cylinder fragment 6 N-T 908a (+),⁵³ because Ur III and early Isin royal inscriptions are generally composed in the 3rd and not in the 1st person.⁵⁴

The sigla for the individual hymns follow those of M. Civil in his unpublished *Index For a Corpus of Sumerian Literature (ICSL)*, sometimes referred to as *HKL* 4). M. Civil kindly made available to me sections 2.411-2.418 (pp. 28-30) of his index with a list of all textual sources for the hymns, as well as his transliteration of Urnamma G. Hymns E and F are probably two non-Nippur recensions of an original Urnamma hymn, so they are listed here together as Urnamma EF and the separate recensions are distinguished as E and F respectively. C. Wilcke kindly provided me with his unpublished manuscript of *Urnammus Tod, Tod und Bestattung eines Königs in neusumerischer Zeit*, and S. Tinney generously gave me access to his unpublished University Museum manuscripts of Urnamma A and D prepared for the Sumerian Dictionary Project.

The following catalogue of the Urnamma hymns includes for each individual hymn a list of the manuscript sources (and their provenance),⁵⁵ the *incipit*, subscript, or the last line of the composition, and where available, rubrics and ancient catalogue entries, followed by a bibliography⁵⁶ and short summary of content.⁵⁷

URNAMMA A = URNAMMA'S DEATH

Sources:

N i p p u r: **A** = *PBS* 10/2 6 (CBS 4560) + C. Wilcke, *CRRAI* 17 (1970) 83 and 85 (pls. 2 and 4; photo pls. 1 and 3 = C. Wilcke, *Kollationen* 66-67) + N 7095. — **B** = *ISSET* 1 p. 76-77 (Ni. 4487). — **C** = N 3135. — **D** = 3 N-T 523 = IM 58534. — **E** = C. Wilcke, *CRRAI* 17 (1970) 90 (pl. 5 = C. Wilcke, *Kollationen* 68f.). — **F** = *ISSET* 1 p. 186 (Ni. 9918). — **G** = N 2355.

S u s a: **Sb₁** = Sb 12363. — **Sb₂** = Sb 14083 + Sb 14137. — **Sb₃** = Sb 12358 + Sb 12362. For details, cf. V 1.1, pp. 98ff.

Incipit: [...]ta kalam teš₂-a mi-ni-¹ib-x¹

Last lines of composition: ¹lugal-ĝu₁₀⁷¹ [x (x) i]₂-am₃ i-lu-am₃ | [ur-dnamma? (...)] ir₂-am₃ a-nir-am₃

Bibliography: S. Langdon, *PBS* 10/2 (1917) 127-36 (edition of parts of CBS 4560); G. Castellino, *ZA* 52 (1957) 1-57 (edition of CBS 4560); idem, *ZA* 53 (1959) 131f. (Appendix); S.N. Kramer, *JCS* 21 (1967) 104-22 (edition of sources

⁵¹ Kramer, *ISSET* 1 p. 46 and Klein, *ThŠH* 226.

⁵² Civil, *Or.* 41 (1972) 84 and idem, *Or.* 54 (1985) 29.

⁵³ Published by Civil in *Or.* 54 (1985) 27-32.

⁵⁴ Cf. IV 3.2, p. 84f.

⁵⁵ To avoid confusion the sigla for the individual sources generally follow those used by the authors of previous editions.

⁵⁶ Listed in chronological order.

⁵⁷ For details, cf. ad "Introduction" of the individual editions in Chapter V.

A and B); C. Wilcke, *CRRAI* 17 (1970) 81-92 (Jena joins to source A, and E); idem, *Urnammus Tod, Tod und Bestattung eines Königs in neusumerischer Zeit*, unpub. Habilitationsschrift (1972) (edition of all sources except Susa); idem, *Kollationen* 66-69; S.N. Kramer, *Studies Mikasa* (1991) 193-214 (latest edition).⁵⁸

The composition tells of the events that lead to Urnamma's untimely death, describes the king's journey to the netherworld, his offerings to the deities there and his installation as judge. It continues with Urnamma's lament concerning himself and Inana's futile attempt to bring back her royal lover, and ends with a blessing for the king, extolling his posthumous fame instead.

URNAMMA B

Sources:

N i p p u r: **A** = *SRT* 11 (Ni. 2430). — **C** = (C₁) CBS 15168 (copy in J. Klein, *ASJ* 11 [1989] 66) (+) (C₃) N 7926 (cf. M. Civil, *Or.* 54 [1985] 36f.) (+) (C₂) N 6876 (copy in J. Klein, *ASJ* 11 [1989] 66). — **D** = 6 N-T 288 = IM 61500 (copy in M. Civil, *Or.* 54 [1985] 34).

B a b y l o n: **E** = *VS* 24 42 (VAT 17417).

U n k n o w n: **B** = *TCL* 15 38 (AO 6316) = (copy in A. Cavigneaux, *ASJ* 9 [1987] 60). For details, cf. V 2.1, p. 187.

Incipit: den-lil₂ maḥ [...] / UB? [...]

Subscript: tigi₂ den-[lil₂-la₂-kam]

Rubrics: sa-gid₂-da-am₃, [sa]-ġar-ra-am₃

Bibliography: A. Falkenstein, *SAHG* (1953) 87-90, no. 17 (translation and short summary of source A); S.N. Kramer, *BiOr.* 11 (1954) 173f., fn. 27 (review of A. Falkenstein); idem, *ZA* 52 (1957) 81f. (collations of source A); idem, *ANET*³ 583f. (translation of source A); G. Castellino, *ZA* 53 (1959) 106-18 (edition of source A); Å.W. Sjöberg, *OrSuec* 10 (1961) 3-12 (edition of source B); M. Civil, *Or.* 54 (1985) 33-37 (copy of source D, transliteration of source C); A. Cavigneaux, *ASJ* 9 (1987) 49-51 ad 6. (comments on source B) and 60 (copy of source B); J. Klein, *ASJ* 11 (1989) 44-56 and fns. pp. 61f. (latest edition).⁵⁹

The composition tells of Urnamma's restoration and inauguration of the Ekur. For this Urnamma is both praised and rewarded with fame, and kingship is established in Ur.

URNAMMA C

Source:

N i p p u r: *TCL* 15 12 (AO 5378). For details, cf. V 3.1, p. 206.

Incipit: iri me du₁₀-du₁₀-ga para₁₀ maḥ nam-lugal-la

Last line of composition: [sip]a ur-d₂namma-me-en za₃-mi₂-ġu₁₀ du₁₀-ga-am₃

⁵⁸ Cf. also V 1.1, p. 93.

⁵⁹ Cf. also V 2.1, p. 183.

Bibliography: M. Lambert, *Sumer* 6 (1950) 162f. (edition of lines 1-12); G. Castellino, *ZA* 53 (1959) 118-31 (edition); Å.W. Sjöberg, *Mondgott* 119-22 (edition of lines 1-16); D.R. Frayne, *Correlations* 84ff. (discussion of selected lines); idem, *BiOr.* 42 (1985) 15-17 (discussion of selected lines).⁶⁰

The hymn opens with praise of the temple Ekišnuḡal and goes on to introduce Urnamma. Then follow Urnamma's self-praise, which relates divine approval and designation of his kingship, various activities of the king, and a description of the well-being of Ur, and Sumer and Akkad as a whole.

URNAMMA D (NIPPUR AND UR RECENSIONS)

Sources:

N i p p u r: **A**⁶¹ = YBC 4617 (cf. W.W. Hallo, *JCS* 20 [1966] 139f.). — **D** = CBS 8037 + N 1703 iii 25'- iv 6' (unpub.). — **E** = UM 29-16-93 (unpub.).

U r: **B** = *UET* 6 76 (U 16895) + *UET* 6 *147 (unpub.). — **C** = *UET* 6 77 (U 16860). For details, cf. V 4.1, p. 232.

Incipit: (Nippur) [a-ba-a mu-un-b]a-al-e a-ṽba-a mu-ṽ[un-ba-al-e / i₇] a-ba-a mu-u[n-ba-al-e]

Last line of composition: (Nippur) ^dur-^dnamma lugal uri₂^{ki}-ma za₃-mi₂-zu du₁₀-ga-am₃; (Ur) ur-^dnamma lugal mu da-a-ri za₃-mi₂-zu du₁₀-ga

Catalogues:

a. Nippur Catalogue *STVC* 41 rev.[?] i' 3: a-ba-a mu-un-ba-a[l-e] (cf. W.W. Hallo, *StOr.* 46 = *Studies A. Salonen* [1975] 79).

b. Uruk: A. Cavigneaux, *AUWE* 23 (1996) 45, no. 83 rev. 4': [...-b]a-al-e a-ba-a mu-un-ba-al^l-e.

Bibliography: W.W. Hallo, *JCS* 20 (1966) 133-41 (edition of sources A, B, and C); D.R. Frayne, *Correlations* 104ff.; 116ff. (discussion of selected lines, incorporating unpub. sources D and E); M.G. Hall, *Moon-God* 407-09; 786 ad 190-195 (commentary to lines 25-30).⁶²

The prologue in which Urnamma is introduced as constructing canal(s) for Ur is followed by Urnamma's self-praise, describing his selection and election to kingship by Enlil and praising his canal(s) which bring(s) abundance to Ur. The closing section praises Urnamma as the king of the four corners and the provider for Sumer and Akkad (Nippur and Ur).

URNAMMA EF

Sources:

L a g a š: **A** = *ISCT* 1 pp. 224f. (L 1499) = recension E.

S i p p a r[?]: **B** = *CT* 44 16 (BM 78183) = recension F. For details, cf. V 5.1, p. 265f.

⁶⁰ Cf. also V 3.1, p. 204.

⁶¹ Unknown provenance but Nippur orthography.

⁶² Cf. also V 4.1, p. 228.

Incipit: (recension F) [uru₂[?] (x)] bad₃[?] ku₃-ga-ta ʕi-li guru₃^{ru}

Rubric: instead of the k i - r u - g u₂ rubric, a ruled line alone divides the text into two sections.

first line in second k i - r u - g u₂: lugal ʕi-li guru₃^{ru} me-lim_x kalam-ma dul-la; entered in two catalogues (see below).

Subscript: (recension F) šir₃-nam-šub-dnanna-ʾkam^ʾ (/ 51[?] mu-bi)

Catalogues:

a. "Yale Catalogue" YBC 3654 ii 17: lugal-ḡu₁₀ ʕi-li guru₃ (cf. W.W. Hallo, *JAOS* 83 [1963] 171).

b. "Nippur Catalogue" CBS 8086 12: lugal ʕi-li guru₃^{ru} (cf. P. Michalowski, *OA* 19 [1980] 266).

Bibliography: S. Langdon, *PSBA* 40 (1918) 45-50 (edition of recension F); M.E. Cohen, *JAOS* 95 (1975) 596-600 (latest edition).⁶³

The first k i r u g u section praises the Ekišnuḡal and introduces Urnamma. The second section tells how Urnamma is chosen by Su'en in order to enforce law and order and ends with the king's blessing.

URNAMMA G

Source: unnumbered text of unknown provenance, columns ii 1'-17'- iii 1'-2'. For details, cf. V 6.1, p. 291.

Incipit: not preserved

Subscript: ʾbaʾ-baʾ-e den-lil-[la₂-kam] (/ 27 [mu[?]-bi[?]])

Bibliography: none

The composition tells how Enlil has given Urnamma agricultural prosperity, then praises Urnamma as the faithful farmer who tends Enlil's field.

URNAMMA H

Sources:

N i p p u r: **A** = *PBS* 5 40 (CBS 15046). — **B** = N 1511 (unpub.). The two sources might belong to different compositions. For details, cf. V 7.1, p. 297.

Incipit: ur-dnamma lugal [kalam-ma (...)] l sud-ra₂ bad-DU ʾx[?] [...]

Subscript/Last line of composition: not preserved

Bibliography: W.W. Hallo, *HUCA* 33 (1962) 28, no. 37 (edition of source A); I. Kärki, *StOr.* 58 (1986) 24, no. 37 (edition of source A); H. Steible, *FAOS* 9/2 (1991) 143, no. 37 (description).⁶⁴

Too fragmentary for a summary.

⁶³ Cf. also V 5.1, p. 260.

⁶⁴ Cf. also V 7.1, p. 297.

3. Orthography

3.1 Archaic Orthography

In his various editions of Sulgi hymns, J. Klein was able to show that those hymns whose sources all stem from the Old Babylonian period sometimes preserve orthography found in Gudea and Ur III texts dating centuries earlier. Such orthographical peculiarities can be considered as genuine survivals from the Ur III period and substantiate the assumption that these hymns originated in Sulgi's own time. In the course of their transmission, some hymns were thoroughly "modernized" to conform to Old Babylonian orthographical and grammatical practices, whereas other hymns retained some of the archaic spellings.⁶⁵

Only a few archaic spellings can be found in the Urnamma hymns. They support the assumption, set forth above, that these hymns, too, are genuine Ur III compositions. On the whole though, the hymns exhibit orthography and grammar of the Old Babylonian period and so underwent "modernization" in the course of their transmission. The relative paucity of archaic spellings, however, poses a problem: we expect more because Urnamma's hymns, unlike those of Sulgi, seem to have been neither part of the basic scribal curriculum, nor part of the everyday subject-matter the scribal students were taught, found in catalogues such as UM 29-15-155⁶⁶ and *TCL* 15 28,⁶⁷ and which thus underwent thorough modernization. If Urnamma's hymns had been widely used in the scribal schools we would expect a greater number of duplicates, such as in those compositions listed at the beginning of the above mentioned catalogues (Sulgi A, Lipiteštar A, Hymn to the Hoe, Ninmešara, Enlil in the Ekur, Keši Hymn etc.). Why this is so remains unclear.

The following archaic spellings are attested in Urnamma hymns:

The etymologically obscure a - n e for e - n e⁶⁸: Urnamma A 19 (source B) k i a - n e - d i [ḡ a] l₂ - l a "where merriment had reigned"; Urnamma C 81 a - n e ḥ u l₂ - l a m u - e "they joyfully follow".

⁶⁵ Klein's orthographical and grammatical observations of his hitherto published Sulgi hymns are in Klein, *ThŠH* 64ff. (for Sulgi D), 131ff. (for Sulgi X); idem, *TAPS* 71/7 (1981) 27ff. (for Sulgi P); idem, *Beer-Sheva* 2 (1985) 14*ff. (for Sulgi V); idem, *Studies Artzi* (1990) 96ff. (for Sulgi R); idem, *Studies Tadmor* (1991) 299ff. (for Sulgi G). Klein has announced a "study of the orthography and grammar of the Neo-Sumerian royal hymns" in *Studies Sjöberg* (1989) 291, fn. 16.

⁶⁶ Edited by Kramer in *BASOR* 88 (1942) 10-16, collations in Bernhardt, Kramer, *WZJ* 6 (1956/57) 393, fn. 2.

⁶⁷ Cf. Kramer, *ibid.* 17-19, collations in Bernhardt, Kramer, *ibid.* 393, fn. 3 and Flückiger-Hawker, *N.A.B.U.* 1996/119.

⁶⁸ Klein, *Beer-Sheva* 2 (1985) 15*f., and fn. 42 with bibliography for Ur III a - n e for the 3rd person sg. independent pronoun e - n e; for archaic a - n e in a / e - n e (ḥ u l₂ d u₁₁ / e / d i, cf. Attinger, *Eléments* 472, § 351.

The 1st person sg. independent pronoun written $\hat{g} a_2$ without following $-e/-a$ in Urnamma B 40 || 46 (source A) $\hat{g} a_2 - m e - e n$ "I am"; perhaps also Urnamma D 32' (Ur, source B) $\hat{g} a_2^{-}$ "(due to) me".

"Plene" writings⁶⁹:

1. $-N I(i_3) -$ in Urnamma B 35 (source A) $a m_3 - m i - N I(i_3) - d u_{10}$ "he had tastily prepared (i.e. huge quantities of food)"; Urnamma B 61 (source A) $a m_3 - m i - N I(i_3) - i n - s u - u b$ "he (i.e. Urnamma) made sweep away (i.e. the great oppression)".

2. Perhaps $-a -$ in Urnamma A 17 (source A) $[n a m] (...) m u - u n - t a r - r a - \hat{r} a^{-} - \check{s} e_3$ "because of the fate that was allotted"; perhaps in Urnamma C 111 $d n a n n a - a - m e - e n$ "of Nanna I am (i.e. the creature)".

The spelling $-i b_2 -$ of which there are several occurrences in the Urnamma hymns is the standard Ur III writing of the pronominal infix $\{b\}$ (3rd person inanimate ergative/absolutive) after $/i/$ but is not considered here as an actual archaism against Old Babylonian standard spelling $-i b^{-}$.⁷⁰

Other archaic spellings established by J. Klein, as e.g. the assimilation of the locative-terminative/ergative postposition $-e$ to the preceding vowel,⁷¹ or the writing $-m e - e n_3$ for standard Old Babylonian $-m e - e n$ ⁷² are wholly absent in the Urnamma hymns.

3.2 Non-standard Orthography

"Non-standard" is used here as a generic term for all orthography which diverges from so-called "standard" spelling for whatever reasons (e.g. intentionally, or as a dictation error). Non-standard orthography includes simple non-standard spellings which are not primarily and deliberately phonetic (e.g. Urnamma A, source G and the Susa version), spellings which can be termed phonetic (e.g. Urnamma D, Ur sources B and C, and Urnamma E) and whole texts or compositions in so-called "unorthographic" or "syllabic" (phonetic) writing as e.g. Urnamma B (source B). Deliberate rendering of the phonetic value of a word unit or syllabification of word units (resulting often in Sandhi-writings) in order to render the phonetic value of these units (as e.g. in exercise texts such as source B of Urnamma B), and simple auditory errors, result in non-standard spellings which can be considered phonetic writings, such as $i - t i$ for $i t i_6$ "moonlight" in Urnamma C 57, $m a \check{s} - g i - i$ for $m a \check{s} k i m$ "enforcer" in Urnamma E 30' || 32', or $g u_4 - u l -$

⁶⁹ Cf. Klein, *ThŠH* 64-67; 131f.; idem, *TAPS* 71/7 (1981) 28; idem, *Beer-Sheva* 2 (1985) 16*; idem, *Studies Artzi* (1990) 96f; idem, *Studies Tadmor* (1991) 299.

⁷⁰ Pace Klein, *Studies Tadmor* (1991) 300, and fn. 45 with previous literature. Cf. e.g. the occurrences of $-i b_2 -$ in other OB literary texts in Heimpel, *The Structure of the Sumerian Prefix Chain* (unpub.) (1974) 135ff.

⁷¹ Klein, *Beer-Sheva* 2 (1985) 16*, and fn. 44 with previous literature; idem, *Studies Artzi* (1990) 96f.

⁷² Klein, *Studies Artzi* (1990) 97, and fn. 188 with previous literature.

g u₄ - u l for g u l - g u l "to destroy" in source B of Urnamma B 58 obv. 7' || 60 obv. 8'. These phonetic non-standard writings include mono- and polysyllabic nouns, verbs and postpositions, such as l u for l u₂ "person" in source B of Urnamma B 63 obv. 10' || 65 obv. 12', [p] a - r a n a - l u - g a - l a (- k) for p a r a₁₀ n a m - l u g a l - l a (- k) "dais of kingship" (line 66, obv. 13'), š u for š u m₂ "to give" (lines 54 obv. 4' || 56 obv. 5'), ġ a₂ - a l for [ġ a l₂] "to exist, to cause to be" (line 70, rev. 2), - k e for - k e₄ { a k + e (ergative/locative-terminative) } in d u r - d n a m m a - k e (lines 53 obv. 2', 56 obv. 5', 60 obv. 8', 64 obv. 11', 68 obv. 14'), and - e (-) e d - , with Sandhi-writing, for - e š in s a - ħ a - a r - e (-) e d - b u = s a ħ a r - e - e š d u b - b u "which piles up (i.e. heads) as sand dunes" (line 53, obv. 3'). Besides purely phonetic non-standard spellings, semantically conditioned non-standard spellings and reinterpretations based on phonetic affinity can be found in the Urnamma hymns. Phonetic non-standard spellings which are semantically non-conditioned and non-standard spellings which are semantically conditioned include homophonic replacements as well as forms with vowel and consonant interchange.

I. Phonetic non-standard spellings which are semantically non-conditioned involve

a.) homophonic replacements:

Urnamma A Susa:

a₂⁷³ = a "o, alas" (16), s a₂ d u = s a₂ d u₁₁ . g "to reach" (51), d u = d u₇ "perfect" (87, 129), g u₂ = g u₃ "voice" (116), perhaps r a = A K = r a₆ in š u d u l₃ r a "to put a protecting hand over something" (150), b a - r a . g = b a r a₃ . g "to spread" (159), g e = g e₄ in k i ġ₂ - g e₄ - a g e₄ "to send a message" (197), d u = d u₈ in i ġ i d u₈⁷⁴ "to see" (202).

Urnamma A (source G):

- l a₂ - = - l a - in b a - a l - l a - z u "which you have dug" (225).

Urnamma C:

i - t i⁷⁵ = i t i₆ "moonlight" (57).

Urnamma D Ur:

[k] u₃ - s i₂ (Z I) . g = k u₃ - s i ġ₁₇ "gold" (29', source B), m u - š e = m u (-) š e₂₁ "to name", less likely = m u š e n "bird"⁷⁶ (30', sources B and C), d a - r i⁷⁷ = d a - r i₂ "lasting" (31', sources B and C), d u = d u₇ in k a - g e d u₇ "(to be made) worthy to be praised" (31', sources B and C), m u - š e - n a = m u š e n - a m₃ "there are fish" (32'-34', source B), l u₂ = l u in l u - a "where it (= the liquorice) is plentiful" (36', sources B and C), s u - s u = s u₃ - s u₃ . d "to grow tall" (37', sources B and C).

⁷³ A semantically conditioned spelling (cf. ad II., p. 25), i.e. a₂ = "force", cannot be excluded (cf. Attinger, *Eléments* 416, fn. 1112).

⁷⁴ d u₈ in source A is restored.

⁷⁵ Cf. i₃ - t i, presumably archaic. References in Klein, *Studies Artzi* (1990) 116 ad 23-24.

⁷⁶ Cf. the commentary ad Urnamma D 4, p. 254 and 22-23, p. 256 (sound play with m u š e n).

⁷⁷ Cf. the spelling d a - a - r i in Urnamma D 41' (Ur, source C).

Urnamma F:

$ge = ge_4$ in $ad\ ge_4 - ge_4$ "to confer" (17).

b.) vowel and consonant interchange:

Urnamma A Susa:

$\check{s}i - \check{s}i = \check{s}e_8 - \check{s}e_8$ in $ir_2\ \check{s}e_8 - \check{s}e_8$ "to weep tears" (19), $du - di - da = tu - di - da, tu - di - tum$ "toggle pin" (121), $in - na = en - na$ "so far as" (139-40), $za_3 - za_3 - mi_2^{78} = za - am - za - am - \check{g}u_{10}$ "my $za\ am\ za\ m$ -instruments"⁷⁹ (187).

Urnamma D Ur:

$me = \check{g}e_{26} - e$ "me" (12', source B), $ka - ke = ka - ge$ in $ka - ge\ du_7$ "(to be made) worthy to be praised" (31', sources B and C), $te - li = diri$ in $diri - bi$ "what it makes glide" (32'-34', sources B and C), $mu - \check{s}i - x = mu\ \check{s}en - am_3$ "there are fish" (33'-34', source C), $mu - su - ur = u_2\ mun\ zer!$ (U D . d N A N N A) "liquorice" (36', source C).

Urnamma E:

$ki\ ut - ti = ?\ ki\ u_4\ e_3(-a)$ "place where daylight breaks" (4'), $ra_2! - ab = rab$ "shackle" (7'), $gi - \check{s}a_3 = ?\ ki\ sa$ "platform" (11'), $ma\ \check{s} - gi - i\ du_{11}.g = ma\ \check{s}ki\ m\ du_{11}.g$ "to be in charge" (30' || 32').

Urnamma F:

$gi? - sa_2 = ?\ ki\ sa$ "platform" (16).

II. Semantically conditioned non-standard spellings also include

a.) homophonic replacements:

Urnamma A Susa:

$de_6 = de_2$ "to pour into" (22).

Urnamma D Nippur, source E:

$du_{10} = DU$ in $a\ DU(-a) - bi$ "what water it (i.e. the canal) carries" (25).

b.) vowel and consonant interchange:

Urnamma A Susa:

$sa\ \check{g}(-)g\ u_2(-)\ \check{g}al_2 = sa\ \check{g}(-)k\ u_3(-)\ \check{g}al_2$ "proud one" (42), $a(=e_4) - m - a - ru = e_2 - m - ar - uru_5$ "quiver"⁸⁰ (88).

Urnamma D Ur:

$ku_6 - ab = ku_6 - am_3$ plus the association with ab "body of water, sea" (32'-34', sources B and C).

III. Reinterpretations based on phonetic affinity are:

⁷⁸ Possibly with Sandhi-writing.

⁷⁹ A semantically conditioned spelling with a pun on $za_3 - mi_2$ "praise", cannot be excluded.

⁸⁰ This is not a certain semantically conditioned spelling, as $a(=e_4) - m - a - ru$ in the sense of "quiver" is sporadically attested (Eichler, *Studies Hallo* [1993] 92f., and fn. 53).

Urnamma A Susa:

perhaps *lib* "illusion, dreams" = *li-bi ib₂* - "their bliss(fulness)" (20), *eri/e* "cities" = *eren₂* "troops" (43),⁸¹ *alan* "healthy appearance" = *a-la* "vitality" in *a-la-na ba-ra-e₃* "he has lost his vitality" (51), *im-še ġ₃-ġe₂₆* "it precipitates" = *im-ši-ġen* "it went there" (59),⁸² perhaps *ġeš-nu₁₁* "light" = *ġidri/u* "sceptre" (103), *sa₇-ga* "beautiful" = *si₃?/sig?-ga* "formed as" (106), *gu₂ nu_n? du₁₁-du₁₁* "to bray? loudly" = ? (*ur₂*) *gu_nu₃-gu_nu₃* "dappled (thighs)" (116), *ġeš gu-za za-ġin₃* "lapis lazuli throne(s)" = *ġeš-nu₂ u₂ za-ġin₃* "beds with fresh herbs" (159).⁸³

Urnamma D Ur:

dsul-ġir "Sulgi" = *sul zi.d* "faithful youth" (8', source B), *na(-)ri-MU(-)u₄* *ġe₂-ġal₂-la* "... days of abundance" = ? *ġa₂ uri₅(ki)-ma/iri(ki)-ġa₂ i₇* [*ġe₂-ġal₂-la(...)*] "As for me, at Ur/in my city, (...) a canal [of abundance ...]" (30', sources B, partially broken, and C).

IV. Source B which preserves lines 52-71 of Urnamma B is an example for a whole text or version written exclusively in "syllabic" or "unorthographic" writing.⁸⁴ As with all "syllabic" texts, CV- and VC- sequences are predominant and several Sandhi-writings can be observed, as e.g. -š u (-) n u - n a - a m - n i - r a for -š u m₂ e n d n u - n a m - n i r - r e (lines 54 obv. 4' || 56 obv. 5'), the interesting *bi-ni(-) ʾlu₂?-ga₁ʾ* (line 68 obv. 14f.) and *la-la-mi-du* = /*la la m i / i d u (b) /* < *li l₂ a m₃-mi(-i₃)-in-su-u b* (Sandhi plus assimilation, lines 59 obv. 7' || 61 obv. 9').

Note that standard orthography generally can appear in "syllabic" texts, as e.g. *ku r* "foreign land" (lines 52 obv. 1' || 53 obv. 2', 55 obv. 4' || 57 obv. 5'), *sa ġ* "head" (line 68 obv. 14'). Also, a specific non-standard spelling does not have to be compulsory for the whole text: we encounter e.g. *sa ġ* "head" in the same text in different renderings, i.e. as *si-i m* (lines 52 obv. 1' || 53 obv. 3') with common *a/i-* alternation, as *sa-g* (line 69 rev. 1), and as *sa ġ* (line 68 obv. 14'); *eri m₂-ġal₂* "enemy" as *i-riʾ-i m-m [a(-ġa-la)]* (lines 52 obv. 1' || 53 obv. 2') and as *i-ri-ġa-al* (lines 63 obv. 10' || 65 obv. 12'); *lu ga₁* "king, lord" as *lu-ga-l* (line 66 obv. 13' in *na m-lu ga₁* "kingship"), as *ʾlu₂?-ga₁ʾ* (line 68 obv. 15') and perhaps as [*lu(2)-ga-a*] (line 52 obv. 1').

For the spellings and their correspondences in standard orthography in general I refer to the discussion in Å.W. Sjöberg, *OrSuec* 10 (1961) 3-12, A. Cavigneaux,

⁸¹ This could also be a semantically conditioned non-standard spelling.

⁸² Cf. the preceding footnote.

⁸³ Cf. also V 1.3 ad II f., p. 152.

⁸⁴ For a bibliography of studies on "unorthographic" writings, cf. the lists in Thomsen, *Mesopotamia* 10 (1984) 283f., and in Römer, *AOAT* 238 (1994) 145. Add Cavigneaux's and Al-Rawi's studies on Tell Haddad texts in *ZA* 83 (1993) 170-205, *idem*, *ZA* 85 (1995) 19-46 and 169-220, and *idem*, *Iraq* 55 (1993) 91-105; Cavigneaux, *ASJ* 17 (1995) 75-99. Also, Alster's edition of Manchester Tammuz in *ASJ* 14 (1992) 1-46.

ASJ 9 (1987) 49-51 ad 6. and to my own few additions in the commentary to the corresponding lines of Urnamma B. Note also that they are listed in the Lexical Index, pp. 301ff.

4. Glosses

Urnamma A, B and especially C exhibit glosses in smaller script which remain for the most part obscure. They can be divided into:

I. Akkadian glosses: Urnamma B 34, source E (Babylon) obv. 7': *zi-kir šu-mi* glossing *m u p a₃ - d a* "mentioned by name"; Urnamma C 33 (paleographically uncertain) *i-na mu-x-x-ri-ia(-)AŠ* which looks like the Akkadian translation of the whole line or at least the verbal form *n i₂ s u - e b i₂ - u s₂ - s a - ġ u₁₀ ʾ x x^ʾ - a* "Thanks to the fear I have inspired . . .".

II. Possible Sumerian (verbal) variants: Urnamma C 57 ʾ x x^ʾ - a - b a ? "when . . ." is perhaps a verbal variant for *m a - g e₄* "it (= the moonlight) returned to/for me" (note that *a - m a - r u g e₄ - a - b a* is expected for the first part of the line); Urnamma C 78 *x x m u ? - n i - š a r₂ ?* "I have multiplied . . .", is perhaps a variant for (*s u b a₂*) *m a - š a r₂* "(. . .) were multiplied for me".

III. Illegible glosses are Urnamma A 150 (source A), 160 (source A), Urnamma C 44, and possibly 92.

CHAPTER III

ON THE HISTORICAL CORRELATIONS OF THE URNAMMA HYMNS

1. Urnamma and His Deeds in the Hymns and Other Sources

In reconstructing the political, cultural, and religious history of the ancient Near East, scholars must decide what degree of scepticism should form the conclusions they draw from the limited textual evidence at their disposal. Some take a minimalist view and insist that textual representations of events and views are limited to the literary universe and do not necessarily reflect reality, and are therefore inadequate for the reconstruction of ancient Near Eastern history in all its facets.¹ Others treat the cuneiform record, despite its epistemological limits, as a valid resource in historical reconstruction.² With regard to Sumerian royal hymns, W.W. Hallo and D.R. Frayne, among others, maintain that it is legitimate to address the question, with due caution, of the historical setting of these hymns. Caution is certainly justified in the utilization of solely literary sources, in our case the royal hymns, for these hymns, unlike inscriptions, tend to reduce royal accomplishments to patterns and topoi, and are therefore often unsuitable for the reconstruction of historical events.³ However, W.W. Hallo noted decades ago that events narrated in year names could be correlated with inscriptions of the same king, and that correlations existed between year names and royal hymns, although he went too far in suggesting an annual or biennial ceremony in which each year name was introduced together with the promulgation of a new royal hymn.⁴ Most type A royal hymns have few if any references to possible historical events,⁵ and type B. I and II hymns usually display a variety of royal accomplishments. W.W.

¹ E.g. Civil in Barrelet (ed.), *L'archéologie de l'Iraq: Perspectives et limites de l'interprétation anthropologique des documents*, Paris (1980) 225-32 (Colloques internationaux du C.N.R.S., no. 580).

² Cf. Hallo's weighing of these alternatives in *JAOS* 110 (1990) 187-99.

³ Cf. also IV 1.2, p. 43.

⁴ Cf. Hallo, *CRRAI* 17 (1970) 118f. On the problems of involvement of hymnic material in royal ritual activity in general, cf. Tinney, *Nippur Lament* 82f. Two probable correlations between a year name and a royal hymn are Sulgi's year name 8 (= Sigrist, Gomi, *Ur III Catalogue* 320:8) and Sulgi R which commemorate the construction of Ninlil's boat, and year name 7 and Sulgi A and V (really an inscription, cf. IV 3.2, p. 83) which commemorate the return trip between Ur and Nippur. With year name 6 compare perhaps also Sulgi A, both referring to the maintenance of overland routes (to Nippur).

⁵ Examples to the contrary noted above, II 1., p. 14, namely Urnamma B, Sulgi G and R, and Išmedagān I.

Hallo is correct however, when he insists that when combined with evidence provided by contemporary monuments and archives, the suitability of the literary tradition is enhanced for the reconstruction of historical events.⁶ D.R. Frayne in his Yale dissertation *The Historical Correlations of the Sumerian Royal Hymns (2400-1900 B.C.)*, substantiated and supplemented W.W. Hallo's findings by correlating year names with royal inscriptions from the Pre-Sargonic period onward, and year names, royal inscriptions and hymns from the Third Dynasty of Ur to Lipiteštar of Isin. The intention of this section is to evaluate and expand on D.R. Frayne's results with regard to the reign of Urnamma⁷ and to show that the picture of Urnamma and his deeds in the hymns correlates well with what is reported in his inscriptions, year names, the Cadaster text,⁸ and the prologue of his law code⁹ as demonstrated in the following list:

I. The care of the gods¹⁰ involves a.) the provision of a home¹¹ and b.) of food supplies.

a.) temples and their (re)construction:

1. general: A 157-159.

2. specific:

	<i>Temple (Name)</i>	<i>Verb</i> ¹²	<i>Attestations</i> ¹³	<i>Provenance</i>
Enlil	e ₂	a	23:7-8	Diqdiqqah, Uruk, Eridu (?)
	e ₂ den-lil ₂ -la ₂	a	3:4-5, C 103 28, 1:8-9	Nippur Ur
	e ₂ -kur	a	16:8-10	Nippur, SE of the ziggurat
	+ its different parts		B passim	
Ninlil	e ₂ -šu-tum	a	21:7-8	Nippur
	ġa ₂ -ġeš-šu ₂ -a		B 31f.	
Nanna	e ₂	a	9, 2:1-2	Ur
	e ₂ d ₂ nanna	a	1:3-4	Ur
		a	26, 1:9-10	Ur, Diqdiqqah
		a	40:8-9	Ur, mausoleums of Sulgi and Amarsu'en
		a	47, 1:12-13	?

⁶ Hallo, *JCS* 20 (1966) 139.

⁷ Frayne, *Correlations* 72-138.

⁸ Cf. I 1., p. 6.

⁹ Cf. I 1., p. 4, fn. 30.

¹⁰ Cf. also below, IV 1.2, p. 57f.

¹¹ Sumerian e₂ and Akkadian *bītu* are both used in the sense of "house(hold), home, temple, estate".

¹² a = d u₃ "to construct" and b = k i - b i g e₄ "to restore".

¹³ The numbering of inscriptions follows Steible, *FAOS* 9/2 (1991) 93-152, of year names, Sigrist, Gomi, *Ur III Catalogue* 319f.

Nanna	e ₂ -kiš-nu-ĝal ₂	a	C 108-110, EF passim	
	e ₂ -temen-ni ₂ -guru ₃	a, b a	10:10-13 25:9-10 E 18'	Ur, in the walls of the ziggurat Ur, Eridu (?)
Ningal	ĝi ₆ -par ₃ -ku ₃ .g	a	19:7-8	Ur, Ĝiparku
Ningublaga	e ₂	u š ki ĝar	year name "17"	
Enki	e ₂	a a	12:7-8 46:7-8	Eridu ?
	e ₂ den-ki eriduki-ga	a	4:3-6	Eridu
Ninĥursaĝ	[e ₂ (?)-k]eš(i) ₃ ki	a	14 obv. 7-rev. 1	Northern Babylo- nia, perhaps Keš
Ninsumun	e ₂ d _{nin} -sumun ₂	a	2:3-4	Radhibah, in the vicinity of Ur
	e ₂ d _{nin} -sumun ₂ uri ₂ ki-ma	a	year name "6"	
	e ₂ -maĥ	a	15 obv. 7-rev. 2	palace of Ur
Inana	e ₂	a a	6:6-7 8:6-7	Ur Enunmaĥ in Ur
	e ₂	a a, b	7, 2:3-4 13 rev. 1-3	Eana in Uruk Eana ziggurat in Uruk
	eš ₃ -bur	a	17:8-10	Ur, Ĝiparku
Ninegal	e ₂	a	18:7-8	Ur, Ĝiparku
Ninšagepada	e ₂	a	38:5-6	Ur, mausoleums of Sulgi and Amarsu'en
Utu	e ₂	a	11:7-8	Larsa

b.) offerings (n i d b a):

1. general: A 163; A 85-133 (offerings for/of the netherworld); B 35 (for Enlil and Ninlil); C 42 (for Nanna); 93 (obscure, perhaps for Enlil); C 103-106 (possibly the innovation of the first-fruit offerings for Enlil in Nippur); D (Ni) 33 ll 34 and D (Ur) 35' (birds and fish for Nanna); EF 20 (offerings of Ekišnuĝal's g i - g u n₄ - n a); Codex Urnamma 25-30 (regular offerings).

2. canals for (= to transport) offerings (i₇ n i d b a (- k)):

α) the $i_7 - u r i_5 k i - m a$: Urnamma 22:8-9; β) the $i_7 - E N . E R E N_2 . N U N$ (var. $i_7 - E N . N U N$): Urnamma 23:9-10, both for Enlil.¹⁴

3. libations: C 106 (for Enlil in Nippur).

4. royal epithets: D (Ni) 38 "provider ($u_2 - a$) for Nippur", "supporter ($s a \hat{g} - u s_2$) of Ur"; D (Ur) 39' "provider ($u_2 - a$) for Sumer and Akkad".

II. Maintenance of a.) overland and b.) maritime routes¹⁵:

a.) overland routes ($\hat{g} i r i_3 s i s a_2$): C 19; 54; year name "4"; Codex Urnamma 155-157 (broken, very uncertain).

b.) maritime routes ($n a m - g a - e \check{s}_8 s i l i m$): Urnamma 26, 2:2-3; Codex Urnamma 150-154 (broken, very uncertain).

III. Territorial (military) operations:

a.) general military: A 32; 35 (as military leader); C 41 (broken context); C 72 (vigorous troops for the security of the land); C 85-89 (broken passage in which Ur's control over a territory is established after the repulsion of enemy troops [?]); B 52-65; F 30-35 (enemy lands).

b.) specific military¹⁶:

1. The Guti: C 90; Ni. 4375 iv 4'.

2. Anšan (indirect): establishment of freedom from the slavery of Anšan for Akšak, Marada, ĠIRkal, Kazallu and its settlements, Ušarum: Codex Urnamma 125-134.

3. Kiritab ($k i r i_8 / g i r i_3 - t a b k i$): Cadaster A (= Kraus, ZA 51 46) i 13.

4. Apiak ($a - p i_5 - a k k i$): Cadaster A (= Kraus, *ibid.*) ii 20-21

5. Most probably Urum ($[u r u] m_2 k i$)¹⁷: Cadaster A (= Kraus, *ibid.* 47) iv 20-21.

6. Marada ($m a r a_2 - d a k i$): Cadaster B (= Kraus, *ibid.* 48) iv 29-30.

7. Urnamma mentioned with Puzur/Kutik-Inšušinak of Awan: Wilcke in Hrouda (ed.), *Isin-Išān Baḥrīyāt III...*, ABAW NF 94 (1987) 109 (= IB 1537) v' 15' and pl. 44.

¹⁴ Cf. Carroué, *ASJ* 15 (1993) 11ff. With Carroué, *ibid.* 11 and 18ff. read for $E N . E R E N_2 . N U N$ perhaps $u r u_6 / u r u n u r u_3 - g a l$.

¹⁵ Cf. also above, I 1., p. 5 and below, IV 1.2, p. 56.

¹⁶ Cf. also above, I 1., pp. 5ff.

¹⁷ Cf. Steinkeller, *JCS* 32 (1980) 25.

c.) maintenance of boundaries¹⁸:

<i>Term</i>	<i>Object</i>	<i>Attestations</i>
<i>b a r t a m</i> "to clear up the matter"	demarcation canal <i>N a n n a g u g a l</i>	28, 1:17
<i>g e₄</i> "to return"	the Magan-boats	Codex Urnamma 79-84
<i>K A g e / i . n</i> "to confirm"	demarcation canal <i>N a n n a g u g a l</i> (demarcated) Magan maritime territory border territory of Sumer field of Numušda of Kiritab the (demarcated) territory of Meslamtaea of Apiak the (demarcated) territory of Su'en of [Uru]m the (demarcated) territory of Lugalmara of Marada	28, 1:18 47, 2:3 Ni. 4375 v 13' Cadaster A (= Kraus, ZA 51 46) i 15 Cadaster A (= Kraus, ibid. 46) ii 22 Cadaster A (= Kraus, ibid. 47) iv 22 Cadaster B (= Kraus, ibid. 48) iv 31
<i>k i s u r - r a</i> "demarcated territories"	of Sumer Magan maritime territory demarcation canal <i>N a n n a g u g a l</i> of Meslamtaea of Apiak of Su'en of [Uru]m of Kiš and Kazallu of Lugalmara of Marada	C 82 47, 1:3-4 28, 1:12 29, b 1:10"-11" Cadaster A (= Kraus, ZA 51 46) i 30; ii 1 Cadaster A (= Kraus, ibid. 46) ii 20 Cadaster A (= Kraus, ibid. 47) iv 20 Cadaster B (= Kraus, ibid. 47f.) i 1; iv 25 Cadaster B (= Kraus, ibid. 48) iv 29
<i>s i s a₂</i> "to bring in order"	hostile and rebellious lands	B 14
<i>š u - a g e₄</i> "to return to somebody/DN/something('s control), to keep secure"	the land (demarcated) Magan maritime territory the Magan-boats broken context	C 72 47, 2:4 26, 2:4 C 86

¹⁸ Cf. also above, I 1., p. 6f.

IV. Juridical activities: A 139-144 (as judge); C 32-39/40; E 27'-32'; F 30-33; Codex Urnamma 41-42 (broken); 104-113; 177-181 (establishing justice in the land); C 56 (exemptions from obligation a m a - a r g e₄); Codex Urnamma 125-134 (release a m a - a r g e₄ ġ a r from slavery n a m - u r d u); Codex Urnamma 162-165 (care of widows and orphans).

V. Construction (d u₃) of walls¹⁹:

a.) b a d₃ (u r i_{2/5} k i - m a): A 148 (not finished); C 92; Ni. 4375 iv 14'; Urnamma 9, 2:3-4; year name "11".

b.) b a d₃ n i b r u k i : Urnamma 45:8-9.

VI. Building of fortified villages (a n - z a - g a r₃) and settlements (a₂ - d a m): A 229.

VII. Irrigation and cultivation descriptions are abundant in the hymns. The inscriptions concern mainly canal construction, the draining of swamps and the layout of gardens, two regnal years are named after the digging of a canal.

a.) digging of canals (i₇ b a - a l):

1. general: A 225.

2. specific:

<i>Canal name (in alphabetical order) and type of canal</i>	<i>Attestations</i>	<i>Provenance</i>
i ₇ - a - d n i n - t u . r	year name "15"	
i ₇ - E N . E R E N ₂ . N U N, ²⁰ var. i ₇ - E N . N U N, canal of/for sacrificial offerings (i ₇ n i d b a (- k)) for Enlil; i ₇ - E N . U R U ₃ . G A L, for Inana	23:9-11; Al-Rawi, <i>Sumer</i> 46 (1989-90) 84:8-10	Ur, Diqdiqqah, Eridu, Uruk
i ₇ - g u ₂ - b i e r i d u k i - g a (?) i ₇ - g u ₂ - [x] - u r ₂ ? (-) d n i n - ġ i r ₂ - s u	29, b 1:13"-16"	Ur
i ₇ - ġ e š - š u b - b a	year name "16"	
i ₇ (-) Ġ E Š . B I . Ġ E Š (-) a (-) ġ a r - r a (?)	D (Ur) 4 ²¹	
i ₇ - K E Š ₂ - k u ₃ . g	D (Ni) 2 (broken); 22 23; D (Ur) 30'; 33'	

¹⁹ Cf. also below, p. 36.

²⁰ For a possible reading u r u₁₆ / u r u n u r u₃ - g a l, cf. above, fn. 14.

²¹ Cf. the commentary ad 4a in V 4.5, p. 254.

i ₇ - d n a n n a - g u ₂ - g a l, demarcation canal between Ur and Ĝirsu (i ₇ k i s u r - r a (- k) / d n i n - ĝ i r ₂ - s u)	29, b 1:9"-12" = 28, 1:12	Ur
i ₇ - n u n, main irrigation canal	24:7-9	Ur, Diqdiqqah
i ₇ (-) p a _{4/5} - b i (-) l u ĥ	D (Ur) 2' (broken); 31'; 34' ²²	
i ₇ - u r i ₅ k i - m a, canal of/for sacri- ficial offerings (i ₇ n i d b a (- k)) for Enlil	22:6-10	Ur, Diqdiqqah, Uruk
a - b [a - d n a n n a - g i n ₇], embankment for drainage in Ur, for Nanna	27, 2:3-8	Ur
broken and therefore unidentifiable canals	29, b 1:2"-4"; b 1:5"-8"; 29, b 1:6"-8"	

b.) drainage (a - t a e₃ / e₁₁ / D U): A 227 (ĝ e š - g i "canebrakes"); Urnamma 27, 1:11-2:2 (broken) (a - š a₃ . g "field").

c.) embankments and ditches (e g₂ and p a₅ . r): A 25; G 19 || 20; 21; Urnamma 27, 2:3-4 (broken).

d.) irrigation/floods: A 22; C 23 || G 8; C 83.

e.) lay-out of gardens (k i r i₆ D U): Urnamma 5:5-6 (for An); Codex Urnamma 158-160 (broken); 161 (employment of gardeners).

f.) field work:

1. ploughing and furrowing: G 10-18.

g.) husbandry:

1. cattle (pens) and sheep(-folds): A 29; 30; 87; C 26; 76; 77; D (Ni) 29-30; G 13; 15.

2. fish and birds: D (Ni) 25-28; 31; 33-34; D (Ur) 32'-35'.

h.) agriculture:

1. fields and crops: A 23; 24; 228; C 23 || G 8; C 53; 55; 80; 88; D (Ur) 37'; G 10-15; 19 || 20.

2. river bank plants and thickets: C 83; G 11 (ĝ e š "wood"); D (Ni) 27-28; D (Ur) 36' (u₂ - l a l₃ "honey-plants"); D (Ni) 29-30 (g i - z i "reed fodder");

²² Perhaps an epithet of the i₇ - K E Š₂ - k u₃ . g in the Nippur recension, cf. the commentary ad 4 in V 4.5, p. 254.

D (Ur) 36' (u₂ m u n z e r "liquorice"); perhaps H 3 (ĝ e š e s i "ebony").

3. pastures and watering places: C 78.

4. food (u₂): A 27; C 75.

5. Perhaps G A N A₂ (-) d e n - l i l₂ - l a₂ in G 16 || 17 is a field name.

The last narrative section of Urnamma A tells of the decreeing of fate for the dead king Urnamma (lines 217-233). In a fragmentary passage the king is assured of posthumous fame, or perhaps more specifically, of continuous funerary offerings,²³ and it is stated that this derives from his economic achievements that brought prosperity to the land (lines 225-229). There is indeed ample reference in other Urnamma texts of his reclamation of land, and his irrigation and cultivation projects, all of which support this very general claim. The focal point of canal construction seems to have been the state's capital at Ur and its vicinity because most of Urnamma's inscriptions that centre on irrigation projects have been found at Ur and also his hymn D is exclusively devoted to canal digging at Ur. None of his Ur III successors mention canal construction in their inscriptions and year names, so the canals documented in the Urnamma texts may have fulfilled the needs of irrigation in that area for that stretch of time, a finding further supported by the fact that administrative texts from Umma and Ġirsu mention no major irrigation works during the six decades following Urnamma's reign.²⁴

Urnamma's royal inscriptions refer extensively to building and work on temples for all the major gods. His early building projects as "king of Ur" (l u g a l u r i₅ k i - m a) involved the capital Ur and its vicinity and were mainly intended for the city-god Nanna and for originally Urukian deities that were important for the royal family cult, Ninsumun, the newly founded dynasty's divine mother,²⁵ and Inana, the king's divine wife.²⁶ In Ur construction took place of Nanna's temple (e₂ d n a n n a, Urnamma 1), the Ekišnuġal, and its ziggurat with the temple terrace, the Etemenniguru (Urnamma 25). Further attested for this early phase are building inscriptions for Inana-Ninkununa's temple (Urnamma 6 and as Ninana perhaps Urnamma 8²⁷) and for Ninšagepada's (Urnamma 38). In the vicinity of Ur, in modern Radhibah, Urnamma constructed Ninsumun's temple (e₂ d n i n - s u m u n₂, Urnamma 2), in Eridu Enki's (e₂ d e n - k i e r i d u k i - g a, Urnamma 4). Construction of the Ekišnuġal (Urnamma 40, also 26 and 47) with the Etemenniguru (Urnamma 10), as well as that of Enki's temple in Eridu (Urnamma 12, 46), was continued in a later phase when the king used the titular "king of Sumer and Akkad" (l u g a l k i - e n - g i k i - u r i (- k)). The other

²³ Cf. the commentary ad 222 in V 1.4, p. 181.

²⁴ Cf. Civil, *Farmer's Instructions* 135.

²⁵ Cf. V 3.3, p. 86.

²⁶ Cf. *ibid.*

²⁷ This inscription is commonly attributed to Inana with emendation of d n a n n a to d i n a n a because of the following epithet n i n a n - n a (cf. Steible, *FAOS* 9/2 [1991] 102 ad 1)).

temple projects attested for this period in his reign are in Ur Ningal's Ġiparku, part of the Ekišnuġal complex (Urnamma 19), Ninegal's temple in the Ġiparku (Urnamma 18), Inana-Ninkununa's sanctuary e š₃ - b u r²⁸ (Urnamma 17), and Ninsumun's temple e₂ - m a ħ²⁹ in the palace complex (Urnamma 15). Work on temples in other places under the king's dominion include Enlil's main temple (e₂ d e n - l i l₂ - l a₂) Ekur (Urnamma 3 and 16) and Ninlil's "storeroom" (?) (e₂ - š u - t u m, Urnamma 21) in Nippur, Inana's temple Eana and its ziggurat in Uruk (Urnamma 7 and 13), Ninġursaġ's temple, perhaps in Keš, (Urnamma 14), and Utu's in Larsa (Urnamma 11).

Urnamma's year names, in contrast to those of his successors, only refer to temple construction marginally: year "6" and "17" are named after temple constructions for Ninsumun and Ningublaga respectively.

The hymns are in general not explicit on temple construction. Only two major building projects, one for Nanna-Su'en, the city-god of the capital Ur, and the other for Enlil, the national god, deserved special mention: hymn B commemorates the building of the Ekur and also mentions Ninlil's Ġaġeššua in the Ekur complex. Hymn C was probably composed to mark the reconstruction of Nanna/Su'en's temple Ekišnuġal and the subsequent inauguration of the first-fruit offerings for Nippur; the Ekišnuġal also features prominently in hymn EF.

Wall constructions are mentioned in all major data, i.e. inscriptions, year names and literary compositions.³⁰ They took place in Ur in Urnamma's early reign as "king of Ur" (Urnamma 9) and later in Nippur as "king of Sumer and Akkad" (Urnamma 45). It is uncertain if the walls refer to city-walls or rather walls surrounding the cities' temple precincts, for which there is ample written evidence.³¹ The wall mentioned in Urnamma C 92 (perhaps also referred to in Ni. 4375 iv 14') whose construction Urnamma undertook after the expulsion of the Guti (lines 90-91, perhaps already 85ff.) could also possibly refer to the temple precinct wall of Ur, as e š₃ u r i₅ k i is mentioned in the same line 92. According to W. Sallaberger the wall construction recorded in Urnamma 9 may likewise refer to the wall surrounding the temenos of the Ekišnuġal.³² At least it is apparent that Urnamma 9, in which Urnamma is called "king of Ur", combines the construction of the wall with that of Nanna's temple, just as Urnamma C mentions the construction of Nanna's temple Ekišnuġal after the restoration of the wall.

Urnamma's juridical activities or references to them are found mainly in hymns C and EF, and one can of course add to this material the promulgation of his law code. That his reign saw military operations and border disputes can be deduced mainly from references in royal inscriptions, from the prologue of the law code and

²⁸ According to George, *House Most High* 165 ad 1328 perhaps identical with Inana's temple at URU×KAR₂ki, built by Urba'u, but all sources for Urnamma 17 come from Ur.

²⁹ Cf. George, *House Most High* 119 ad 717 (no. 5).

³⁰ Cf. above, V a.)-b.), p. 33.

³¹ Cf. e.g. Gudea, Cyl. B 12:20; Gudea 4 rev. 4-5 || 5:9-10; Gudea 31:14-15, of the e₂ - s i r a r a; Sulgi 11 rev. 3-4, of Inana's Eana.

³² Sallaberger, "Urkunden aus der Zeit der Dritten Dynastie von Ur, eine Einführung", in Attinger, Wäfler (eds.), *Mesopotamien, Akkade-Zeit und Ur III-Zeit, Annäherungen* 3, OBO XXX (in preparation).

from the Cadaster text. Only hymn C makes mention of a specific military conflict, this being with the Guti, a fact also mentioned in the fragment Ni. 4375. A passage in hymn B describes in rigid poetic structure Urnamma's combat against enemy lands.

Urnamma C is the only hymn in which all deeds mentioned are supported by the other sources. However, the deeds described remain general, except for the specific mention of the Ekišnuḡal, the journey to Nippur, and the military encounter with the Guti. Several passages in Urnamma C describe general territorial operations,³³ whereas the other sources refer to adversaries by name. Border territories in connection with the maintenance of boundaries³⁴ are simply called "land" (k a l a m),³⁵ or "the region of Sumer" (k i s u r - r a k i - e n - g i - r a),³⁶ while on the other hand non-hymnic sources refer to a specific object (e.g. canal, field, such-and-such territory). Other hymns do not encompass so broad a range of royal deeds, but focus rather on one aspect of Urnamma's reign: Urnamma G concentrates solely on agriculture, Urnamma D on the digging of canals, Urnamma B and EF on the temples Ekur and Ekišnuḡal and Urnamma's relationship with the gods Enlil and Nanna.

One topic, though, is suspiciously and consistently absent in the Urnamma hymns, namely the praise of scribal art, patronage of the scribal schools, and the kings' literary achievements. This absence is puzzling, as Urnamma's successors Sulgi, Išmedagān and Lipiteštar refer to the composition of their hymns and/or their scribal schools in their hymns, as does even Urnamma's predecessor Gudea in his Statue B, which presupposes in turn a more or less well-established literary topos that had already existed in Lagaš in Gudea's time.

2. *Is Urnamma C a Chronological Summary of His Reign?*

D.R. Frayne put forward in some detail possible correlations of the hymn Urnamma C with year names and information in royal inscriptions and other material.³⁷ He maintained that the order of events in Urnamma C is chronological and follows the order of events cited in the year names, rather than being ordered thematically, as in other self-laudatory hymns.³⁸ He thought his hypothesis confirmed by evidence found in Ni. 4375.³⁹ The fragment lists, according to D.R. Frayne, some events in exactly the same order as does Urnamma C. However, there are some difficulties with this assumption, as with his hypothesis in general that

³³ Cf. above, III a.), p. 31.

³⁴ Cf. above, III c.), p. 32.

³⁵ Urnamma C 72.

³⁶ Urnamma C 82.

³⁷ Frayne, *Correlations* 79-121; idem, *BiOr.* 42 (1985) 15-17.

³⁸ Cf. Frayne, *BiOr.* 42 (1985) 15, and fn. 53, for another example of an alleged chronicle hymn.

³⁹ For this fragmentary piece, cf. II 2., p. 17f.

the chronological order of Urnamma C follows that of his year names. To be sure, the hymn does contain biographical features, as do other Urnamma hymns and self-laudatory hymns of Urnamma's successors. It is difficult, however, to correlate the biographical information contained in hymn C with the sequence of Urnamma's year names, which are so far only partially known. The only royal titles used in the hymn are "king of Ur" *l u g a l u r i 5 k i - m a* (lines 19 and 31) and "king of the land" *l u g a l k a l a m - m a* (line 25).⁴⁰ He is *d l a m m a* "guardian-spirit" of Ur (line 31) and later on of the Land Sumer and Akkad (line 50), but it is not possible to divide the hymn into events that happened early in his reign, as king of Ur, and later, as "king of Sumer and Akkad" (*l u g a l k i - e n - g i k i - u r i (- k)*).

It is unlikely that the very fragmentary piece Ni. 4375 lists all events in the same order as Urnamma C. There is no way in which to determine the approximate length of the gaps, nor is it sure if the fragment has to be read from left to right.⁴¹ Also, D.R. Frayne based his correlation suggestions on the edition of Urnamma C by G. Castellino, some of whose readings and restorations are shown to be incorrect in this study. Note, in detail, the following:

Lines 73-75 of Urnamma C describe Urnamma's cultic function as *e n*-priest. D.R. Frayne wants to correlate this section with Ni. 4375 v 1'-5' in which full implementation of *e n*-ship and fate decreed in the Ekišnuḡal is mentioned.⁴² He rightly states that in Urnamma C 73-75 the king is involved in a "sacred marriage" type of ritual, and as this seems to take place in the Ekišnuḡal complex, he may have been involved in designating the *e n*-priestess of Nanna. But we know that Urnamma was *e n*-priest of Uruk, that is of Inana, so *ḡ i p a r* in line 73 must refer to the one of Eana in Uruk,⁴³ where the "sacred marriage" rite possibly took place and not, as D.R. Frayne subsequently surmises,⁴⁴ to the *ḡ i p a r* of the Ekišnuḡal. There is no reason to assume that these lines and the following lines that describe the resulting abundance (Urnamma C 76-80) are specifically linked to Ur, and that therefore the *ḡ i p a r* mentioned is part of the Ekišnuḡal complex. On the contrary, lines 50-84 seem to describe Sumer (and Akkad)'s well-being. Only lines 85 and following focus again on Ur. The Ekišnuḡal was reserved for the *e n*-priestess of Nanna, and we know that a daughter of Urnamma bore that title. So the ritual sexual union between the king and the *e n* of Nanna for which D.R. Frayne argues, would imply, in our case at least, ritual incest.⁴⁵ It is therefore easier to see in the Urnamma C passage nothing else than a description of Urnamma as *e n*-priest of Inana involved in the "sacred marriage" rite of which descriptions repeatedly mention the flowered/-ing (*g e r i n*) bed. Seen in that way, however, there remains no basis for D.R. Frayne's above mentioned correlation

⁴⁰ For details, cf. below, IV 1.3, p. 61f.

⁴¹ Pace Frayne, *BiOr.* 42 (1985) 16, fn. 62.

⁴² Cf. the Appendix, Ni. 4375 v 1'-5'.

⁴³ Cf. Urnamma A 202 and 212-213.

⁴⁴ Frayne, *BiOr.* 42 (1985) 16-17.

⁴⁵ Cf. in more detail Cooper, *Sacred Marriage and Popular Cult* 88.

with Ni. 4375, nor is there any need to assume a hypothetical year name based on this correlation.

The "putting in order" of routes, and thus the promotion of overland trade (*ĝ i r i₃ s i s a₂*), is an event that happened most probably early in Urnamma's reign⁴⁶ and in fact might be alluded to in Urnamma C 19,⁴⁷ but note that line 54 uses the same expression too.

The establishment of justice and the following setting in order of the roads are difficult to correlate with the mention of the promulgation of the law code after the reestablishment of the Magan trade⁴⁸ in the prologue of Codex Urnamma,⁴⁹ for there Urnamma uses the title "king of Sumer and Akkad", whereas in the Urnamma C passage he is simply "king of Ur" (lines 19 and 31), assuming that he adopted the latter title earlier in his reign.

In summary, Urnamma C undoubtedly has biographical features that are in part substantiated by non-literary data. It is difficult, however, to claim that these features are in chronological order in Urnamma C. The hymn seems to stress one important event, that being the erection of Nanna's temple in Ur.⁵⁰ The prologue (lines 1-12) gives a hymnic description of the Ekišnuġal and the king who commissioned its construction (lines 13-19). Urnamma's maintaining of law and order in all lands and territories under his rule (lines 32-41) guarantee an incessant flow of offerings for Nanna (line 42). A more general description of prosperity under Urnamma's reign finally culminates in the climactic final section in which the journey to Nippur is described and in which Urnamma summarises the main topic, namely that he has built the Ekišnuġal for Nanna. We have no year name that fixes this event chronologically, but the royal inscriptions refer to the construction of "Nanna's temple" (*e₂ d n a n n a*) in two phases, early in Urnamma's reign as "king of Ur" and later on as "king of Sumer and Akkad".⁵¹ It is likely that Urnamma's first cultic act subsequent to his gaining control over Ur was to rebuild the Ekišnuġal complex and innovate the yearly ceremony of first-fruit offerings for Enlil in Nippur,⁵² a ceremony that was repeated by his successor Sulgi.⁵³ A slightly different interpretation was put forward by D.R. Frayne where he argued that Urnamma's trip to Nippur, in order to get recognition by the Nippur authorities of his hegemony over Sumer and Akkad, was the sole act which served as an impetus for the creation of Urnamma C.⁵⁴

The marking of the first cultic act subsequent to (re)gaining or securing control over a city can be seen as a pattern in successive kings: one of the first events commemorated in year names by kings Sulgi (year 2) and Amarsu'en (year 3) is the

46 Cf. year name "4".

47 Frayne, *Correlations* 107.

48 Cf. also Urnamma 26.

49 Frayne, *Correlations* 114.

50 Cf. also below, IV 3.2, p. 81f.

51 Cf. above, I., p. 35.

52 Cf. also the commentary ad Urnamma C 104-105 in V 3.3, p. 226f.

53 Cf. e.g. Sulgi F, Sulgi D 354ff.

54 Frayne, *Correlations* 103.

introduction of a throne for Enlil in Nippur.⁵⁵ Išbi'erra introduces Nanna's and Ningal's thrones (year 29) after gaining control over Ur (year 26). His son Šūilišu subsequently fashions Nanna's standard ((d / ĝ e š) š u - n i r - g a l) in year 2 of his reign,⁵⁶ as does Gungunum after his conquest of Ur.⁵⁷ The introduction of the standard to Nanna's temple is coupled with the bringing of first-fruit offerings to Enlil, and was an event which also seems to have been commemorated in a hymn, Gungunum A.⁵⁸ Furthermore, Išmedagān installs thrones for Enlil and Ninlil in Nippur (year 6) after gaining control over that city, an event that is most probably also described in his self-laudatory hymn A, lines 285ff. which mention different statues as well.⁵⁹ In *RIME* 4.1.4.5 Išmedagān fashions a number of cult objects for Enlil and Ninlil, and the š i t a-weapon, the mace of fifty heads for Ninurta. Finally, Sīniqīšam's year 4 and his royal inscription *RIME* 4.2.11.1 commemorate the introduction of a large number of statues to Nippur once that city is under his control.

⁵⁵ Frayne, *ibid.* 177; in summary 421.

⁵⁶ Cf. also Sallaberger, *Kalender* 182, fn. 861.

⁵⁷ Frayne, *Correlations* 367ff.

⁵⁸ Cf. Sjöberg, *ZA* 63 (1973) 25 rev. 8'-9'.

⁵⁹ Frayne, *Correlations* 407ff.; 416ff.

CHAPTER IV

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN ROYAL HYMNOGRAPHY

1. *Legitimacy and Kingship*

1.1 *Urnamma and the Sumerian King List*

Scholars generally agree at present that the so-called Sumerian King List¹ was composed as a charter to legitimise the claim of a dynasty as rightful successor of a previous one. All copies of the list end with the names of the rulers of Isin who used the list to present their dynasty as legitimate successor of the Ur III state.² No general consensus exists, however, as to the date of its earliest version. Th. Jacobsen, followed more recently by J.-J. Glassner³ and C.-A. Vincente,⁴ maintained that the list might have originated under Utuḫegal of Uruk. But C. Wilcke, and most recently J.S. Cooper, have convincingly argued that the list was first compiled under the Third Dynasty of Ur to provide legitimation for the dynasty's hegemony over northern and southern Babylonia. C. Wilcke specifically preferred a Sulgi date, on the basis of the geographical horizon presented in the list and a literary allusion in Sulgi O 56-60.⁵ But two passages in Urnamma C show that a version could well be dated to Urnamma.

The passages Urnamma C 57-58 $\text{「a}^? \text{」-ma-ru [g]e}_4^? \text{-ba i-ti ma-ge}_4 \text{ (/ 「x x}^? \text{-a-ba}^? \text{」) l d-en-lil}_2 \text{-le 「u}_4 \text{」 du}_{10} \text{-du}_{10} \text{-ga-na maš}_2 \text{-e 「bi}_2 \text{-in}^? \text{-pa}_3 \text{-de}_3 \text{-en}$ "When the storm had receded[?], the moonlight returned to/for me (when . . .), Enlil designated me on his very auspicious day through extispicy", and Urnamma C 114 [a n-t] a

¹ Edition by Jacobsen, *AS* 11 (1939). For a bibliography, cf. Wilcke, "Sumerische Königsliste" 114, fn. 7; Add now also Steiner, *CRRAI* 35 (1992) 261-79 with previous literature; Geller, *Eblaitica* 1 (1987) 141-45; Vincente, *N.A.B.U.* 1990/11; Glassner, *Chroniques mésopotamiennes*, Paris (1993) 137-42; Cooper, "Paradigm and Propaganda" 19-23; Vincente, *ZA* 85 (1995) 234-70.

² Wilcke, "Sumerische Königsliste" 116; idem, *Studies Sjöberg* (1989) 558; Cooper, "Paradigm and Propaganda" 22f.

³ Glassner, *Chroniques mésopotamiennes*, Paris (1993) 113ff.

⁴ Vincente, *ZA* 85 (1995) 267.

⁵ Wilcke, "Sumerische Königsliste" 117; idem, *Studies Sjöberg* (1989) 560ff.; idem, "Politik und Literatur" 36, and fn. 39.

⁶ Possible verbal variant; cf. also II 4., p. 27.

nam-lugal ma-ra-e₁₁! (S I. D U) "Fro[m heaven] kingship has come down to me",⁷ are two direct allusions to the ideology of the Sumerian King List. The vocabulary of these two passages are combined in Sumerian King List i 40-41 egir a-ma-ru ba-ur₃-ra-ta nam-lugal an-ta e₁₁-de₃-a-ba "After the flood had swept over it (= the land), when kingship had come down from heaven", and show that the ideology of a single legitimate kingship, and the topoi of the deluge and divine origin of kingship found in the Sumerian King List, were used by Urnamma in his self-laudatory hymn. Thus the Sumerian King List may well have been first compiled in Urnamma's reign. Also, Urnamma, rather than Sulgi, whose succession to his father's throne seems not to have been in doubt, had every reason to find means to present his newly founded dynasty as the legitimate successor of the kingship of Uruk under Utuḫeḡal. The list reflects, in fact, the pattern of the kingship of Ur always following the one of Uruk and moving from north to south,⁸ a pattern which fit Urnamma's circumstances precisely.

An Urnamma date might also explain the absence of the Lagaš rulers in the Sumerian King List. There is a possibility of an overlap of independent Lagaš rulers with the reign of Urnamma at Ur,⁹ and we know that a rivalry between Lagaš and Ur existed at the time of Utuḫeḡal of Uruk who settled a boundary dispute in Lagaš's favour.¹⁰ That the boundary of Lagaš with Ur remained under dispute, is evident from Urnamma 28, which reports the digging of the d nanna-gu₂-gal-canal,¹¹ the "boundary canal of Ninḡirsu" (i₇ ki-sur-ra d nin-ḡir₂-su),¹² demarcating the territory of Ur and that of Lagaš.

1.2 Topoi of Legitimation and Kingship

With reference to biblical studies on the history of genre,¹³ S. Franke devoted one section of her dissertation to the question of the development and practice of the ancient Near Eastern literary tradition as a whole.¹⁴ In creating literary compositions, the ancient author was bound to certain traditional rules of composition, structure, and a repertoire of formal and stylistic features and vocabulary, but could also vary them according to his or her intention. Analysis of different stylistic and formal components allows us to draw conclusions as to the

⁷ With Steiner, *CRRAI* 35 (1992) 270, and fn. 74; cf. also the commentary ad 114 in V 3.3, p. 227.

⁸ Wilcke, *Studies Sjöberg* (1989) 559.

⁹ Cf. I 1., p. 3.

¹⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 4.

¹¹ Urnamma 28, 1:10-13.

¹² Urnamma 29, b 1:10"-11". Cf. I 1., p. 5.

¹³ Also known as "Formgeschichte".

¹⁴ Franke, *Königsinschriften und Königsideologie, Die Könige von Akkade zwischen Tradition und Neuerung*, *Altorientalistik* 1, Hamburg (1995) 7-20.

underlying tradition¹⁵ and its course of transmission. Different terms are in use for naming these components, and S. Franke presents a survey and attempts a definition of the most common terms, i.e. formula, motif, and topos, found in the secondary literature. From S. Franke's discussion it appears that these definitions do not exclude each other, and it is in fact often difficult to distinguish between them. The term formula is used on the formal level to mean the smallest stylistic and literary unit which can consist of a single expression or a complete sentence and appears in different types of texts. Some components of the expression can, however, change in the course of transmission. An example is *m u p a₃ - d a D N (- k)* "called by name by DN" which appears in this form, or as a sentence with a verbal chain, but with different divine names.¹⁶ On the level of content, the formula as a text unit gives way to the term motif with which we stress content rather than form. It likewise consists of a recurrent image or pattern and is independent of context. The term topos can also encompass both formula and motif. Topoi are literary clichés or patterns in the form of fixed (mental) images, i.e. formulae or motifs, which belong to a specific tradition. They are used by the author to convey a specific message. Unlike so-called royal inscriptions, which often make specific reference to royal accomplishments, it is often unclear whether an event mentioned in a hymn occurred as described, or if the description just uses topoi or literary patterns¹⁷ in order to fill out the text. What seems to occur, especially in type B royal hymns without epic features, is often a deliberate avoidance of narrative by reducing the events of a ruler's reign to stock topoi.¹⁸ For example, the self-laudatory (type B. II) hymn Lipiteštar A¹⁹ lists the king's special endowments and accomplishments in form of thematically arranged motifs and displays rigid poetic parallelisms ending in *- (C) a - m e - e n* "am I". Recurrent topoi in hymnic literature are the maintenance of overland (and maritime) routes, the irrigation and cultivation of fields, juridical activities involving the elimination of social disorder, and the care and upkeep of the gods' dwellings and the king's incessant rendering of service. Naturally these topoi share the same kind of phraseology, and occasionally they become stock formulae, consisting of one sentence, as in the topos of taking care of widows and orphans discussed below.

Just as a predilection for certain stylistic features exists within one composition, so a certain preference can sometimes be observed in the hymns commissioned by different kings. A classic example is Išmedagān, who can be rightfully considered a fervent admirer and imitator of literary achievements of his predecessor Sulgi, as J. Klein has shown in some detail in various studies. This preference shows itself not only with regard to topoi, motifs or formulae, but also on a wider thematic and structural level.²⁰ J. Klein has also recently drawn attention

¹⁵ For a definition of tradition, cf. Franke, *ibid.* 7-9.

¹⁶ Cf. also below for examples with different divine names, p. 50.

¹⁷ For this term, cf. Ludwig, *Išme-Dagan* 59f. with previous literature.

¹⁸ Cf. also III 1., p. 28.

¹⁹ Cf. Römer, *SKIZ* 29-38.

²⁰ Cf. for example the double trips made by Sulgi and Išmedagān, or Gudea, Stat. B and Sulgi E which share the same purpose and function according to Klein, *Studies Sjöberg* (1989) 294ff.

to a possible dependence of the Sulgi hymns on the literary tradition of Lagaš known from the compositions of Gudea of Lagaš.²¹ The influence of the literary tradition of Lagaš on the hymns of Sulgi, and indeed on the whole Ur III literary corpus, is apparent on the levels of orthography,²² grammar, vocabulary, and the repertoire of topoi, motifs and formulae. Ur III dependence on the Lagaš II literary tradition would fit well with the proposal that Gudea's reign might have overlapped with that of Urnamma.²³ Furthermore, an analysis of the archaeological, i.e. especially the glyptic material we have for the time of Gudea, shows that this material may have to be considered as a local development at Lagaš in Late Akkadian or Sargonic times which formed the basis for the Ur III and Isin style of art,²⁴ just as Lagaš II literary material is the foundation for the Ur III and Isin literary style.

Moreover, it can be shown that many topoi in form of motifs and formulae in the Ur III and Isin-Larsa hymns have predecessors even as far back as Pre-Sargonic Lagaš and Uruk under Lugalzagesi (24th. century B.C.). It was A. Falkenstein who noted that royal inscriptions of these earlier periods contain some of the formulae and topoi found in the hymns of the Ur III and Isin-Larsa periods, and royal inscriptions contemporary with the hymns also share formulae and topoi with them.²⁵ This is particularly the case with regard to topoi, motifs and formulae of legitimation and kingship. The aim of the following discussion is to carry A. Falkenstein's finding one step further by dividing the available texts, i.e. basically royal inscriptions and hymns, into certain text types, in order to investigate for each text type if and in what time periods these topoi appear to have been used. The division into text types is the following: a.) royal inscriptions, encompassing all types of inscriptions, i.e. the types b.) and c.), b.) monumental, i.e. statue and stela inscriptions, c.) artefact inscriptions, which are royal inscriptions without statues and stela inscriptions, and d.) royal hymns, which also include the cylinders A and B of Gudea of Lagaš. "Royal" inscriptions²⁶ are inscriptions commissioned by kings or by a person in honour of the king or his family which display the royal commissioner's achievements (e.g. construction work on temples and canals, military victories, social reforms) and titles, sometimes also containing a dedication. They are attested from the Pre-Sargonic period on (after 2500 B.C.), and are inscribed on all kinds of objects, e.g. bricks, door sockets, cones, clay nails, beads, ceremonial maceheads, vessels, statue(tte)s, slabs, various stone tablets, stelae and cylinders.²⁷ "Artefact" inscriptions are defined here as royal inscriptions

²¹ Klein, *ibid.* 290, fn. 9.

²² Cf. above, II 3.1, p. 22f., for the Urnamma hymns.

²³ Cf. I 1., p. 3.

²⁴ Dittmann, *BaM* 25 (1994) 101. Sceptical towards this finding is Fischer in *BaM* 27 (1996) 220. According to Dittmann, Sargonic (= Akkad) seals continued to be produced in Ur III times and seals of the Lagaš II rulers Urningirsu and Pirigme are Sargonic in appearance.

²⁵ Falkenstein, *AnOr.* 30 (1951) 175.

²⁶ For the confusing terminology and difficult classification of these inscriptions, cf. Edzard, *RIA* 6 (1980-83) 59-65, s.v. "Königsinschriften A. Sumerisch", especially p. 59f. ad § 2.; also Steible, Behrens, *FAOS* 5 (1982) 2 with literature on problems of terminology.

²⁷ Cf. Cooper, *Presarg. Inscr.* 4-7 for a description of inscribed artefacts of the Pre-Sargonic period.

inscribed on artefacts or objects mentioned above but excluding statues and stelas. Statue and stela inscriptions of the Sargonic, Ur III and Isin-Larsa periods are predominantly Old Babylonian copies of the original monuments, because these larger pieces of Sargonic, Ur III and Isin-Larsa monumental art were susceptible to pillage or reuse.²⁸ The earliest examples of royal hymns date from the Lagaš II and Ur III periods, that is, about four centuries after the appearance of royal inscriptions.²⁹ Literary expression of the notion of one legitimate, predestined ruler, selected and elected by divine will, existed as early as Early Dynastic times. Kings made use of similar stock expressions or *topoi* throughout the following periods to describe certain events in the process of their selection and investiture. These *topoi* show much continuity from the Early Dynastic and Sargonic periods through the Isin-Larsa periods, but appear in different text types in different periods: *topoi* of legitimation and kingship appear in artefact inscriptions of Pre-Sargonic Lagaš and Uruk, and only again show up in artefact inscriptions of the Isin-Larsa period. The artefact inscriptions of the Sargonic through Ur III periods are in general devoid of *topoi* of legitimation and kingship. They appear instead in statue and stela inscriptions of those periods, as well as in the royal hymns of the Lagaš II (including Gudea's cylinders), Ur III and Isin-Larsa periods. The fact that during the Lagaš II, Ur III and Isin-Larsa periods the same *topoi* are attested in royal hymns, as well as in statue and stela inscriptions, shows a close affinity between the two text types and hardens the thesis, first put forward by W.W. Hallo,³⁰ that royal hymns were originally inscribed on monumental objects, i.e. stelas and statues.³¹ Some compositions of the Ur III and Isin-Larsa periods which are commonly known as royal "hymns" and have come down to us in the form of Old Babylonian copies, may indeed have been inscribed originally on statues (e.g. Sulgi V and Išmedagān S), and we now know for sure that at least some self-laudatory hymns were written on stelas,³² which explains the occasional difficulties in differentiating royal hymns of the Ur III, Isin-Larsa, and Babylon dynasties from royal inscriptions of the same time periods.³³

The distribution of *topoi* outlined above will be illustrated by a chart following this section in which the *topoi* of legitimation and kingship are introduced and listed thematically. Special attention is drawn to attestations of *topoi* in the Urnamma hymns to show how their language relates to both earlier and later writings. The *topoi* are discussed under the following headings: A) divine parentage and type scenes of birth and divine nurture; B) predestination; C) designation and divine election from the multitudes and endowment with divine favours (wisdom, strength, etc.); D) investiture with symbols of kingship.

²⁸ Cooper, *ibid.* 6 and Winter, *Journal of Ritual Studies* 6 (1992) 25, and fn. 17.

²⁹ Gudea A is the earliest example of the type A hymn, Urnamma C the earliest example of a type B. II hymn (cf. II 1., pp. 13 and 15).

³⁰ Hallo, *CRRAI* 17 (1970) 121; *idem*, *AS* 20 (1975) 195.

³¹ Cf. also below, 3.2, pp. 78ff.

³² Cf. below, 3.2, p. 80.

³³ Cf. Tinney, *OLZ* 90 (1995) 7f.

A) Divine predestination to rule can be expressed through the claim to divine parentage. This tradition is old and goes back to Eanatum of Lagaš, followed by Šarkališarrī of Akkade, and the rulers of Gudea's dynasty.³⁴ Divine parentage does not guarantee that the ruler himself is divine. Many kings regarded themselves as *dumu du₂-da DN* "natural son" of a deity,³⁵ often of their local city-goddess, without laying claim on being divine or suppressing the mention of their human fathers. But the king is "functionally" god in the sense that he is the earthly representative of the deity. This is, according to G. Selz,³⁶ apparent in epithets like the above mentioned *dumu du₂-da DN*, *du₂tu* "Sun", *dlamma* "guardian-spirit",³⁷ and probably also *diĝir kalam-ma* "god of the land". The tradition of claiming divinity in one's own lifetime is first attested in inscriptions of Narāmsu'en and Šarkališarrī of Akkade and is only again revived by Urnamma's son Sulgi and his successors.³⁸ Urnamma was venerated as god only posthumously³⁹ but his hymns exhibit a series of "functional" epithets, as e.g. in Urnamma C 31 *ur-dnamma lugal uri₅ki-ma dlamma iri-ĝa₂-me-en* "I am Urnamma, king of Ur, the guardian-spirit of my city"; Urnamma C 50 *ur-dnamma-me-en ma-da ki-en-gi ki-ur¹ / dlamma mu-un-da-an-tuku* "In me!, Urnamma, the Land Sumer and Akkad has got a guardian-spirit";⁴⁰ Urnamma C 75 *uĝ₃-e u₂ nir-ĝa₂ bi₂-ib₂-gu₇?-en den-ki-im-du-bi-me-en* "I let people eat tasty food, I am their Enkimdu"; Urnamma C 70 *ur-dnamma diĝir-ŠE₃ du₂-da¹ ku₃-ge-eš x¹ [...] [I?] Urnamma, born to be a god, in pure fashion [...]"; perhaps Urnamma A 238 (source A) (...) *piriĝ¹ diĝir-ŠE₃ du₂-da* "(...) a lion born to be a god".*

Topoi of divine or divinely assisted conception and birth are attested as early as Pre-Sargonic times and are subsequently used, in more elaborate form, in royal Ur III and Isin-Larsa hymns.⁴¹ Attestations in Urnamma hymns are: Urnamma C 43 *a¹-ĝu₁₀ ša₃ ku₃-ge ba-ri-a-ta* "When my semen was ejaculated into the pure womb⁴²". Nintur, the birth-goddess herself forms him and stands by at his birth: Urnamma C 24 *d¹nin¹-tu-re ĝe₂₆-e mu-un-dim₂-dim₂-en ga-ri-ĝu₁₀ nu-tuku* "Nintur has formed me meticulously, (so that) I have no equal", and Urnamma C 47 *d¹nin¹ (NIN₉)-tu du₂-du₂¹-a-ĝu₁₀ <mu>-un-gub-bu!* "Nintur stood by in the process

³⁴ A general discussion is offered in Sjöberg, *OrSuec* 21 (1972) 87-112.

³⁵ For Pre-Sargonic references, cf. Behrens, Steible, *FAOS* 6 (1983) 90 s.v. *dumu tu-da* (4.).

³⁶ Selz, *ASJ* 14 (1992) 258, fn. 5.

³⁷ Cf. also Sallaberger, *Kalender* 86.

³⁸ Cf. in general Wilcke, *CRRAL* 19 (1974) 179f.; also Klein, *ThŠH* 29ff.

³⁹ For posthumous worship of kings, cf. below, 3.2, p. 79f.

⁴⁰ *dlamma* is, e.g., similarly used in Sulgi: Sulgi 26, 4:25 and Sulgi G 23; the king is *dištaran* in Sulgi C 102; Sulgi F 25; Sulgi X 142. Similarly in Gudea, Cyl. A 10:26 (but there *dištaran-gin₇*).

⁴¹ For a selection of references in general, cf. *PSD* A/1 22-24 s.v. A 9. "semen, (...) offspring", 9.2 in a *ri/ru*, and 9.3 in a *ša₃-ga ri/ru* and a *ša₃-ga šu du₁₁*.

⁴² i.e. the womb of Ninsumun (cf. Urnamma C 48).

of my birth".⁴³ The rearing of kings (and gods) on divine knees is already attested in the Pre-Sargonic inscription Eanatum 1, 4:24-26. Compare perhaps Urnamma C 25 [...] -¹x¹ du₁₀-be₂ bi₂-in-peš-en lu gal ka lam-ma-me-en "[...] has raised me *on the knees*, I am the king of the land". The topos is subsequently taken up by other Ur III and Isin-Larsa kings,⁴⁴ and is also used of gods, e.g. in Nanna A (= Sjöberg, *Mondgott* 14) 28, said of Nanna and Ninlil, and in Išbi'erra D 7, said of Ninisina and An.

B) Predestination of a king takes part in the heart of a god (š a₃ (k u₃) - ga / - ge pa₃ . d). It is often but not necessarily the local city-god or patron deity which predestines the king: in Pre-Sargonic times for Eanatum, Enmetena, Enanatum II, and IriKAgina,⁴⁵ as well as in Lagaš II, for Piriġme (1:10-11) and Urba'u (1, 1:9) it is Nanše. Gudea is chosen in the heart of Ningirsu (Stat. B 2:8-9 || D 1:11-12) and Ba'u (Stat. E 1:18-20; Gudea A rev. 14' || 17'), Utuġeġal of Uruk in Inana's (Utuġeġal Inscr. = *RIME* 2.13.6.4:48), Urnamma in Nanna-Su'en's in Urnamma E 26' < d > ur-d nam ma d A Š - i m₂ - b a b b a r - r e š a₃ k u₃ - g e [...] - p a₃ ?] "Urnamma, AŠimbabbar [has chosen?] in (his) precious heart!" || Urnamma F 29 d u r - d n a m m a d A Š - i m₂ - b a b b a r š a₃ - g e b a - n i - i n - p a₃ "Urnamma, AŠimbabbar has chosen in (his) heart!", and Urnamma F 23-24 ¹ki¹ - e n - g i k i - u r i u ġ₃ s a ġ g i₆ - g a l d u r - d n a m m a d s u ' e n š a₃ - g e b a - n i - i n - p a₃ "For Sum-mer and Akkad, for/among the black-headed people, Su'en has chosen Urnamma in (his) heart". For Urnamma's successor Sulgi, different gods are mentioned, e.g. An, Nanna-Su'en and Enlil,⁴⁶ and for the Isin-Larsa kings An and other gods.⁴⁷ The formula also appears in nominalised form in the inscriptions of the Isin-Larsa kings: e.g. *RIME* 4.1.10.1:12-13 (Enlilbāni) d a m š a₃ - g e p a₃ - d a l d i n a n a "spouse chosen in Inana's heart"; *RIME* 4.2.8.1:7-10 (Nūradad) s u l d u t u l š a₃ k u₃ - g a - n i - ¹a¹ l z i - d e₃ - [e š] l b i₂ - i n - p [a₃ - d a] "(...) whom youthful Utu has truly ch[osen] in his precious heart"; similarly *RIME* 4.2.8.7 i 18-21 (Nūradad); *RIME* 4.2.13.15 frgm. 3:4'-5' (Waradsîn); *RIME* 4.2.14.14 i 6' (Rīmsîn); *RIME* 4.2.14.27:22 (Rīmsîn). Šūsu'en who is chosen in Enlil's heart, is the only one of the Ur III kings to use this titulary in his artefact inscriptions, i.e. royal inscriptions inscribed on artefacts excluding statues and

⁴³ Cf. for Isin-Larsa references, e.g. *RIME* 4.1.5.8:3-4 d i n a n a s a ġ d u - ġ a₂ l a m a t u₂ - ġ u₁₀ - r a "(For Ninlil ...), the goddess who created me (= Lipiteštar), the mother who gave birth to me"; similarly *RIME* 4.2.14.5:21-22; *RIME* 4.2.14.9 || 10:31-32 || 30 "(...) Nergal, the god who created him/me (= Rīmsîn)".

⁴⁴ References in Sjöberg, *Mondgott* 25 ad 32. The formula ga zi gu₇-a d n i n - ħ u r - s a ġ - k a (- k) "fed with the true milk of Ninġursag" turns up in Pre-Sargonic inscriptions (cf. Behrens, Steible, *FAOS* 6 [1983] 202 s.v. ku₂ 1. b) and is only continued by Puzurmama of Lagaš, *RIME* 2.12.5.1 ii 7'-8' (cf. also Hallo, *Royal Titles* 136f.), probably a contemporary of Šarkališarri of Akkade (cf. Frayne, *RIME* 2 [1993] 186 and 271 with previous literature). Isin-Larsa kings were also nurtured by divine milk, cf. e.g. Lipiteštar D 6.

⁴⁵ References in Behrens, Steible, *FAOS* 6 (1983) 272 s.v. š a₃ - (-) p a₃ 1. b). The formula š a₃ z i p a₃ - d a D N (- k) is also attested in a Sargonic fragmentary votive inscription for the life of Rīmuš in *RIME* 2.1.2.2001:2'-3'.

⁴⁶ Sulgi A 8; Sulgi F 85; 92-93; Sulgi G 24; 68.

⁴⁷ Lipiteštar C i 33.

stelas,⁴⁸ which might suggest a problematical succession to the throne.⁴⁹ The same goes for the formula *m u p a₃ - d a DN (- k)* "called by name by DN"⁵⁰ which is attested in Amarsu'en's artefact inscriptions (Amarsu'en 2:3-4 || 3, 1:3-4 et passim, called by Enlil) and in Šūsu'en 12:2-3 (called by An). These are the only two instances where formulae of kingship occur in Ur III artefact inscriptions and not exclusively in statue and stela inscriptions and royal hymns of that period.

Thus, the choosing god for Gudea, Utuḫeḡal and Urnamma is the city-god, whereas for Sulgi and his successors no pattern is apparent, and different gods may function as divine choosers.

C) Actual selection and designation need not to have been carried out by the god who has chosen the ruler in his heart. Utuḫeḡal, and after him Urnamma and Sulgi, are designated by Enlil, but only from Sulgi onward could Enlil figure as the god who also predestines the ruler. The designation and confirmation of a king's sovereignty by Enlil, chief of the Sumerian pantheon, was politically, of course, of utmost importance, especially in the case of usurpers.⁵¹ Divine selection is described as a process in which the god "looks at something or somebody" in order to find a suitable person (*i g i i l₂*).⁵² Thus Enlil looks at the people and picks Urnamma from their midst: Urnamma B 4-5 *u ḡ₃ - ḡ a₂ i g i m i - n i - i n - i l₂ s i p a z i u r - d n [a m m a] | k u r - g a l d e n - l i l₂ - l e u ḡ₃ š a r₂ - r a - n i - a i m - m a - n i - i n - ṛ p a₃ ?¹* "He (= Nunamnir) looked at the people, Great Mountain Enlil chose? the faithful shepherd Urnamma from among his innumerable people". *RIME* 4.1.6.2 ii 18'-21' (Urninurta) *d e n - l i l₂ l u g a l k u r - k u r - [r a - k e₄] | u ḡ₃ d a ḡ a l š a r₂ - r a - ṛ d a¹ | i g i m i - n i - i n - i [l₂] | z i - d e₃ - ṛ e š b i₂¹ - [i n - p a₃]* "Enlil, lord of all the foreign lands, looked among the innumerable people and truly [chose] him (= Urninurta)".⁵³ Ningirsu looks at his city favourably and appoints Gudea as faithful shepherd for the land (Gudea, Stat. B 3:6-9). The exclusiveness of the designated person is stressed by the fact that selection takes place from a multitude of people,⁵⁴ a topos that goes back to Pre-Sargonic times and can be traced throughout successive periods. Enmetena (Ent. 32, 1:2"-3") is taken by the hand by Enlil "from innumerable multitudes" (*š a₃ l u₂ 3 6 0 0 0 - t a š u d a b₃*), as are IriKagina (Ukg. 4, 8:5-6 || 5, 7:18-19) and Gudea (Gudea, Stat. B 3:6-11) by Ningirsu. Urnamma is explicitly chosen by Enlil in Sumer and Akkad: Urnamma D (Ni) 9-11 *l u g a l š a₃ z i - t a n a m t a r - r a n a m - n i r - r a s a ḡ i l₂ | d u r - d n a m m a s u l i g i i l₂ - l a k u r - [g a l] d e n - l i l₂ - l e | d n u - n a m - n i r - r e k i - e n - g i ṛ k i - u r i - a¹ ḡ e₂₆ - e m u - u n - s u ḡ - e n* "It is me, the king, destined from the true womb on, lifting the head confidently, me, Urnamma, the selected youth, [Great] Mountain Enlil,

⁴⁸ Šūsu'en 3:3-5 || 4 obv. 3'-5' et passim.

⁴⁹ Cf. Wilcke, *CRRAI* 19 (1974) 180 ad 5.

⁵⁰ Cf. also ad C) below, p. 49f.

⁵¹ Cf. below, I.4, p. 63f.

⁵² Cf. also V 2.3 ad 4 with previous literature, p. 200.

⁵³ Similarly also *RIME* 4.2.9.15:51-53 (Siniddinam).

⁵⁴ Cf. e.g. Urnamma B 5 above; Šūilišu A 57.

Nunamnir has chosen in Sumer and Akkad" (cf. also (Ur) 10'-12'),⁵⁵ as are other kings (e.g. Išmedagān A 55, from among the people). In Urnamma C 58, the king is specifically chosen by Enlil through extispicy (m a š₂ - e p a₃ . d). The process of selection also involves the divine glance: the predestined person is "looked at approvingly" (i g i z i b a r),⁵⁶ or "smiled radiantly upon" (s a ḡ - k i z a l a g - g a b a r),⁵⁷ e.g. Urnamma D (Ni) 13 s a ḡ - k i z a l a g - g a - n i m u - u n - š i - i n - b a r ṛ n a m ṛ - l u g a l ṛ b a ṛ - a n - ṛ š u m₂ ṛ "He (= Nunamnir) smiled radiantly upon me and gave me! kingship", and Urnamma B 36 i g i z i m u - u n - š i - i n - b a r - r e - e š s i p a ḏ u r - ḏ n a m m a - r a "They (= Enlil and Ninlil) looked at shepherd Urnamma approvingly" (in connection with the restoration work of the Ekur).⁵⁸ Urdukuga is "spouse, looked at approvingly by Inana" (d a m i g i z i b a r - r a l ḏ i n a n a (- k)) in *RIME* 4.1.13.1:19-20.⁵⁹ Once found and selected, the king is explicitly "called by name" (m u p a₃ . d),⁶⁰ "given a good name" (m u ḏ u₁₀ / s a₆ (- g a) š e₂₁), or is "truly called out" (g u₃ z i (- d e₃ - e š) d e₂),⁶¹ very common formulae found in inscriptions throughout the course of Mesopotamian history. It is always Enlil who calls Urnamma by name or gives him a good name: Urnamma B 34 (...) s u l z i m u p a₃ - d a ḏ n u - n a m - n i r - r a - k a "(...) the faithful young man, mentioned by name by Nunamnir", and Urnamma C 46 ḏ e n - l i l₂ - l e ḏ u t u - g i n₇ k a l a m - m a e₃ - d e₃ / m u ḏ u₁₀ m u - u n - ṛ š e₂₁ ṛ "Enlil who rises like the sun over the land, gave me a good name". Ningirsu calls out, i.e. approves, of Gudea among the people (u ḡ₃ - ḡ a₂ g u₃ d e₂ in Stat. B 8:16, in the final curse passage, with a pun on Gudea's name) at Ningirsu's main festival, the highlight of the year (z a₃ - m u).⁶² Accordingly, Enlil looks at Iddindagān and speaks to him approvingly in Iddindagān B 5-6.

A consequence of (divine) election (i g i i l₂) or approval is expressed by s a ḡ (a n - š e₃) i l₂, and its synonym g u₂ (a n - š e₃) z i . g "to lift the head (heavenward)". It describes the proud and privileged position or posture of the

⁵⁵ Šinmāgir is "chosen" (s u ḥ - a) in his city so that he exercise kingship, cf. *RIME* 4.1.14.1:11-12.

⁵⁶ Pre-Sargonic references in Behrens, Steible, *FAOS* 6 (1983) 168f. s.v. i g i b a r.

⁵⁷ Literally "to turn a shining forehead towards somebody". References in *PSD* B 111 s.v. b a r E 4.2. The expression could be the opposite of s a ḡ - k i g i d₂ "to frown". Cf. also Sulgi X 80 (with var. z i - z i).

⁵⁸ The expression is often used in context of a blessing, e.g. Iddindagān A 119.

⁵⁹ Cf. also *RIME* 4.2.9.6:13-14 (Siniddinam); *RIME* 4.2.13.12:25 (Waradsin); *RIME* 4.2.13.16:28-29; *RIME* 4.2.14.5:23 (Rimsin); *RIME* 4.2.14.15:1-2; *RIME* 4.2.14.20:15-16; Išmedagān A 104 and Gudea, Stat. C 2:12-13 have the formula i g i n a m - t i l₃ (- l a) (- k) b a r "to look at somebody exuberantly" (literally "with an eye of life").

⁶⁰ For Pre-Sargonic references, cf. Behrens, Steible, *FAOS* 6 (1983) 272f. s.v. m u (-) p a₃ a) and b). Note also *RIME* 2.1.3.2:5-8 (Manišṭusu) ḏ e n - l i l₂ | u - š a - a r - b i₂ - š u | M U - š u | i - b i₂ "Enlil has reared him, called his name"; m u p a₃ - d a ḏ N (- k) in *RIME* 2.1.2.2001:4'-5' (votive inscription for the life of Rīmuš). For attestations in the artefact inscriptions of Amarsu'en and Šūsu'en, cf. already ad B) above, p. 48.

⁶¹ For Pre-Sargonic references, cf. Behrens, Steible, *FAOS* 6 (1983) 151f. s.v. g u₃ d e₂. Attestations in Larsa inscriptions are e.g. *RIME* 4.2.13.15 frgm. 14:14'-15' (Waradsin); *RIME* 4.2.13.17 i 14'; *RIME* 4.2.14.15:18 (Rimsin); *RIME* 4.2.14.17:36; *RIME* 4.2.14.23:18-19.

⁶² For z a₃ - m u, cf. Sallaberger, *Kalender* 142f., and fn. 669.

elected object and can also be said of animals,⁶³ and of inanimate objects, such as temples,⁶⁴ walls,⁶⁵ cities,⁶⁶ bricks,⁶⁷ boats,⁶⁸ and daises.⁶⁹

The topos of divine favour benefiting the designated king is very common. The king is usually favoured by a group of gods and endowed with special gifts that characterize each particular deity. This enumeration of divine favours already exists in rudimentary form, as epithets in the form of formulae with nominalisation in Pre-Sargonic inscriptions from Lagaš,⁷⁰ in inscriptions of Lugalzagesi of Uruk,⁷¹ continues in Lagaš II texts,⁷² and in the Isin-Larsa inscriptions: compare e.g. *RIME* 4.1.3.2:14 (Iddindagān) $\hat{g}e\check{s}tu_2 \check{s}um_2 - ma^d en - ki - ka$ "given wisdom by Enki" and *RIME* 4.2.13.27:27-29 (Waradsîn) $\hat{g}e\check{s}tu_2 da\hat{g}al\ l\ ki\hat{g}_2 da - ri_2 di\check{m}_2 - me - de_3 l^d en - ki - ke_4 ma - an - \check{s}um_2 - ma$ "(Me) to whom Enki gave broad wisdom in order to create lasting works". The topos finds its climax in more elaborate and poetic sentences in the royal Ur III and Isin-Larsa hymns.⁷³ The kings receive a name, strength in combat, wisdom, the capacity to judge, and are specifically chosen or approved. Within the Lagaš tradition, for example, the sequence can show some variability with regard to the formulae, the sequence of divine names, and their length. Certain formulae are restricted to certain rulers (e.g. the formulae $ga\ z i\ gu_7 - a^d nin - \check{h}ur - sa\ \hat{g} - ka(-k)$ and $mu\ pa_3 - da^d \check{h}endur - sa\ \hat{g} - ka(-k)$ which are exclusively assumed by Eanatum, Enanatum and Puzurmama), and different deities can be associated with the same endowment in different texts. The formula $mu\ pa_3 - da\ DN(-k)$ "called by name by DN", e.g., applies to different deities, to Ningîrsu in inscriptions of Eanatum, Enmetena, and Piriġme,⁷⁴ to Inana in inscriptions of Enanatum I and Enmetena,⁷⁵ to Utu in Luzag. 1, 1:19-20, and to Ĥendursaġa in En. I 29, 2:5-6. The formula $\hat{g}e\check{s}tu_2 \check{s}um_2 - ma\ DN(-k)$ "given intelligence by DN" is, however, restricted to one god, namely Enki, e.g. Ean. 1 rev. 5:51-52 || En. I 33, 2:2-3 || Ent. 28 || 29, 5:14-15 || Luzag. 1, 1:17-18 || Puzurmama 1, 2':4'-5'.⁷⁶

63 E.g. Iddindagān A 138.

64 E.g. Urnamma B 10-11 said of Ekur and then of Urnamma in the following line; *RIME* 4.2.14.2:18 (Rîmsîn).

65 E.g. *RIME* 4.2.13.21:86 (Waradsîn).

66 E.g. Luzag. 1, 2:30-32 and 1, 2:46-3:2, with $gu_2 an - \check{s}e_3 zi. g.$

67 Gudea, Cyl. A 1:15; Cyl. A 19:17.

68 E.g. Sulgi R 60, partially broken.

69 E.g. Ibbîsu'en E obv. 9'; Sîniddinam A (= v. Dijk, *JCS* 19 22) 27.

70 E.g. Ean. 1 rev. 5:45-6:9, Ean. 2, 1:5-2:13 || Ean. 3-4, 1:10-2:14 || et passim; similarly Ent. 28, 5:22-27 || 29, 6:3-8.

71 Luzag. 1, 1:12-13; 17-20; 28-29.

72 E.g. Piriġme 1:10-13, Urba'u 1, 1:9-12; Gudea, Stat. B 2:8-17; cf. also Puzurmama who uses e.g. the same gods with epithets as in Eanatum: Puzurmama 1, 2':1'-9'.

73 E.g. Urnamma C 20-30 and 43-47; Sulgi A 7-15; Iddindagān B 1ff.; Iġmedagān A 65ff.; Lipiteġtar A 23ff.; Lipiteġtar B 43ff.

74 E.g. Ean. 1, 6:2-3 || Ent. 28 || 29, 5:4-5; Piriġme 1:12-13.

75 E.g. En. I 10, 1:4-5 || Ent. 74, 3:4-4:1.

76 This is also the case in later texts, cf. the references above; also *RIME* 4.2.6.1 ii 1'-3' (Abîsarē); *RIME* 4.2.9.11:24 (Sîniddinam); *RIME* 4.2.9.15:41-42; *RIME* 4.2.14.10:29 (Rîmsîn).

D) Similar investiture phraseology can be found in all periods. Common formulae are *nam-lugal šum₂* "to give kingship" and *gidri šum₂* "to give the sceptre", which have their origin in Pre-Sargonic times,⁷⁷ appear in Sargonic royal inscriptions,⁷⁸ and are also attested for the Gutian king Erridupizir in *RIME* 2.2.1.2 vii 1'-8', for Gudea in e.g. Stat. B 2:18-19 || Stat. D 1:19-2:1 et passim and also Cyl. B 6:16, for the Ur III period (e.g. Sulgi B 25), and in the Isin-Larsa royal hymns (e.g. Lipiteštar A 26) and royal inscriptions.⁷⁹ Some topoi seem to have their origins only in the Lagaš II literary tradition, as e.g. *gešgu-za suḥuš-bi ge-en* "to make the foundations of the throne firm",⁸⁰ a topos that might have been inspired by a Sargonic predecessor of Narāmsu'en,⁸¹ and which continues to be used in Ur III and Isin royal hymns⁸² and the Isin-Larsa royal inscriptions.⁸³ Urnamma D (Ni) 15-17 and (Ur) 15'-18' contains a sequence of standard regalia, but the most complete list of insignia comes from Sulgi X 56-67,⁸⁴ other passages being Sulgi A 87-89, Sulgi D 387-92, Sulgi G 25-27, Sulgi R 85-87, Sulgi B 335-36, Sulgi P b 37-42. Standard regalia also appear in Ur III inscriptions, copied from statues and stelae,⁸⁵ in the Isin-Larsa royal hymns,⁸⁶ and in the Isin-Larsa royal inscriptions.⁸⁷ Enlil alone is responsible for Urnamma's investiture, whereas with successive kings, beginning with Sulgi, it is usually different gods getting credit for the distribution of regalia.⁸⁸ Also, Urnamma's self-praise hymn C, in contrast to those of successive kings, is devoid of any formulae of investiture. Instead we hear of the journey to Nippur (perhaps inaugurating the annually conducted first-fruit offerings) and the fact that kingship came down from heaven, an allusion to the tradition of the Sumerian King List.

From the references given above under different thematic headings, it becomes apparent that formulae, topoi and motifs of legitimation and kingship show much continuity from the Pre-Sargonic to the Isin-Larsa periods. The following chart illustrates this finding, and in addition lists the topoi for different periods and textual contexts to show the change in use for the different text types listed above.⁸⁹ The chart distinguishes between statue and stela inscriptions (originals and Old Babylonian copies thereof) and artefact inscriptions, in order to show the change in

77 Cf. Behrens, Steible, *FAOS* 6 (1983) 249 s.v. *nam-lugal* and Behrens, Steible, *ibid.* 142 s.v. *gidri*.

78 Cf. Kienast, Sommerfeld, *FAOS* 8 (1994) 293f. s.v. *šarrūtum* (*šarrūtum*) and 208 s.v. *ḫaṭṭum* (*GIŠ.GIDRI*).

79 E.g. *RIME* 4.1.6.2 ii 5' (Urninurta); *RIME* 4.2.13.13:40-46 (Waradsîn); *RIME* 4.2.13.21:46.

80 E.g. Gudea, Cyl. B 6:16, Stat. E 8:1-3 and Stat. C 4:13-15, as curse.

81 *RIME* 2.1.4.3 rev. iii 1-3 *mu-ki₂-in* | *SUḪUŠ.SUḪUŠ* | *a-ga-de₃ki* "Who made the foundations of Agade firm".

82 E.g. Urnamma D 15; Sulgi A 89; Sulgi R 87; similarly Sulgi P b 61 *gešgu-za bala ge-n a* (...); Ibbisu'en D obv. 23; Iddindagān B 71-72, source A (cf. Römer, *SKIZ* 212 ad 72 a-a); Lipiteštar B 54.

83 E.g. *RIME* 4.1.2.2 iii 2'-3' (*Šūilišu*); *RIME* 4.2.8.1:14-16 (Nūradad); *RIME* 4.2.8.7 i 3-4; *RIME* 4.2.9.13:18-19 (*Sîniddinam*); *RIME* 4.2.13.10:45 et passim (Waradsîn); *RIME* 4.2.14.15:57 (Rimsîn).

84 Cf. Klein, *ThŠH* 127, fn. 207 with literature. Regalia mentioned in Sargonic texts are the sceptre and the "lead-rope of the people" in *RIME* 2.1.4.3 rev. v 1-4 (Narāmsu'en) *še₂-ra-at* | *NI.SI₁* | *qa₂-ti-iš₂-su* | *i-di₃-nu* "(When Enlil) entrusted the lead-rope of the people into his hands".

85 E.g. Šūsu'en Hist. Inscr. A i 20-24.

86 E.g. Išmedagān A 73-78.

87 E.g. *RIME* 4.1.6.2 ii 5' (Urninurta); *RIME* 4.2.8.3:18-19 (Nūradad); *RIME* 4.2.11.1 v 1-4 (*Sîniquišam*).

88 Cf. below, 1.4, p. 63.

89 Cf. p. 44f.

use of the topoi for these two text types, and the close affinity between statue and stela inscriptions and royal hymns of the same periods. Note the following abbreviations: A = topos of divine parentage, birth and nurture, B = predestination, C = selection and designation, and the topos of divine favours, and D = investiture phraseology; Ø = little or no attestation of topoi. If a certain text type is not represented by any texts, then this is marked by "no attestations".

	<i>Artefact Inscriptions</i>	<i>Statue and Stela Inscriptions (and copies thereof)</i>	<i>Royal Hymns (including cylinders of Gudea)</i>
Pre-Sargonic Lagaš and Uruk	1 ABCD	2 ABCD	no attestations
Sargonic	Ø ⁹⁰	3 ACD	no attestations
Uruk V (Utuḫegal)	Ø	4 BC	no attestations
Lagaš II	Ø ⁹¹	5 ABCD	6 ABCD
Ur III	Ø ⁹²	7 ABCD	8 ABCD
Isin-Larsa	9 ABCD	10 ABCD	11 ABCD

References:

1. A = Ean. 2, 2:2-3; Ean. 3:5-6 et passim; En. I 9:8-9; En. I 28, 1:6-7 et passim; Ent. 32, 1:7'-8' et passim; Lug. 15, 1':6'-7'; Luzag. 1, 1:26-29; Luzag. 3, 1':4'-5'.
B = Ean. 2, 1:9-2:1; Ean. 3, 2:3-4 et passim; En. I 2, 1:7-2:1; En. I 9, 1:4-5; En. I 28, 1:4-5 et passim; Ent. 25:5-6; Ent. 26:6-7; Ent. 27:6-7 et passim; En. II 1:6-7; Lug. 15, 1':2'-3'.
C = Ean. 2, 1:4-8; 2:4-7; 4:28-5:1; 7:8-9; Ean. 3, 1:10-2:2; 7-10 et passim; En. I 10, 1:4-5; En. I 29, 1:6-7; 2:3-6; Ent. 26:17-18; Ent. 32, 1:2"-3" et passim; Ukg. 4, 8:5-6; Lukin. 2:4-5; Lukin 4:15-17; Lukin. 7, 3:2'; Luzag. 1, 1:13-14; 17-20; Luzag. 2:15; Luzag. 3, 2':3'-4'.
D = Ean. 2, 5:26-6:5; Ean. 69, 3:7-8; En. I 9, 2:8-3:1; En. I 33, 2:13-3:4; Ent. 26:13-16; Ent. 32, 1:4"-8"; Lug. 15, 1':4'-5'; Ukg. 4, 7:29-8:4; Lukin. 2:9-14 || 4:10-14; Luzag. 1, 1:36-41.
2. A = Ean. 1, 4:9-12; 24-29; 5:1-3; 18:8-9; rev. 5:47-48; En. I 26, 1:14-15.

⁹⁰ An exception is *RIME* 2.1.5.2:1-2 (Šarkališarrī) (topos A).

⁹¹ Exceptions are an inscription of Piriḡ me and some of Urba'u: Piriḡ me 1:14-15 (topos A); Piriḡ me 1:10-11 (topos B); Piriḡ me 1:12-13 (topos C); Urba'u 3:7-8 || 4:6-7 et passim (topos A).

⁹² Exceptions are Amarsu'en 2:3-4 et passim (topos C) and Šūsu'en 3:3-5 et passim (topos B); Šūsu'en 12:2-3 (topos C). Cf. also above, p. 47f.

- B = Ean. 1, rev. 5:53-54; En. I 26, 1:10-11; Ent. 1, 1:6-7.
 C = Ean. 1, 4:20-23; 5:24-25; 6:2-3; rev. 5:45-46; 49-52; rev. 6:4-5; En. I 25, 2:2'-4'.
 D = Ean. 1, 5:13-17.
3. mainly copies of statue and stela inscriptions.⁹³
 A = *RIME* 2.1.3.2:5-6 (Maništūsu); *RIME* 2.1.5.6 i 4-5; i 2'-ii 1 (Šarkališarrī).
 C = *RIME* 2.1.1.15:18-19 (Sargon); *RIME* 2.1.3.2:7-8 (Maništūsu).
 D = *RIME* 2.1.1.15:14-17 (Sargon); *RIME* 2.1.2.4:4-7 (Rīmuš); *RIME* 2.1.2.6:71-73; *RIME* 2.1.3.2:9-12 (Maništūsu); *RIME* 2.1.4.3 v 1-4 (Nārāmsu'en);⁹⁴ *RIME* 2.1.4.5 iii' 9-13.
4. B = Utuḫeḡal Inscr. = *RIME* 2.13.6.4:48.
 C = Utuḫeḡal Inscr. = *RIME* 2.13.6.4:46-47; 111.
5. A = Urba'u 1, 1:7-8; Gudea, Stat. B 2:16-17; Gudea, Stat. D 1:17-18; Gudea, Stat. F 1:12-2:1.
 B = Urba'u 1, 1:9; Gudea, Stat. B 2:8-9; Gudea, Stat. D 1:11-12; Gudea, Stat. E 1:18-20.
 C = Urba'u 1, 1:10-12; Gudea, Stat. B 2:10-13; 3:6-11; Gudea, Stat. C 2:11-13.
 D = Gudea, Stat. B 2:18-19; Gudea, Stat. D 1:19-2:1; 4:5-6; Gudea, Stat. E 8:4-8.
6. A = Gudea, Cyl. A 1:29; 3:8; 17:13-14; Gudea, Cyl. B 23:19-21; 24:7.
 B = Gudea, Cyl. A 17:11; 23:22-23 (as name of a n a "stone"); Gudea A (= Klein, *TAPS* 71/7 39) rev. 14' || 17'.
 C = Gudea, Cyl. A 3:5; 17:10; 23:16-17 (as name of a n a "stone"); Gudea, Cyl. B 2:3; Gudea A obv. 17; rev. 13' || 16'.
 D = Gudea, Cyl. B 6:15-16.
7. mainly copies of statue and stela inscriptions.⁹⁵
 A = Codex Urnamma 37-38; Sulgi Cc (*STVC* 59) 18; Sulgi O 29.
 B = Šūsu'en Hist. Inscr. A (= Kutscher, *Brockmon* 74) i 9-11; (p.75) ii 12; Šūsu'en Hist. Inscr. B (= Civil, *JCS* 21 33) x 9-10; Šūsu'en Hist. Inscr. C (= Sjöberg, *JCS* 24 71) ii 23'-24'; Šūsu'en 9:12-15.
 C = Sulgi 26, 2:2-3 (as name of a statue); Sulgi E 64; Sulgi V 16; Šūsu'en Hist. Inscr. A (= Kutscher, *Brockmon* 74) i 5-6; (p. 79) v 22-23.
 D = Codex Urnamma 31-35; Sulgi C 7; Klein, *Studies Hallo* 125 i 5'-7';⁹⁶ Sulgi E 8; 11; 63; Šūsu'en Hist. Inscr. C (= Sjöberg, *JCS* 24 70) i 13'-16'.
8. A = Urnamma C 24; 43; 47; 113; E 6' || F 12; Sulgi B 7; 112-113; D 40-43; F (= Wilcke, *CRRAI* 19 201, fn. 131) 4-5 et passim; P b 22-24; X 47; Kramer, *Studies Sjöberg* 304 i 4; (p. 305) ii 31 (Šūsu'en hymn).

⁹³ Cf. Edzard, *Studies Tadmor* (1991) 258, and fn. 1 with previous literature.

⁹⁴ Cf. Foster, *ARRIM* 8 (1990) 39 for the possibility that the inscription might have been originally inscribed on a monument, i.e. a stela inscription.

⁹⁵ For Sulgi C, E and O as compositions inscribed on stelae, cf. below, 3.2, p. 80.

⁹⁶ Cf. Klein, *Studies Hallo* (1993) 124f. as possible part of Sulgi C, and Tinney, *OLZ* 90 (1995) 13, fn. 31.

- B = Urnamma E 26' || F 29; F 23-24; Sulgi F (= Klein, *TAPS* 71/7 12) 81; G 24; 68; Kramer, *Studies Sjöberg* 304 i 6 (Šūsu'en hymn); Ibbīsu'en D (= Sjöberg *OrSuec* 19/20 146) obv. 10-11.
- C = Urnamma B 4-5; 36; D (Ni) 9-11; 13; Sulgi D 11-13; 44; G 41; P a 13-14; 39, Šūsu'en D (= Sjöberg, *AOAT* 25 414) 34 et passim; Kramer, *Studies Sjöberg* 304 i 3; 8 (Šūsu'en hymn); Ibbīsu'en D (= Sjöberg *OrSuec* 19/20 146) obv. 28.
- D = Urnamma D (Ni) 15-17; Sulgi B 25; D 8-10; G 14; 20; 25-26; 49; P b 37; 41; 54-55; Kramer, *Studies Sjöberg* 305 ii 31 (Šūsu'en hymn); Ibbīsu'en A (= Sjöberg *OrSuec* 19/20 145) obv. 10-11; Ibbīsu'en D (= Sjöberg *OrSuec* 19/20 146) obv. 22-24.
9. A = *RIME* 4.1.5.3:28 (Lipiteštar); *RIME* 4.1.5.8:3-4; *RIME* 4.2.14.5:21-22 (Rīmsīn); *RIME* 4.2.14.9 || 10:31-32 || 30.
 B = *RIME* 4.1.10.1 || 2:12-13 || 7-8 (Enlilbāni); *RIME* 4.2.8.1 || 3:7-10 || 15-17 et passim (Nūradad); *RIME* 4.2.8.7 i 18-21; *RIME* 4.2.14.14:6' (Rīmsīn); *RIME* 4.2.14.17:22; *RIME* 4.2.14.20:3.
 C = *RIME* 4.1.3.2:14 (Iddindagān); *RIME* 4.1.6.1:12-13 (Urninurta); *RIME* 4.1.11.1:12-13 (Zambīya); *RIME* 4.1.13.1:19-20 (Urdukuga); *RIME* 4.1.14.1:9; 11-12 (Sīnmāgir); *RIME* 4.2.8.1:12-13 (Nūradad); *RIME* 4.2.9.6:13-14 (Sīniddinam); *RIME* 4.2.13.12:25 (Waradsīn); *RIME* 4.2.13.16:28-29; *RIME* 4.2.13.27:27-29; *RIME* 4.2.14.5:21-23 et passim (Rīmsīn).
 D = *RIME* 4.2.8.3:18-19 (Nūradad); *RIME* 4.2.9.6:15-16 (Sīniddinam); *RIME* 4.2.13.21:45-46 (Waradsīn); *RIME* 4.2.13.27:49-50.
10. mainly copies of statue and stela inscriptions.
 A = Išmedagān A 42; 62; Išmedagān S 20; 23;⁹⁷ *RIME* 4.2.9.1 (= Kārki, *StOr.* 49 69) 27 (Sīniddinam).
 B = Išmedagān A 239; *RIME* 4.2.13.15 frgm. 3:4'-5' (Waradsīn) (either a fragment of a stela or a stone tablet, i.e. artefact inscription).
 C = Išmedagān A 44; 60; 104; Išmedagān S 4; 27-28; Codex Lipiteštar (= Szlechter, *Les lois sumériennes* 58) i 23-24; *RIME* 4.1.6.2 ii 18'-21' (Urninurta); *RIME* 4.2.6.1 ii 1'-3' (Abīsarē); Kārki, *StOr.* 49 70:101-105 (Sīniddinam); *RIME* 4.2.13.15 frgm. 14:13'-15' (Waradsīn) (either a fragment of a stela or a stone tablet, i.e. artefact inscription); *RIME* 4.2.13.17 i 15'.
 D = Išmedagān A 61; 69-70; 77-78; *RIME* 4.1.6.2 ii 4'-5' (Urninurta) (perhaps not related to king); Kārki, *StOr.* 49 70:106-109; 71:185-90 (Sīniddinam); *RIME* 4.2.11.1 (p. 192) v 1-4 (Sīniqīšam).
11. A = Išbi'erra A (= Sjöberg, *Studies Hallo* 213) i 3'; Šūlišu A (= Kramer, *Studies Sjöberg* 307) 106; Išmedagān D (= Sjöberg, *JCS* 29 31) rev. 1; Iddindagān B (= Römer, *SKIZ* 210) 18; Lipiteštar A 1-2; 25; 108; Lipiteštar B 10 et passim; Lipiteštar D 6; Isin *32 (= Kapp, *ZA* 51 78) i 18 (Enlilbāni hymn); Sjöberg, *Mondgott* 25 ad 32 with references.

⁹⁷ For Išmedagān A as inscribed on a stela, and Išmedagān S on a statue, cf. below, 3.2, pp. 80 and 83.

B = Išbi'erra A (= Sjöberg, *Studies Hallo* 214) source D 7'; Iddindagān B 12; Lipiteštar A 33; Lipiteštar B 43; Gungunum A (= Sjöberg, *ZA* 63 25) rev. 13; *UET* 6 101 (= Steible, *Haja* 8) 50; *UET* 6 102 (= Charpin, *Clergé* 275) 11.

C = Išbi'erra A (= Sjöberg, *Studies Hallo* 214) iv 9; 18; Šūilišu A (= Kramer, *Studies Sjöberg* 307) 105; Iddindagān B 5-6; Išmedagān B 41; Lipiteštar A 31-32; Lipiteštar B 17; 46-46a; Urninurta A (= Sjöberg, *Finkelstein Memorial Vol.* 191) 81; Isin *28 (= Falkenstein, *ZA* 49 116) 12 (Urninurta hymn); Isin *31c (= Sjöberg, *AOAT* 25 420) 162 (Bürsîn hymn); Isin *32 (= Kapp, *ZA* 51 78) i 12; (p. 79) iv 120-21 (Enlilbāni hymn); Šîniddinam A (= v. Dijk, *JCS* 19 21) 18 || 19; *UET* 6 102 (= Charpin, *Clergé* 275) 1-2; 6; *UET* 6 103 (Charpin, *Clergé* 282) 6; *UET* 6 104 (= Steible, *FAOS* 1 33) 3; (p. 34) 58; *UET* 6 106 (= Charpin, *Clergé* 295) 11 (Rîmsîn hymns).

D = Iddindagān B 2-3; Išmedagān B 43-44; Lipiteštar A 24; 26; 36; Lipiteštar B 7-9; Urninurta A (= Sjöberg, *Finkelstein Memorial Vol.* 190) 20; 38-39; Isin *32 (= Kapp, *ZA* 51 78) i 14; (p. 80) v 163-67 (Enlilbāni hymn); *UET* 6 102 (= Charpin, *Clergé* 275) 18-22; *UET* 6 104 (= Steible, *FAOS* 1 33) 4-6; (p. 34) 60-62; (p. 35) 74; *UET* 6 106 (= Charpin, *Clergé* 296) 22 (Rîmsîn hymns).

The chart shows that topoi of legitimation and kingship appear in artefact inscriptions of Pre-Sargonic Lagaš and Uruk, inscribed on bricks, door sockets, cones, and votive objects, and only again in artefact inscriptions of the Isin-Larsa period. From the Sargonic through Ur III period, topoi of legitimation and kingship are in general absent from these inscriptions. These topoi then appear only in statue and stela inscriptions, predominantly known from Old Babylonian copies, in the Lagaš II statues and cylinders, and in the hymns of the Lagaš II (= Gudea A) and Ur III periods. The only exceptions are the Lagaš rulers Piriġme and Urba'u, two of Gudea's predecessors, and the Ur III kings Šūsu'en and Amarsu'en, whose artefact inscriptions can sometimes contain particular formulae of divine birth and selection, reflecting perhaps a problematical succession of these rulers. This shift is similar to what happens to narrative material describing royal achievements first found in Pre-Sargonic artefact inscriptions. Absent from most inscribed objects, these narratives appear only in the Lagaš statues, Gudea's cylinders, and in the Old Babylonian copies of statue and stela inscriptions of the Ur III and Isin periods, and in a more literary and less explicit form in the royal hymns. In the Larsa period this changes, and narratives can be found again in both hymns and artefact inscriptions.⁹⁸ The comparison of topoi found in Old Babylonian copies of statue and stelas inscriptions with those in hymns shows the close affinity between the two text types and bolsters the thesis of W.W. Hallo that royal hymns were originally inscribed on stelas and statues.

One can also observe a common pool of topoi which are used once the king is invested with insignia and assumes his role as monarch. These topoi or motifs are

⁹⁸ Cf. immediately below on topoi of royal achievements and also 3.1, pp. 69ff. and 3.2, p. 84.

centered on the king's deeds on behalf of his people and the gods. The earliest examples go back to the Pre-Sargonic royal inscriptions of Lugalzagesi and IriKagina, occur in Gudea's statues and cylinders, and find their way into the Ur III and Isin-Larsa royal hymns.

One topos, the care of widows and orphans, is expressed as a stock formula of one sentence. The attestations in Gudea and Urnamma show slightly varied prefix chains: Codex Urnamma 162-165 *nu-siki lu₂ niĝ₂ tuku-ra l ba-ra(-[n]a)-an-ĝar l nu-mu(-un)-KUŠ lu₂ a₂ tuku-ra l ba-ra-na-an-ĝar* "The orphan was not delivered to the wealthy, the widow was not delivered to the mighty", and Gudea, Stat. B 7:42-43 (II Cyl. B 18:6-7) *nu-siki lu₂ niĝ₂ tuku nu-mu-na-ĝar l na/nu-ma-KUŠ lu₂ a₂ tuku nu-na-ĝar* "The orphan was not delivered to the wealthy, the widow was not delivered to the mighty".⁹⁹ These in turn are modelled on similar phraseology appearing 150 years earlier in Ukg. 4, 12:23-25 || 5, 11:30-31,¹⁰⁰ and the same formula appears later in the Old Babylonian period in Codex Hammurapi xl 61.¹⁰¹

The securing of routes for maintenance of infra-structure finds literary expression as early as Luzag. 1, 2: 10-11 *ĝiri₃-bi l si e-na-sa₂* "He (= Enlil) has put for him (= Lugalzagesi) their (= the lands') roads in order", with which compare Urnamma C 19 *[u]r-^rdnamma^r lugal ur₅ ki-ma nam du₁₀ tar-ra-ba / ĝiri₃ si mu-un-da-ab-sa₂* "Urnamma, the king of Ur: after an auspicious fate was determined, the roads were put in order due to him", and line 54 *^re di m_x^r (E D I N)-ma e zem-gin₇ du₃-a-ba ĝiri₃ si mu-un-da-ab-^rsa₂^r* "In the steppe, after being prepared as for a festival, the roads were put in order due to me!".¹⁰² Besides the royal hymns of Urnamma and Sulgi, the topos is only rarely attested in other literary compositions.¹⁰³

The description of abundance under royal rule: compare e.g. Gudea, Cyl. A 11:7-8 *an-še₃ IM. A-e gu₃ ba-de₂ l an-ta ħe₂-ĝal₂ ħa-mu-ra-ta-DU* "I (= Ningirsu) will call towards heaven for (a) *rain(storm)*. From heaven abundance will verily come forth for you (= Gudea)", with Urnamma C 20-21 *an-e ka ^rku₃^r-ga-ni mu-un-ba IM. A ma-u₃-du₂ l ki-še₃ ša₃-ga si ba-an-sa₂ ħe₂-ĝal₂ ma-ra-DU* "An opened his pure mouth and *rain(storms)* was produced for me. He made it fall right into the deep earth, and abundance came forth to/for me". The same motif can be found in Luzag. 1, 3:27-31 *u bu r-an-na-ke₄ l si ħa-mu-da-b₆-*

⁹⁹ Cf. also Steible, *FAOS* 9/2 (1991) 31 ad 92.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. also Szlechter, *Les lois sumériennes* (1983) 25 ad IV.

¹⁰¹ Cf. *CAD* A/1 363 s.v. *almattu* c) and *CAD* E 72f. s.v. *ekūtu* for other Akkadian references. Nanše Hymn 20ff. is a literary elaboration of the same topos.

¹⁰² The expression *ĝiri₃ si sa₂* is attested in Urnamma's year name "4" and in Sulgi's year name "6". For the concern for roads in the ancient Near East in general, cf. Frayne, *JAOS* 103 (1983) 740ff.

¹⁰³ Cf. e.g. Hoe and Plow (= Vanstiphout, *ASJ* 14 [1992] 362, fn. 53) 153 (...) *ĝiri₃ si um-mi-sa₂* "(...) after I (= the hoe) made (instead) a straight path". In a less literal sense in Nanše Hymn 113, Utudug to Ilakniid 6, and Ininšagura 118.

sa₂ lu₃ -elki sa₆ -ga ligi ha-mu-da-du₈ "May the teats of heaven flow straight (down) under my (= Lugalzagesi's) reign. May the people witness fertile ground under my reign". This may be compared to *UET* 6 102 (cf. Charpin, *Clergé* 275 = Steible, *FAOS* 1 [1975] 6¹⁰⁴) 23-24 ubur an sud-a₂ gal₂ hu-mu-ra-ab-taka₄ IM. A an-na hu-mu-ra-ab-še₃ gal₃ | m u ma-da u₄ nam-*he*₂ an-ša₃ -ta za₃ hu-mu-ra-ab-keš₂ "May the teats of the *sparkling* heavens be opened for you (= Rīmsīn), may it rain for you from heaven. May you be provided with years of wealth¹⁰⁵ and days of abundance from within the midst of heaven".¹⁰⁶

The king as incessant provider of the gods is a recurrent topos throughout royal hymns, as e.g. in Sulgi B 244-245 di₂ ġir-re-e-ne gub-bu in-ga-an-zu | d a-nun-na-ke₄ -ne ša₃ še₁₇ -de₃ mu-zu "I (= Sulgi) also know how to serve the gods. I know how to cool the heart for the Anuna".¹⁰⁷ Urnamma A 157-159 has di₂ ġir-re-e-ne-er mu-ne-gub-bu-nam / ki-ur₃ mu-ne-*gal*₂ | d a-nun-na-ke₄ -ne *he*₂ -*gal*₂ -la pa mu-ne-e₃ -a | *ġeš* -[n]u₂ u₂ za-*gin*₃ bara₃ -ga-ba *gi*₁₆ -sa mu-ne-*ġar* -*ra* -*ġu*₁₀ (...) "I indeed served the gods and have provided them with homes. Although, having revealed abundance to the Anuna, I have placed for them treasures on their beds spread with fresh herbs (...). Urnamma is the "provider for Nippur" (u₂ -a ni-bru ki), the "supporter of Ur" (sa *ġ* -u s₂ uri₂ ki -m a) and the "provider for Sumer and Akkad" (u₂ -a ki-en-gi ki-uri) in Urnamma D (Ni) 38 and (Ur) 39'. Rīmsīn is "the one who took in hand the renovation of the gods' homes" (lu₂ e₂ di₂ ġir-re-e-ne še₃ u ġibil bi₂ -in-AK (/ -a)) in *RIME* 4.2.14.8 || 11:16 || 20-21.¹⁰⁸

The motif of "sleeplessness as a sign of industriousness"¹⁰⁹ appears in several passages in context of carrying out a divine command, e.g. Gudea, Cyl. A 6:11, 17:8, 19:23 and Stat. F 2:2-5 (to build a temple), and Sulgi R 6 (to build a boat),¹¹⁰ or in generally caring for somebody or something, e.g. Urnamma A 163 (care for the gods) [*ġ*]₆ -da gub u₃ nu-ku-*ġa*₂ -a u₄ im-ma -ni-ti | "I have (even) spent the time sleeplessly serving (the gods) by night!", Išmedagān S 11, said of Išmedagān, (...) *ġi*₆ an-bar₇ -ba gub-bu muš₃ nu-tu m₂ -mu "to serve incessantly night and midday", Curse of Agade 24, said of Inana for her city, *TMH NF* 4 7 iii 153-55, a bal bale of Nanna, said of some functionaries of the temple Ekišnuġal, among them a

¹⁰⁴ Cf. also Steible's commentary, *ibid.* 21f. ad 23.

¹⁰⁵ m a - d a is taken here (with Charpin, *Clergé* 276) as a variant for m a - d a m *hišbu* "abundance, produce, wealth"; compare Sjöberg, *Studies Widengren* 64:29' u₄ m a - d a m mu *he*₂ -*gal*₂ -la ti | [*il*]₃ [...].

¹⁰⁶ In general, cf. also the commentary ad Urnamma C 20-23 in V 3.3, p. 222.

¹⁰⁷ The verb g u b and other terms that are used to characterize unending (royal) service to the gods have been listed and supplied with references by Ludwig, *Išme-Dagan* 67, and fn. 167; 201, and fn. 476.

¹⁰⁸ All artefact inscriptions.

¹⁰⁹ Cooper, *Curse of Agade* 238 ad 24.

¹¹⁰ Similarly Išmedagān I 6 (in context of building a chariot) with the expression *ġa*₂ -la nu - d a g "to be unceasing".

millers,¹¹¹ performing incessant work for Nanna, and *RIME* 4.2.13.17 i 14', said of Waradsîn, for the "land" (k a l a m). Unrelated to this topos is sleeplessness caused by calamity in Urnamma A 20 n a m - l u₂ - u l u₃ l i - b i i b₂ - t i l - l a - a m₃ u₃ d u₁₀ n u - m u - u n - k u - k u "With their bliss(fulness) having come to an end, the people do not sleep soundly".

Submission to divine will and knowing how to carry out divine commands is found in texts involving construction projects, describing preparations and then the actual work that follows, as in Gudea, Cyl. B 13:11-13 (bestowing gifts on the Eninnu); Gudea, Stat. C 2:14ff. (building the Eana in Ġirsu for Inana); similarly Gudea, Stat. F 2:6ff. (building the temple of Gatumdug), Sulgi R 5ff. (construction of Ninlil's boat), Išmedagān I 3ff. (construction of Enlil's chariot); *RIME* 4.2.14.15:19-24¹¹² (Rīmsîn) (digging canals for irrigation projects). Išmedagān is called s i p a g a l - z u "the wise shepherd" in Išmedagān I 3. Urnamma is "the one who knows judgment, the lord of [broad und]erstanding" d i z u e n ġ e š [t u₂ d a ġ a l] - l a - k a m in hymn B 13 (after Enlil has commissioned Urnamma to rebuild the Ekur), Rīmsîn is one who "has intelligence, is equipped with true wisdom" [i g] i - ġ a l₂ t u k u ġ e š t [u₂ z] i š u d u₇ in *RIME* 4.2.14.15:27 (cf. also lines 28-31; after being commissioned by Enlil). Preparations involve the making of plans and the ritual moulding of bricks in the case of temple constructions (cf. Gudea and Urnamma), the supply of raw-materials in the case of the construction of Ninlil's boat (Sulgi R 8), and the making of plans and assembling of people to help work on the canals in *RIME* 4.2.14.15 (Rīmsîn).¹¹³

It is evident that these topoi of royal achievements show much continuity from the Pre-Sargonic to the Larsa period. As the previously discussed topoi of legitimization, they appear in the artefact inscriptions of the Pre-Sargonic and the Larsa period, in the statues and cylinders of Gudea, and in the Ur III and Isin-Larsa hymns and literary compositions. They do not appear in Lagaš II or Ur III artefact inscriptions.

1.3 Royal Titles and Epithets

Royal titles and epithets¹¹⁴ are selected according to individual circumstances and show greater selectivity than topoi of royal achievements. They get dropped in certain periods and reappear in others. Attested titles and epithets Urnamma uses in Codex Urnamma, his royal inscriptions, and hymns are:

¹¹¹ According to J. Westenholz, *Studies Sjoberg* (1989) 547 in the person of Enġeduana.

¹¹² A tablet copy, probably of an original foundation tablet (cf. line 59).

¹¹³ Cf. also below, 3.1, pp. 69ff.

¹¹⁴ For problems in distinguishing titles from epithets, cf. Hallo, *Royal Titles* 129ff.

<i>Title / Epithet</i>		<i>Attestations</i> ¹¹⁵
a ₂ nun ge ₄ -a	"of indomitable strength"	C 14
dumu ^d nin-sumun ₂ (-ka); dumu du ₂ -da ^d nin-sumun ₂ - ka ¹¹⁶	"son of Ninsumun"; "natural son of Ninsumun"	A 63; E 6' F 12; F 40; C 113, CU 37-38
en	"e n-priest, lord"	C 69; E 5' F 11; Ni. 4375 iv 7'
en ġeštu ₂ daġal-la	"lord of broad under- standing"	B 13 (broken)
en sa ₇ .g	"comely lord"	E 5' F 11; E 20'
en sukud	"eminent lord"	F 6*
en unuki-ga ¹¹⁷	"e n of Uruk"	10:7; 34:5
en uru ₁₆ .n	"unswerving lord"	B 44* 50
engar zi.d	"faithful farmer"	G 19* 20
igi(-)ġal ₂ kur-kur-ra	"overseer of all (the foreign) lands"	A 44
ka mud-ġal ₂ ki-en-gi-ra	"advocate of Sumer"	A 33 34* (broken)
ki-aġ ₂ den-lil ₂ -la ₂	"beloved of Enlil"	D (Ur) 39'
[ki-en-g]i-ra uz ₃ -saġ-bi	". . . of [Sum]er"	C 62*
KI.LUGAL.GUB-la ħe ₂ -du ₇ - bi	"adornment of . . ."	C 13*
ku ₃ tuku	"wealthy one"	D (Ni) 5* (Ur) 6'
dġamma	"guardian-spirit"	C 50
dġamma iri-ġa ₂	"guardian-spirit of my city"	C 31
lugal an(/-ne ₂) ub-da limmu ₂ -ba(/bi)	"king of the four corners"	D (Ni) 37 (Ur) 38'
lugal kalam-ma(-k)	"king of the land"	A 40; B 68; C 25; H 1 (broken) 10

¹¹⁵ An asterisk * after a line number indicates that the title/epithet is discussed in the philological commentary to that line. For a discussion of the titles, cf. below.

¹¹⁶ Cf. also below, 3.3, p. 86, and fn. 277.

¹¹⁷ Cf. also above, III 2., p. 38, and below, 2., p. 65f.

lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri(-k)	"king of Sumer and Akkad"	CU 13; 107 (broken); 3:3; 7, 2:2; 10:9; 11:6; 12:6; 13 obv. 7; 14 obv. 6; 15 obv. 6; 16:7; 17:7; 18:6; 19:6; 21:6; 22:7; 23:6; 24:6; 26, 1:8; 27, 1:8; 28, 1:7; 31:6; 32:6; 33:6; 34:7; 35:7; 40:7; 45:7; 46:6; 47, 1:11; Al-Rawi, <i>Sumer</i> 46 (1989-90) 84:7; IB 1537 rev. v' 4'
lugal mu da-a-ri	"king with a lasting name"	D (Ur) 41'
lugal uri _{2/5} ki-ma	"king of Ur"	C 19; 31; D (Ni) 41; CU 12 (broken); 106 (broken); 1:2; 2:2; 3:2; 4:2; 5:4; 6:5; 7,2:1; 8:5; 9,1:4; 10:8; 11:5; 12:5; 13 obv. 6; 14 obv. 5; 15 obv. 5; 16:6; 17:6; 18:5; 19:5; 21:5; 22:6; 23:5; 24:5; 25:8; 26,1:7; 27,1:7; 28,1:6; 29, a:2; 31:5; 32:5; 33:5; 34:6; 35:6; 38:4; 39:4'; 40:6; 42:4'; 43,2:1; 45:6; 46:5; 47,1:10; Al-Rawi, <i>Sumer</i> 46 (1989-90) 84:6; IB 1537 rev. v' 3'
mas-su ki-en-gi-ra	"leader of Sumer"	A 35
maškim (maš-gi-i)	"enforcer"	E 30' 32' F 35
me-te me-te kur-kur-ra me-te? unken-na	"adornment" "adornment of all (the foreign) lands" "adornment of the assembly"	E 6' F 12 A 33 (broken) 34*
mu pa ₃ -da DN(-k)	"called by name by DN"	B 34; E 5' F 11; 14
niĝ ₂ tuku	"rich one, wealthy"	D (Ni) 6* D (Ur) 8'
saĝ-us ₂ uri ₂ ki-ma	"supporter of Ur"	D (Ni) 38
ses ^d bil ₃ -ga-mes gu-la	"eldest of the brothers of Gilgamesh"	C 112

sipa.d	"shepherd"	A 117; 150; 213; B 6; C 78; F 50
sipa ku ₃ -zu	"wise shepherd"	A 31
sipa (d)ur-d ₁ namma(-k)	"shepherd Urnamma"	A 91; 96; 101 105 109 113 119 122a (Susa, broken) 128 131 a (Susa); 234; B 10; 14; 20; 36; 37; 53; 56; 60; 64; 68; C 107; 115 (broken); F 45 (broken); 51
sipa zi.d	"faithful shepherd"	A 6; 18; 21; 39; 84; 155; 202; C 76
sipa zi ur-d ₁ namma	"faithful shepherd Urnamma"	A 7; B 4; 12
su ₆ za-gin ₃ su ₃ /13-su ₃ /13	"wearing a long lapis lazuli beard"	E 24'; F 5; 45
sul	"youth"	
sul igi il ₂ -la	"selected youth"	D (Ni) 10 (Ur) 11'
sul zi.d	"faithful young man, faithful youth"	B 34; 43 49; D (Ni) 6
še-ga den-lil ₂ -la ₂	"favourite of Enlil"	D (Ur) 38'
šu-du ₁₁ -ga-e d ₁ nanna-a	"creature of Nanna"	C 111
teš ₂ kalam-ma	"the land's vigour"	A 45*
u ₂ -a	"provider"	
u ₂ -a ki-en-gi ki-uri	"provider for Sumer and Akkad"	D (Ur) 39'
u ₂ -a nibru _{ki} ¹¹⁸	"provider for Nippur"	D (Ni) 38
UL ₄ -gal ki-en-gi-ra	". . . of Sumer"	A 39*
ur-saĝ	"warrior, hero"	A 169

The title *l u g a l a n u b - d a l i m m u₂ - b a* / LUGAL *kibrātim arba'im* "king of the four corners" is attested in Urnamma's hymn D (Ni) 37 || (Ur) 38' but not in his royal inscriptions, in contrast to his successors, the Ur III kings from Sulgi through the Isin and Old Babylonian kings.¹¹⁹ The title was first assumed by Narāmsu'en of Akkade and subsequently by the Gutian king Erridupizir¹²⁰ and by Utuḫeġal,¹²¹ Urnamma's former overlord in Uruk. Perhaps Urnamma was not able to claim this title from Utuḫeġal legitimately to make it part of his titulary in his royal inscriptions. Urnamma uses the title *l u g a l k a l a m -*

¹¹⁸ Cf. also V 4.1, p. 231.

¹¹⁹ E.g. Sulgi 1b:4 et passim; Amarsu'en 3:9 et passim; Šūsu'en 1-2:6-7 et passim; Ibbisu'en 1-2, 1:5 et passim; also in Sulgi A 4. Some references to the Isin kings are: *RIME* 4.1.1.2006:3 (Išbi'erra); *RIME* 4.1.4.5:4 (Išmedagān). Cf. also Hallo, *Royal Titles* 152 ad (5). For this royal title in general, cf. Wilcke, *CRAI* 19 (1974) 178.

¹²⁰ *RIME* 2.2.1.1 i 3'-7' LUGAL | *gu-ti-im* | u₃ | *ki-ib-ra-tim* | *ar-ba-im* "king of Gutium and the four corners".

¹²¹ *RIME* 2.13.6.1:5 et passim; Utuḫeġal Inscr. (= *RIME* 2.13.6.4) 20.

m a "king of the land"¹²² exclusively in his hymns (Urnamma A 40, B 68, C 25, and H 1 || 10) as do some of his successors (e.g. Sulgi E 201, Lipiteštar B 53, said of Išmedagān, and Lipiteštar A 17).¹²³ Other kings of the Ur III and Isin dynasties may use it to avoid the more prosaic titular *l u g a l u r i*_{2/5} *k i - m a* "king of Ur",¹²⁴ but Urnamma uses both these titles in Urnamma C. The title *l u g a l k a l a m - m a* is first used by Enšakušana of Uruk, who reigned shortly before Sargon,¹²⁵ in inscriptions from Nippur and Uruk (1:5 and 5:4), next to the more specific and probably politically relevant¹²⁶ title *e n k i - e n - g i* "en of Sumer" (1:4 and 5:3). The titular was used again by Lugalzagesi (1, 1:5 || 1, 3:3) and Sargon.¹²⁷ By assuming this title, these rulers expressed the rule over all of Sumer, and therefore legitimised themselves foremost through Enlil who gave them kingship over the land Sumer,¹²⁸ and not through the god of their city. By combining *e n - s h i p* of Uruk (Urnamma 10:7; 34:5) with kingship of Ur, Urnamma followed a strategy that is attested in Pre-Sargonic times by Lugalkiġenedudu of Uruk, a contemporary of Enmetena of Lagaš. Two of his inscriptions tell us that he exercised *e n - s h i p* of Uruk and kingship of Ur simultaneously.¹²⁹ The only title first attested under Urnamma is *l u g a l k i - e n - g i k i - u r i* "king of Sumer and Akkad", by which Urnamma claimed hegemony over the whole of Babylonia.¹³⁰ The title is exclusively used in his inscriptions and was subsequently born by his successor Sulgi.¹³¹ After that it is attested for Šūilišu of Isin and his successors.¹³² According to D.R. Frayne the area to the north, around Uruk, encountered as one of the territories mentioned in the Cadaster text of Urnamma, is what is meant by *k i - u r i*.¹³³ But the area called *k i - u r i* must have encompassed Transtigradian areas as far as the districts in the (upper) Diyāla region, as well as the area around the Ġebel Ĥamrīn, mentioned in IB 1537, an Old Babylonian tablet from Isin,¹³⁴ and in the prologue of Urnamma's law code.

122 For this title, cf. also Steiner, *CRAI* 35 (= *OPBF* 14) (1992) 268f., and fns. 58 and 60; Franke, *Königsschriften und Königsideologie, Die Könige von Akkade zwischen Tradition und Neuerung*, *Altorientalistik* 1, Hamburg (1995) 71f.; 78, and fn. 192.

123 Note that the same title occurs in Lugale (lines 144 and 361) for the anonymous king who scholars think must be Gudea (cf. Wilcke, "Politik und Literatur" 60, fn. 137 with previous literature). Did the Nippurian scribes add additional weight to Gudea's legitimation by calling him "king of the land", a title otherwise unknown from texts pertaining to him?

124 Cf. Hallo, *Royal Titles* 19.

125 Cf. Cooper, *Presarg. Inscr.* 4, and fn. 9.

126 Wilcke, *CRAI* 19 (1974) 227.

127 References in Kienast, Sommerfeld, *FAOS* 8 (1994) 146f. s.v. *lugal kalam-ma*.

128 E.g. Luzag. 1, 1:36-41; *RIME* 2.1.1.1:68-73 = 73-78 et passim (Sargon). For the significance of Enlil and Nippur in general for Pre-Sargonic and Sargonic rulers, cf. now Tinney, *Nippur Lament* 55-58.

129 LuKin 2:4-14 and LuKin 4:5-14.

130 Cf. also I 1., p. 4, and fn. 29.

131 Cf. the references in Wilcke, *CRAI* 19 (1974) 186, fn. 3.

132 E.g. *RIME* 4.1.2.3:3 (Šūilišu); *RIME* 4.1.3.1:6 (Iddindagān); *RIME* 4.1.4.1:9 (Išmedagān); *RIME* 4.1.5.1:11 (Lipiteštar); *RIME* 4.1.6.1:11 et passim (Urninurta).

133 Frayne, *BiOr.* 48 (1991) 398.

134 Cf. I 1., p. 6.

1.4 Enlil and Urnamma's Kingship

As noted above in the discussion of investiture phraseology,¹³⁵ Ur III and Isin-Larsa kings generally receive kingship and its accoutrements from a variety of gods, although Enlil is the source of sovereignty for all kings of the land.¹³⁶ Sulgi, for instance, receives them from An (Sulgi A 87, B 23-25, P b 37), Enlil (Sulgi B 23-25, G 24-27, R 86), Enki (Sulgi R 87), Lugalbanda (Sulgi P b 38-42) and the Anuna gods (Sulgi P b 61-64), Ibbīsu'en from Nanna (Ibbīsu'en A obv. 10-11), and Lipiteštar from An (Lipiteštar A 24), Enlil (Lipiteštar A 25-26), and Enki (Lipiteštar A 35-36, B 48). Urnamma, however, couples sovereignty exclusively with Enlil, chief of the Sumerian pantheon (cf. Urnamma D (Ni) 9-17; D (Ur) 10'-18'), and receives royal insignia only from Enlil.¹³⁷ As noted above, the kings of the Akkade dynasty also claimed to have been given kingship by Enlil, without including other gods, and this is also true of Utuḫēgal of Uruk. Many references in the hymns show Urnamma's close relationship with Enlil: Enlil approves of Urnamma (Urnamma C 22), he calls him by name or gives him a good name (Urnamma B 34; C 46), designates him through extispicy (C 57-59), and gives him troops to keep the land secure (C 72). Urnamma is Enlil's "perfect workman" (C 93), he is Enlil's "beloved" (Urnamma D (Ur) 39'), and his "favourite" (D (Ur) 38'). Even Urnamma B, which centres exclusively on the building and dedication of the Ekur in Nippur, ends with the erection of a dais of kingship in Ur, and the text states that this was done in the presence of Enlil, his lord, and that it was given to Urnamma as a present (line 69), thereby underlining Urnamma's legitimation. Hymn G goes so far as to arrogate to Enlil certain functions that Urnamma C properly attributes to other deities. Thus, in Urnamma C 23, it is naturally Enki who gives the carp-flood, with which he is commonly associated, and barley, but Urnamma G 8 has Enlil as subject instead of Enki. Also, Urnamma G 18 recalls Urnamma C 20-21 where it is An who is, as expected, responsible for the rain, and not, as in hymn G, Enlil.

This constant reference to Enlil as the source of a king's vocation and his charisma is a form of ideological legitimization utilized especially by founders of a new dynasty. Linking kingship to Enlil expresses the claim of sovereignty over Nippur, the religious capital of Babylonia, which was naturally of paramount importance for establishing the right to rule. Thus also Išbi'erra, founder of the Isin dynasty, particularly stresses his relationship with Enlil and claims sovereignty over Nippur in his hymns A¹³⁸ and B, and other literary sources seem to contain

¹³⁵ 1.2, ad D), p. 51.

¹³⁶ For the significance of Enlil and Nippur in general for Ur III and Isin rulers, cf. now Tinney, *Nippur Lament* 58-62.

¹³⁷ Cf. fn. 135.

¹³⁸ Cf. Sjöberg, *Studies Hallo* (1993) 211f. with previous literature.

references to Nippur's change in allegiance from Ur to Isin.¹³⁹ Išbi'erra is Enlil's *sulzid* "faithful young man", as is Urnamma (Urnamma B 34; 43 || 49; D (Ni) 6). Išbi'erra calls himself "Enlil's son",¹⁴⁰ whereas Urnamma seems to avoid any genealogical claim of his own, reserving it for the chief god of Ur, Nanna-Su'en, who is called *dumu saĝ den-lil₂-la₂* "first born (child) of Enlil".¹⁴¹ Both Urnamma and Išbi'erra particularly stress the fact that their actions are determined by Enlil's word which was very likely conveyed in form of an oracle.¹⁴² A favourable Enlil oracle was most probably obtained in the case of Išbi'erra's usurpation,¹⁴³ once he controlled Nippur, and this change was even acknowledged by the last king of Ur, Ibbisu'en himself.¹⁴⁴

A passage in Urnamma's self-laudatory hymn C indicates that a similar procedure took place when Urnamma "arranged" a positive omen to validate his coming to power, a theme picked up by Išmedaġān and used in his self-laudatory hymn A.¹⁴⁵ Urnamma states that he was chosen by Enlil through extispicy (*maš₂-e pa₃.d*) immediately after the flood had receded.¹⁴⁶ Urnamma C 57-58 *ṛa[?]-ma⁻ru [g]e[?]-ba i-ti ma⁻ge₄ (/ ṛx[?]-a⁻ba[?]) | den-lil₂-le ṛu[?] du₁₀-du₁₀-ga-na maš₂-e ṛbi₂-in[?]-pa₃-de₃-en* "When the storm had receded?, the moonlight returned to/for me (when . . .), Enlil designated me on his very auspicious day through extispicy". The term *maš₂-e pa₃.d* is attested in Pre-Sargonic Lagaš (Urn. 24 3:3-6), in a royal inscription from the Second Dynasty of Lagaš (Urningirsu I.?[?] 6 2':8'-9'), and abundantly in Ur III and Isin-Larsa year names and literary texts in connection with the selection of a cultic official. Undoubtedly one of the more important tasks of new rulers or usurpers was to control Nippur and take custody of the cult of Enlil, and it is likely that both Urnamma's inauguration of first-fruit offerings for Enlil described at the end of Urnamma C as well as the introduction of a throne or other objects for Enlil (and Ninlil) in Nippur, attested in many early year names of Ur III and Isin kings, occurred for that reason.

¹³⁹ Frayne, *Correlations* 309ff. Note especially the letter of Puzursulgi (= Puzurnumušda?) to Ibbisu'en (= Michalowski, *Correspondence* 254ff.; cf. also Wilcke, ZA 60 [1970] 57-59). In it he relates to his king a letter of Išbi'erra in which the latter challenges Ibbisu'en, by order of Enlil, to hand over Kazallu.

¹⁴⁰ Sjöberg, *Studies Hallo* (1993) 211f. with references.

¹⁴¹ Urnamma 10:2-3; 25:3-4; 26, 1:2-3; 27, 1:2-3; 28, 1:2.

¹⁴² Wilcke, *CRAI* 19 (1974) 229, fn. 53; idem, "Politik und Literatur" 64.

¹⁴³ Wilcke, ZA 60 (1970) 59f.; v. Dijk, *JCS* 30 (1978) 192 ad 4'-9'.

¹⁴⁴ Wilcke, *ibid.* 60.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. below, 2., p. 66f.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. also above, 1.1, p. 41.

2. Urnamma and Išmedagān

It is difficult to give a detailed outline of Išmedagān's reign with the available textual data,¹⁴⁷ but there are indications that aspects of Išmedagān's political biography and his use of specific titulary seem to resemble some of Urnamma's aspects of reign, in so far as they can be reconstructed, and use of titulary. This seems to corroborate the observation that the literary portrayals of Išmedagān and his reign in his hymns were not only styled on those that were partly used by the Old Babylonian scribes to present Sulgi, as noticed and discussed especially by J. Klein,¹⁴⁸ but perhaps also Urnamma. The following discussion centres therefore first on possible similarities between the political biographies of the two kings and then attempts to present textual evidence from Išmedagān's self-laudatory hymn A that may show literary dependence on Urnamma's self-laudatory hymn C.

The beginnings of Išmedagān's political career can be viewed as similar to Urnamma's: he was *šakkanakku* "military governor" for his father in Dēr before becoming king, just as Urnamma in Ur for Utuḫeḡal of Uruk, a possible relative of his.¹⁴⁹ On becoming king, Išmedagān, too, encountered problems with tribes in the north. The Nippur and the Uruk laments which can be dated to Išmedagān, as his name is mentioned explicitly in both compositions, describe widespread destruction of these two cities and their temples, attributed to divine disfavour, at the hand of foreign tribes.¹⁵⁰ Išmedagān A 277-80 tells of the time when Sumer and Akkad were turned upside down and no king was able to introduce statues into the Ekur complex in Nippur. Other texts show that Isin was probably not in control of Nippur early in Išmedagān's reign.¹⁵¹ Thus, although not the first ruler of a new dynasty, Išmedagān faced problems of reconstruction and assertion of hegemony similar to those encountered by Urnamma. The Nippur Lament depicts not only the pitiful state of the stricken Ekur but also its succeeding restoration, commissioned by Enlil, at the hands of devout Išmedagān. Other data attest to this ruler's extensive attention to religious matters,¹⁵² as in the case of Urnamma.¹⁵³ Išmedagān was the first ruler after Urnamma to use *e n u n u k i - g a* "e n of Uruk" as a

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Edzard, ZBB 21f.; 76-90, and idem, RIA 5 (1976-80) 194f. s.v. "Išmedagān"; also Tinney, *Nippur Lament* 4ff.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. above, 1.2, p. 43f. Cf. also Tinney, *OLZ* 90 (1995) 8, and fn. 8 with bibliography.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. I 1., p. 1, fn. 1.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. however the reservations of Tinney, *Nippur Lament* 6ff. in using the Nippur Lament for historical reconstruction.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Frayne, *Correlations* 407ff.

¹⁵² Cf. Išmedagān's year names in Sigrist, *Isin Year Names* 26f., and his inscriptions in *RIME* 4.

¹⁵³ Note also both ruler's special relationship with Inana and her intercessory role for them (cf. below, 3.3, p. 91), as well as Enlil's centrality in ideological matters of both kings (for Urnamma, cf. above, 1.4, p. 63f., for Išmedagān, cf. Tinney, *Nippur Lament* 63ff.).

titulary in his inscriptions,¹⁵⁴ next to the more explicit "spouse of Inana". Subsequent Isin rulers used these two titles. As noted above,¹⁵⁵ Urnamma exercised e n-ship of Uruk and kingship of Ur simultaneously, in imitation of Lugalkiġenedudu of Uruk approximately 300 years earlier. Išmedagān expresses the same idea in his self-laudatory hymn A 108 n a m - e n n a m l u g a l - d a t a b - e - ġ a ₂ "That I combine e n-ship with kingship". The epithets u ₂ - a n i b r u k i s a ġ - u s ₂ u r i ₅ k i - m a "provider for Nippur, supporter of Ur" are also part of his standard titulary,¹⁵⁶ whereas Urnamma uses it in one of his hymns.¹⁵⁷ This is good evidence for a conscious dependence on the part of Išmedagān, because whereas Urnamma had had a reason to insist he was e n of Uruk as well as king of Ur, since he was replacing his former sovereign, Utuġeġal, king of Uruk, Išmedagān did not, but rather did it in deliberate reference to Urnamma.

The ideology of kingship, expressed through the formulae, topoi or motifs discussed above, and literary portraits of imperial and royal (proto)types,¹⁵⁸ were fostered in the Old Babylonian schools of Nippur, Ur and other sites. The language utilized in the hymns of the Third Dynasty of Ur was used by the scribal scholars composing the hymns of the kings of Isin, the successor state to Ur. The earlier material could be modified, rearranged, or so closely imitated that we may assume wholesale literary borrowing. Thus, marked similarities between the hymns of Sulgi of Ur and Išmedagān of Isin on formal, thematic, and structural levels have been pointed out, especially by J. Klein, as noted above. They reflect a possible literary dependence of Išmedagān on Sulgi, although distinctive and subtle differences in the portrayal of these two kings are also apparent.¹⁵⁹ The following citations may indicate that literary portrayals of Išmedagān and his reign also borrowed from Urnamma's hymns. On the formal level, a few passages in Išmedagān's self-laudatory hymn A (= Isin *12 + *19 + *20) testify to a possible direct borrowing on part of Išmedagān of "Urnamma" phraseology contained in the latter's self-praise hymn C. There is, however, always the possibility that an earlier unattested source served as a model for both Urnamma and Išmedagān, or that more attestations will turn up to make these phrases no more than a common topos, based on a general literary tradition. The lines¹⁶⁰ in question are:

Išmedagān A 118-123 (*TCL* 15 9 obv. iii 25'-30' // *PBS* 10/2 9 rev. i 20-25 + //) d i š - m e - d d a - g a n d u m u d d a - g a n - n a - m e - e n l d e n - l i l ₂ l u g a l k u r - k u r - r a - k e ₄ l e ġ i r a - m a - r u u r ₃ - r a - t a l

¹⁵⁴ *RIME* 4.1.4.1 || 2:7 et passim.

¹⁵⁵ 1.3, p. 62.

¹⁵⁶ *RIME* 4.1.4.1 || 2:2-4 et passim.

¹⁵⁷ Urnamma D (Ni) 38.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Cooper, "Paradigm and Propaganda" 22f., and fn. 51; Tinney, *OLZ* 90 (1995) 8, and fn. 7.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. Tinney, *ibid.* 8f.; *idem*, *Nippur Lament* 76ff.

¹⁶⁰ The line counting is according to the unpub. University Museum manuscript (B. Eichler). For a list of sources, cf. Ludwig, *Išme-Dagan* 2-4. A partial edition is in Römer, *SKIZ* 39-55. Many passages are cited by Tinney in *Nippur Lament* (cf. p. 272f. ad Išme-Dagan A). Tinney has announced a forthcoming edition in *OLZ* 90 (1995) 9, fn. 9 and *Nippur Lament* 37.

u₄ du₁₀-du₁₀-ga-ni-še₃ maš₂-e he₂-bi₂-in-pa₃-de₃ l
e₂-kur-še₃ igi hul₂ he₂-em-ši-in-[bar] l ki-en-gi-
re gu₃ zi-de₃-eš "hul₂-[mu-un-de₂]"¹⁶¹ "It is me, Išmedagān,
son of Dagan, that Enlil, the lord of all the foreign lands, after the flood had swept
over, has designated through extispicy for his very favourable day. He has lo[oked]
at the Ekur happily indeed, sp[oken] approvingly of Sumer." Compare Urnamma C
57-59 "a[?]-ma⁻ru [g]e[?]-ba i-ti ma-ge[?] (/ "x x⁻-a-
ba[?]) l d en-lil₂-le "u[?] du₁₀-du₁₀-ga-na maš₂-e
"bi₂-in⁻-pa₃-de₃-en l ki-en-gi-r[a] gu₃ zi mu-un-
de₂ ḡa₂-a in-da-an-zi-ge-en⁻ "When the storm had receded?,
the moonlight returned to/for me (when . . .), Enlil designated me on his very
auspicious day through extispicy. He spoke authoritatively to Sumer, through him
I rise over/in front of it (= Sumer)".

Išmedagān A 224-225 (*TCL* 15 9 rev. ii 32-33 // *SEM* 112 obv. i 1'-2' +) a-
ša₃-ga nīr-ḡa[l₂-b]i lu₂ hu-mu-un-DU l edin-na
bar-ku₃¹⁶² [(x(-)x)] he₂-ni-in-ḡar-ḡar "Men indeed stood
confidently in the fields, in the steppe they set indeed [...] the barkus."
Compare Urnamma C 55 lu₂ a-ša₃-ga nīr-ḡal₂-bi mu-un-
DU / gaba-na ib₂-ta-an-zi "Men stood confidently in the fields,
up to their chests it (= the produce of the fields) rose".

Another passage in Urnamma C which involves Urnamma's divine predesti-
nation and designation may have served as a model for portraying Išmedagān's
divine predestination and designation at the hands of Enlil. Compare Išmedagān A
43-45 (in S. Tinney's reconstruction of the lines in *Nippur Lament* 37) [i]ri
ku₃-ga nam du₁₀ ha-ma-ni-in-tar l "a⁻ ša₃-ga ru-a-
ḡa₂ mu du₁₀ ha-ma-ni-in-še₂₁ l [d]nin-tu du₂-du₂-a
ha-ma-ni-in-gub "In the splendid city he (= Enlil) verily determined for
me an auspicious fate, when I was conceived in the womb he verily gave me a good
name, Nintur verily stood by for me in the process of the birth", with Urnamma C
46-49 d en-lil₂-le dutu-gin₇ kalam-ma e₃-de₃ / mu
du₁₀ mu-un-še₂₁ l d nin[!] (NIN₉)-tu du₂-du₂-a
ḡu₁₀ <mu>-un-gub-bu[!] l ša₃ ama-ḡu₁₀ d nin-
sumun₂-ka-ta l nam tar-ra sa₆-ga ma-ta-e₃ "Enlil who
rises like the sun over the land, gave me a good name, Nintur stood by in the
process of my birth, from the womb of my mother Ninsumun a propitious fate has
emerged for me". Note subtle differences, such as line order and addition of epithets,
and especially the use of a different ideology by having Urnamma mention his
divine mother Ninsumun, whereas Išmedagān naturally does not.

A less likely but possible literary allusion may be found in Išmedagān A 91-92
(*PBS* 10/2 9 obv. ii 21-22 +) dutu niḡ₂-si-sa₂ enim ge-na
ka-ḡa₂ ha-ma-ni-in-ḡar l di ku₅-ru ka-aš bar uḡ₃-e

¹⁶¹ Vars. A (= *TCL* 15 9) iii 30' (...) gu₃ nam [...]; B (= *PBS* 10/2 9) iii 25 (...) zi-de₃-eš "ma⁻-
[...].

¹⁶² A (= *TCL* 15 9) rev. ii has B A R . U D.

s i - s a₂ - e "Utu has indeed put justice, firm orders into my mouth. To pronounce judgments, to decide verdicts¹⁶³, to lead the people". This passage might be modelled on Urnamma C 27-28 d u t u k a - ḡ a₂ e n i m b a - n i - i n - ḡ a l₂ | d i k u₅ - r u - ḡ u₁₀ k i - e n - g i k i - u r i g u₃ t e ṣ₂ - a b i₂ - i n - s i₃ "Utu has put orders in my mouth. Through my capacity to pronounce judgments he has permitted me to make Sumer and Akkad obedient." It shows the same sequence, but thematically this is a common topos describing the sungod as giver of justice. Finally, there is a slight chance that a curse formula found in Išmedagān S and Z, and also in Lipiteštar's law code, matches the one preserved on fragments possibly constituting the end of Urnamma's law code.¹⁶³ But it is likewise possible that these fragments are part of a new code written in the name of Išmedagān.

These examples may show that Išmedagān's literary portrait was not solely modelled on Sulgi but also on Urnamma.

3. The Urnamma Hymns and Related Genres

Sumerian royal and divine hymns from the Ur III and Isin-Larsa periods, like other literary compositions, are known almost exclusively from later copies made at the Old Babylonian schools in Nippur, Ur and other sites. Despite the relative paucity of archaic orthography apparent in some Sulgi hymns and, as shown in this study, the Urnamma hymns, there can be little doubt that the hymns of the kings of Ur are in fact modernized versions of Ur III originals, and that also the hymns mentioning Isin-Larsa rulers are datable to these kings themselves. Since hymns known from Old Babylonian manuscripts addressed to deities with no reference to a king resemble royal hymns of the same types,¹⁶⁴ many of these divine hymns, too, are probably modernized versions of Ur III or Isin-Larsa originals. The hymn Urnamma D might even indicate that scribes adapted divine hymns praising deities to royal hymns in which the praise was centered on the king instead.¹⁶⁵ Similarly, Urnamma EF, known from two non-Nippur recensions, centres on the praise of the king, rather than on the deity, as is usual with hymns that have the subscript š i r n a m š u b.¹⁶⁶ Although the bulk of royal hymns is from the Ur III and the Isin-Larsa period, we know that the genre had at least already been in existence in Lagaš under Gudea. Gudea A (STVC 36) is the earliest example of a divine hymn mentioning a royal figure¹⁶⁷ and can therefore be considered a kind of "precursor" of type A hymns, known especially from Sulgi and the Isin-Larsa hymns which are addressed to a deity and briefly mention the king. The discussion of topoi of

¹⁶³ Cf. Michalowski, Walker, *Studies Sjöberg* (1989) 391; 395.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. below, p. 73f.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. below, pp. 74ff.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. below, p. 77.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. also II 1., p. 13.

legitimation and kingship above shows that Gudea's statues and cylinders express the ideology of kingship in ways similar to Ur III royal hymns and Isin-Larsa hymns and royal inscriptions. Gudea's statues and cylinders also contain narrative passages with content and structure similar to these royal hymns and the Larsa royal inscriptions. Thus Urnamma B, Sulgi R, and Išmedagān I resemble the building reports of Gudea found on his cylinders and statues, and two Larsa royal inscriptions of Sîniddinam (*RIME* 4.2.9.2) and Rīmsīn (*RIME* 4.2.14.15), commemorating the digging of canals, contain language and have a structure which is also similar to Urnamma B, Sulgi R, and Išmedagān I. It is well known that royal inscriptions of the Larsa period in particular have a strong literary flavour and could in many cases be classified as royal hymns with a lengthy address to a deity. Some Ur III and Isin compositions on tablets copied from statues or other artefacts have, in fact, been classified either as hymns or as royal inscriptions.¹⁶⁸ All this raises questions pertaining to the composition and development of the royal hymns as a genre. The following sections will investigate the relationship between the Urnamma hymns, which represent the early stream of the royal hymnic tradition, and other related genres, thus adding new perspectives to the ongoing discussion. The sections include a discussion of the relationship between the Urnamma hymns and other royal and divine hymns (3.1), between stelae and self-laudatory hymns in particular, and royal inscriptions and royal hymns in general (3.2), and Urnamma A and lamentation literature (3.3).

3.1 *The Urnamma Hymns and other Royal and Divine Hymns*

J. Klein has shown that so-called building and dedication hymns in general share a common sequence of events.¹⁶⁹ Similar elements are used to articulate the building or manufacturing narrative, since the progress from intention to the finished object is fixed by the nature of the enterprise. His study incorporated a thematic comparison of Gudea's temple-building cylinders with the *tigi* compositions *Urnamma B*, also a *building hymn*, *Sulgi R*,¹⁷⁰ which commemorates the construction and dedication of Ninlil's ceremonial boat, and *Išmedagān I*, a *tigi* of Enlil composed in commemoration of the completion of Enlil's chariot. After the introduction of the object (element 1), sometimes preceded by the divine selection of the ruler, as in *Urnamma B* 1-6, divine instruction (element 2) follows. The wise ruler knows how to act (element 3) and subsequently prepares and realizes the building project (element 4). The subsequent preparation and realization of building events described in *Urnamma B* are listed in the same sequence, but not with the same poetic structure as in *Sulgi R* and *Išmedagān I*. The descriptive praise

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Tinney, *OLZ* 90 (1995) 7, and below, 3.2, pp. 83ff.

¹⁶⁹ Klein, *ASJ* 11 (1989) 27-62 and idem, *Studies Artzi* (1990) 65-136.

¹⁷⁰ The subscript is missing, but very likely a *tigi* composition, cf. Klein, *Studies Artzi* (1990) 80.

of the object (element 5) in Sulgi R and Išmedagān I, for example, is a direct address, whereas the description of the Ekur in Urnamma B is in the 3rd person. Then follow the dedication (element 6) and finally divine blessings and reward, often a firm reign and a long life-span (element 7). Similarities in some of the narrative features in the famous reform texts of IriKagina (Ukg. 4-5) suggest that the pattern goes back to Early Dynastic times. Although the inscriptions' purpose is to commemorate the excavation of a canal, most of the texts are taken up by a long narrative of the abuses of former times and the succeeding reforms undertaken by IriKagina. The narrative sequence which tells of these reforms is introduced by an initial element of divine selection and election of the ruler (Ukg. 4, 7:29-8:6 || 5, 7:12-19). Then the "object" is introduced, namely the correction of former abuses (Ukg. 4, 8:7-9 || 5, 7:20-22), followed by divine instruction which IriKagina heeds (Ukg. 4, 8:10-13 || 5, 7:23-26). Then he realizes his reforms (Ukg. 4, 8:14ff. || 5, 7:27ff.). An Early Dynastic building narrative containing the elements in rudimentary form might be Enmetena's inscription 35: Enmetena is favoured by the gods, realizes the building of a dam for Ningirsu among other construction work (elements 1 and 4), and also lists exemptions from obligations. Finally Ningirsu rewards him (element 7).

Artefact inscriptions of the Larsa kings commemorating the dedication of a structure or object by the ruler to a god are very similar to building and dedication hymns, as mentioned above. An example: *RIME* 4.2.14.15 (Rīmsīn) commemorates the excavation of canal(s). The text is very literary in style, and contains, unlike Lagaš II and Ur III artefact inscriptions, narrative sections which are congruent with those of hymns. The sequence of elements follows that of Urnamma B and Sulgi R fairly closely:

1. Introduction of (building) object: Urnamma B 7-9 ≈ Sulgi R 1-2 ≈ *RIME* 4.2.14.15:8-15
2. Divine instruction (a₂ a ĝ₂): Urnamma B 10 ≈ Sulgi R 3-4 ≈ *RIME* 4.2.14.15:19-24
3. The wise ruler knows what to do (ĝ e š t u₂ d a ĝ a l - l a - k a m): Urnamma B 12-13 ≈ Sulgi R 5-7 ≈ *RIME* 4.2.14.15:25-31
4. Preparations and realization: Urnamma B 13-19 ≈ Sulgi R 8-9 ≈ *RIME* 4.2.14.15:32-40¹⁷¹
5. Detailed description: Urnamma B 22-32 ≈ Sulgi R 10-39 ≈ *RIME* 4.2.14.15:41-47
6. Dedication including food offerings: Urnamma B 33-35 ≈ Sulgi R 40-81 (including a journey) ≈ *RIME* 4.2.14.15:48-54 (produce for the people)
7. Blessings and reward: Urnamma B 36-38; 40-71 ≈ Sulgi R 82-90 ≈ *RIME* 4.2.14.15:55-60

¹⁷¹ The finished work is displayed for admiration (u₆ (d i) + (loc.-)term. g u b) in Urnamma B 21 and Sulgi R 9.

In fact *RIME* 4.2.14.15:1-7 and 16-18 also share with Urnamma B 1-6 the topos of divine selection, the initial element of narrative, preceding the introduction of the object. In both compositions the preparations and realization (element 4) include performances of certain rites (cf. *RIME* 4.2.14.15:36) and people from foreign lands to help work on the temple (*RIME* 4.2.14.15:37-38). Two artefact inscriptions of Sîniddinam, *RIME* 4.2.9.2, commemorating construction work on the Tigris, and *RIME* 4.2.9.6, commemorating construction work on the e₂-b a b b a r temple at Larsa, have a less literary flavour than the Rîmsîn text, but they, too, display the same elements, albeit in a slightly different sequence. These two texts follow more strictly the formal structure of building and dedication inscriptions.¹⁷² Element 3 (the wise ruler) in *RIME* 4.2.9.2:14-16 precedes the introduction of the object (element 1) in lines 17-18, as the inscription begins with the name of the king, followed by epithets in form of adjectives and subordinate clauses (lines 1-9). Then follow the divine instruction (element 2) in line 32 (a₂ a ġ₂), the realization and description of details, including the wages of the workers (lines 39-62), and finally the setting up of the king's inscription as a reward (lines 65-70). *RIME* 4.2.9.6 introduces the object first (element 1) in lines 1-7, then the king and his divine selection are mentioned (lines 8-16), followed by the pacification of foreign lands (lines 17-20), as in Urnamma B 14, and the divine instruction (a₂ a ġ₂) to enlarge the temple in lines 21-24 (element 2). As in *RIME* 4.2.9.2, the realization and description of details (elements 4 and 5) include a list of wages of the workers (lines 49-57) and current market values of commodities (lines 58-69). Furthermore, similar to *RIME* 4.2.14.15:54 (Rîmsîn), the text states in lines 76-78 (element 6) that the finished construction work has made the gods happy (š a₃ d u₁₀ . g), but unlike the Rîmsîn inscription and the other compositions mentioned above, blessings and reward (element 7) are absent from the inscription.

The description of food offerings at dedication ceremonies as an act to please the gods and elicit from them a favourable blessing, elements 6-7 above, is a common topos in other hymns. For example, an episode in Sulgi G (lines 41-53), an a d a b of Enlil with s a ġ i d a and s a ġ a r a sections as in t i ġ i compositions, is comparable with the t i ġ i Urnamma B 34-38: in Sulgi G 41 Sulgi is "called by name by Ninlil" (m u * p [a₃] - d a d n i n - l i l₂ - l a₂), in line 47 "the very large food offerings" ([n i] d b a g a l - g a l) "make the Ekur joyful" (e₂ - k u r ħ u l₂), and for the evening meals (?) "in the dining halls of the Ekur" (line 52: u n u₂ e₂ - [k u] r - r a - k a (...)) Enlil "decrees a profound fate" for Sulgi (line 53: n a m n u n - n a t a r ?).¹⁷³

Furthermore, the beginning of Sulgi G contains a literary allusion to the rebuilding of the Ekur, described in Urnamma B, by Urnamma, called the l u₂ z i . d "faithful man" in Sulgi G. The similar structure and language at the beginning of the two hymns is noteworthy: as in Urnamma B, Sulgi G begins

¹⁷² Cf. Cooper, *Presarg. Inscr.* 7ff., and fn. 27.

¹⁷³ Other references are Enki's Journey to Nippur 315-318 and Sîniddinam A (= v. Dijk, *JCS* 19 21) 12-14.

with a hymnic praise of Enlil (lines 1-7). The sequence $d e n - l i l_2 - d n u - n a m - n i r - e n - n a m - n u n$ corresponds in Urnamma B 1-3 to $d e n - l i l_2 - e n - n a m - n u n - d n u - n a m - n i r$. Enlil thinks up an important matter and makes a decision¹⁷⁴ concerning the *m e* of the Ekur¹⁷⁵; the building of the Ekur under the "faithful man", and the maintenance thereof by his successor Sulgi.

The texts discussed above all contain the same message in the form of a building report which uses similar elements to articulate the building or manufacturing narrative. The pattern of building narratives might go back to Early Dynastic times, as the reform texts of IriKagina and perhaps Enmetena 35 suggest, followed by Gudea's cylinders and statues, and the Ur III hymns. In the subsequent Larsa period such building narratives also appear in artefact inscriptions.¹⁷⁶ However, the use of these texts is different. Gudea's statues were consecrated and placed in the temples in order to act and speak on Gudea's behalf.¹⁷⁷ The artefacts inscribed with the Larsa artefact inscriptions were ceremonially buried in foundations. The *t i g i* compositions Urnamma B, Sulgi R, and Išmedagān I were probably used for recitation in the cult, as indicated by the rubrics which probably referred to musical performance, and Gudea's cylinders, as building reports, might also have served a cultic function.

Despite the absence of the rubrics which usually mark literary units in royal hymns, URNAMMA C, a self-laudatory hymn, can be divided into two parts: a hymnic prologue in praise of Ur and its main shrine, the Ekišnuḡal, and a main section consisting of Urnamma's self-praise. Sulgi O, whose end portion and subscript are unfortunately missing, is another example of a hymnic prologue followed by praise, this time though not in the form of self-praise, but rather in the form of a dialogue in which Sulgi and his brother Gilgameš praise each other mutually (in the 2nd person): as in Urnamma C, the prologue begins with praise of the city, followed by the temple Ekišnuḡal and its parts, e.g. the Abzu and the *ḡ i p a r* (lines 1-15). Then, unlike Urnamma C, it goes on to praise Ur's *i ḡ - n u n*-canal, its wall, people, settlements and foreign lands (lines 16-24). In the following lines (25-30) Sulgi is introduced.

Išmedagān's self-laudatory hymn Išmedagān A, which shares a number of literary parallels with Urnamma C,¹⁷⁸ has, to be sure, a more complicated sequence of sections, but the basic formal structure is the same: a prologue, partially broken off and marked by common grammatical forms, contains a laud of Enlil and introduces other gods (lines 1-41). The main section comprises the king's self-praise, expressing divine approval and listing of endowments by various gods to which the king's respective achievements are added. The statement, for example,

174 Cf. $\text{\textcircled{a}}_3$ D U in Sulgi G 9 and Urnamma B 9.

175 Compare Sulgi G 11-12 mentioning the *m e e_2 - k u r - r a* "the *m e* of the Ekur" and the $\text{\textcircled{a}}_{12}$ *z i n a m - t a r - r a* "the true auspicious brick" with Urnamma B 7 $\text{\textcircled{a}}_{12}$ *e_2 - k u r - r a - k e_4 m e a m_3 - ḡ u r* "The *m e* are traced out for Ekur's brickwork".

176 Cf. also above, 1.2, p. 55 and below, 3.2, p. 84.

177 Cf. in more detail, below, 3.2, p. 79f.

178 Cf. above, 2., pp. 66ff.

that it is Utu himself who endows the king with justice is followed by a series of statements regarding the king's juridical activities (lines 91-100). Inana is connected with Išmedagān's role as her husband in the "sacred marriage" ceremony in the *ĝ i p a r* of Eana and his function as its provider (lines 101-112). Some achievements undoubtedly have autobiographical traits, as e.g. the relief of debts for the citizens of Nippur, in lines 185-98,¹⁷⁹ just as a number of passages in Urnamma C have historical allusions. The last sections of Išmedagān A tell us, in narrative form, of cultic acts, namely the erection of statues and other votive objects for Enlil and Ninlil in the Ekur and the commissioning of hymns to be sung there, just as the last section in Urnamma C narrates the building of the Ekišnuḡal for Nanna in Ur.

The Nungal hymn,¹⁸⁰ which like Urnamma C also concludes with a *z a₃ - m i₂* doxology, is an example of a divine hymn which shows basically the same formal structure as Urnamma C¹⁸¹: it begins with a hymnic description of the *e₂ - k u r* "prison" and its different parts, followed by an introduction of Nungal that leads to her self-praise.¹⁸² The corresponding sections of Urnamma C and the Nungal hymn can be outlined as follows:

- I. Hymnic prologue: Urnamma C 1-19 ≈ Nungal 1-62 in the 3rd person
 1. Ur with the Ekišnuḡal and its different parts ≈ The Ekur and its different parts (Urnamma C 1-12 ≈ Nungal 1-26)
 2. Introduction of Urnamma ≈ Introduction of Nungal/Ninegala with a description of transport and gaoling of the accused (Urnamma C 13-19 ≈ Nungal 27-61)
- II. Self-Praise: Urnamma C 20-114 ≈ Nungal 64-116 in the 1st person
 1. Introduction to the self-praise (Urnamma C 18-19 ≈ Nungal 62-63)
 2. Divine approval and endowments (Urnamma C 20-30 ≈ Nungal 64-approx. 74)
 3. Description of functions/achievements (Urnamma C 31-114 ≈ Nungal 75-116)
- III. Doxology: Urnamma C 115 (*z a₃ - m i₂ - ḡ u₁ o*) ≈ Nungal 117-121 (*ḏn u n - g a l (/ - l a) z a₃ - m i₂*)

Nungal's self-praise shows similar traits to that of Urnamma, and both tend to use similar, traditional introductory formulae. Nungal also mentions her divine lineage as well as her functions, with which she is endowed by other gods. Another such self-praise is that of Enki in Enki and the World Order 62-80 and 88-125(?). Urnamma C is so far the earliest known type B. II (self-praise) hymn, and therefore

¹⁷⁹ Cf. in detail Frayne, *Correlations* 411ff.

¹⁸⁰ For references to this hymn, cf. already II 1., p. 15, fn. 32.

¹⁸¹ Already Wilcke, *RIA* 4 (1972-75) 542 ad § 6, s.v. "Hymne, A. Nach sumerischen Quellen".

¹⁸² For Komoróczy, *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 23 (1975) 164f., the first part of the Nungal hymn belongs to the temple hymn genre, the second part to the self-laudatory hymns group.

self-laudatory hymns might indeed have originated with Urnamma. We might also imagine that divine self-praise derived from this royal self-praise.

Praise of a deity in the 2nd or 3rd person can also resemble royal praise. Topoi of legitimation and kingship, as well as other formulae, are applied to gods as well as kings. In Nisaba and Enki 3, Nisaba is "fed with true milk" (g a z i g u₇ - a), as are kings, and Nanna and Ninurta are reared on the knees and breasts of their divine mothers Ninlil and Nintur.¹⁸³ Ninurta, like a king,¹⁸⁴ is "given strength" (a₂ š u m₂ - m a) by Enlil,¹⁸⁵ and Enlil looks at him happily and determines his fate.¹⁸⁶ Lipiteštar as well as the god Nuska are l u₂ š a₃ - g a - n a literally "the one of his (i.e. the god's) heart".¹⁸⁷ Nanna is given a good name by Enlil (Nanna A 50), and n a m - s i p a k a l a m - m a "shepherdship over/of the land" by An (Nanna A 49), as are e.g. Šūsu'en,¹⁸⁸ Išbi'erra,¹⁸⁹ Sîniddinam,¹⁹⁰ Sîniqīšam,¹⁹¹ and Waradsîn.¹⁹² Enlil gives Nuska the sceptre to exercise his s u k k a l m a ḥ -ship in Išmedagān QA (= Sjöberg, ZA 63 17) 4'-5', and Inana receives a number of royal insignia from An in FLP 2627 (= Sjöberg, JCS 40 167) i 6-9. Thus in structure and the use of topoi and formulae divine hymns are very similar to royal hymns of type B.

URNAMMA D might indicate that divine hymns were actually adapted to royal hymns in which praise was centered on the king instead of the deity. There are several indications that corroborate the hypothesis that Urnamma D might be an adapted b a l b a l e rather than an original type B. I royal hymn addressed to the king. Urnamma D formally ends with the z a₃ - m i₂ - z u d u₁₀ - g a (/ - a m₃) ("your praise is sweet") doxology, although the main part of the hymn (lines 7-36) consists of the king's self-praise for which we would expect the z a₃ - m i₂ - ḡ u₁₀ d u₁₀ - g a (/ - a m₃) ("my praise is sweet") doxology. Unlike royal hymns praising the king in either the 2nd or the 3rd person (type B. I), or in the 1st person (type B. II), Urnamma D displays a rigorous poetic structure consisting of line pairs linked by repetitive parallelism, which is a common device in type A b a l b a l e compositions (cf. e.g. Urnamma G, Išmedagān J). This is especially apparent in lines 1-6 and in lines 22-36, whereas the description of divine selection and election to kingship (lines 9-21) consists of a narrative sequence reminiscent of self-laudatory hymns (cf. Urnamma C). Also, the unpublished source D of the Nippur version is part of a "Sammeltafel", a four-column tablet which contains, besides Urnamma D, a b a l b a l e of Inana,¹⁹³ Dumuzi-Inana C,

¹⁸³ Nanna A (= Sjöberg, *Mondgott* 16) 28; Lipiteštar D 6.

¹⁸⁴ For some references, cf. Hallo, *Royal Titles* 136 s.v. a₂ sum-ma DN.

¹⁸⁵ Sjöberg, *AOAT* 25 (1976) 416:72-74.

¹⁸⁶ Lipiteštar D 13.

¹⁸⁷ Lipiteštar A 33; Sjöberg, *JCS* 29 (1977) 27 = v. Dijk, *SGL* 2 144 obv. 8-9. Other references in Sjöberg, *ibid.* 15 ad obv. 1.

¹⁸⁸ Šūsu'en 12:5-8.

¹⁸⁹ Ibbisu'en to Puzurnumušda 15-17.

¹⁹⁰ *RIME* 4.2.9.1 (= no. 13 in Kärki, *StrOr.* 49 71) 189-90.

¹⁹¹ *RIME* 4.2.11.1 v 2-4.

¹⁹² *RIME* 4.2.13.29:45.

¹⁹³ Cf. Alster, *RA* 79 (1985) 146, no. 5 ad source B.

and Dumuzi-Inana N (courtesy of S. Tinney). Finally, the Nippur version of Urnamma D shares lines 25-30/31[?] with a b a l b a l e of Nanna,¹⁹⁴ the fourth and last b a l b a l e of Nanna written on the "Sammeltafel" *TMH NF 4 7* iv "169-99" (HS 1513) // *ISCT* 1 p. 62 (Ni. 9788).¹⁹⁵ It is possible that Urnamma D was indeed partially modelled on or reinterpreted from this b a l b a l e. The Nippur recension of Urnamma D shares more lines with the b a l b a l e than the Ur recension,¹⁹⁶ which only shares lines 32'-34' with the b a l b a l e, perhaps because Nanna features more prominently in the Nippur recension than in the Ur recension. The b a l b a l e shares with Urnamma D the poetic device of line pairs linked by repetitive parallelism, as noted above, and it has, like Urnamma D, no rubrics.¹⁹⁷ The beginning lines (*TMH NF 4 7* iv 169-86 //) describe Nanna's presence in the cattle pens resulting in productivity, plenty of cow herds, Nanna's sacred attributes, and dairy products, a theme which the b a l b a l e shares with the beginning of Nanna A, the first b a l b a l e on the above mentioned "Sammeltafel" (cf. also below).¹⁹⁸ Line 187 // introduces a praise¹⁹⁹ in the 1st person. The beginning of the line is broken, so it is not clear who speaks the praise, but it is very likely Nanna himself,²⁰⁰ rather than the king of Ur, as C. Wilcke assumes,²⁰¹ for there is neither an indication in the preceding nor in the succeeding lines of a necessary shift from god to a(n unnamed) king, and the song is wholly occupied with Nanna and his function.²⁰² The praise in the 1st person starts in line 188 and probably continues to the end.²⁰³ Lines 188-89 share two lines of the unpublished Nippur sources D and E of Urnamma D (courtesy of S. Tinney), and the following lines 190-195(96?) match the published Nippur recension (= source A), lines 25-30(31?)²⁰⁴:

iv 190 [(...) iri-ġa₂ a DU-a-b]i²⁰⁵ ku₆-[am₃] diri-bi mušen-am₃
 25 ġe₂₆-e iri-ġa₂ a DU-a-bi ku₆-am₃ diri-bi mušen-am₃
 "(Due to) me, what water it²⁰⁶ carries in my city are fish, what it
 makes glide are birds."

194 Edited by Hall, *Moon-God* 776-87 and discussed by him on pp. 404ff.

195 References to all four songs are given in J.G. Westenholz, *Studies Sjöberg* (1989) 550, fn. 52. b a l b a l e nos 2 and 3 which mention Enġeduana (in these compositions perhaps as personification of Ningal) have been subsequently treated by Westenholz, *ibid.* 539-56 (editions on pp. 550-56).

196 For a general comparison between the Nippur und Ur recensions of Urnamma D, cf. V 4.1, pp. 228ff.

197 Cf. II 1., p. 15.

198 Cf. also Sumer and Ur Lament 329-37, and Michalowski, *Lamentation* 97 ad 331. The Nanna hymn *UET* 6 68+ referred to by Michalowski, *ibid.*, is now also edited by Hall, *JCS* 38 (1986) 152-66.

199 (...) m i ₂ z i i r i - i n - g a - a m ₃ < - m e > (/ - m e) "(...) furthermore praises him(self?) deservingly".

200 Bernhardt, Kramer, *TMH NF 4* (1967) 13.

201 Wilcke, *Kollationen* 48 ad line 187 who restores [...l u] g a l ? u [r i ₂ k i] - m a, and thinks it might possibly be Urnamma (cf. *idem*, *AS* 20 [1975] 280 ad u).

202 The preceding line 186 // states that "Nanna is lord" (d n a n n a l u g a l - l a - a m ₃).

203 Cf. Ni. 9788 rev. 6' ... ġ e ₂₆ - e [...] " ... I/me [...]".

204 For philological matters, cf. the commentary ad 25ff. in V 4.5, pp. 256ff.

205 Restore perhaps in this and the next line, instead of a D U - a - b i, a d u ₁₀ - g a, as in the unpub. source E.

206 i.e. the canal.

- iv 191 [uri₂/₅ki-ma a DU-a-b]i ku₆-⁷am₃⁷ diri-bi mušen-am₃
26 uri₂ki- ma a DU-a-bi ku₆- am₃ diri-bi mušen-am₃
 "What water it *carries* in Ur are fish, what it makes glide are birds,"
- iv 192 [(...) i₇-ġa₂ u₂-lal₃-e m]u-un-du₃ suḥurku₆-e ⁷a⁷ab-si/NİĠIN₂
 (gloss) [l]i-i-*ši-i-ma* [li]-ir-te-e
27 ġe₂₆-e i₇-ġa₂ u₂-lal₃-e mu- un-du₃ suḥurku₆-e am₃-si-e
 "(Due to) me, honey-plants were planted at my canal, the s u ḥ u r-fish *fill up on them*,"
- iv 193 [uri₂/₅ki-ma u₂-lal₃-e mu-u]n-du₃ amar- e ḥa-ma-⁷an⁷gu₇!!⁷-e
28 uri₂ ki-ma u₂-lal₃-e mu- un-du₃ suḥurku₆-e [am₃]-si-e
 "In Ur honey-plants were planted, the s u ḥ u r-fish *fill up on them*."²⁰⁷
- iv 194 [(...) iri-ġa₂ gi-zi-bi m]u-⁷un⁷-du₃ ab₂-e ḥa-ma-⁷gu₇?⁷!-e
29 ġe₂₆-e iri-ġa₂ gi-zi-bi lal₃-am₃ [?]/ ab₂-e ḥa-ma- gu₇- e
 "(Due to) me, in my city its reed fodder is (honey-)sweet, may the cows eat it for me."²⁰⁸
- iv 195 [...] ⁷x x⁷ [x](-) mu-un-gu₇-e
30 uri₂ki-ma gi-zi-bi lal₃-a[m₃?]/ ab₂-e ḥa-ma- gu₇-e
 "In Ur its reed fodder is (honey-)sweet, may the cows eat it for me."
- iv 196 [... ku₆]-⁷e⁷209 mu-un-na₈-na₈
31 ġe₂₆-e [...] xku₆/ku₆ ḥu- [...]]
 "(Due to) me, [in my ...] may the fish [...]."

The theme of abundant fish and birds (Urnamma D (Ni) 25-26) is also found in the Ur version which lacks on the other hand the description of the cows eating reed fodder, and the s u ḥ u r-fish honey-plants.²¹⁰

The first b a l b a l e on the Sammeltafel *TMH NF 4 7*, Nanna A (according to Civil's sigla),²¹¹ describes in the first few lines the same theme of abundance and prosperity in the cattle pen as the fourth b a l b a l e which shares lines with the

207 *TMH NF 4 7* iv 193: "[In Ur honey-plants were] planted, may the calves eat⁷ it for me".

208 *TMH NF 4 7* iv 194: "[(...) in my city its reed fodder was] planted, may the cows eat⁷ it for me".

209 Or perhaps read [...ḥ]u-.

210 Cf. in more detail, V 4.1, p. 231.

211 Nanna A is edited by Sjöberg, *Mondgott* 13-34 (// N 3667, cf. Sjöberg, *JCS* 40 [1988] 173, fn. 6) and supplemented by Wilcke, *Kollationen* 45f. Another duplicate of Nanna A is written on the unpub. Chicago "Sammeltafel", A w/n (cf. V 6.1, p. 290; also Klein, *ThSH* 43, fn. 84), together with two other b a l b a l e compositions, namely a duplicate of Sulgi Z, but replacing Sulgi's name with that of Šūsu'en, and Urnamma G. Note that both Nanna A and "Sulgi Z" are mentioned in the literary catalogue *TMH NF 3 54* (= HS 1504) lines 2 and 4 (cf. Wilcke, *ibid.* 41 ad 2 and 4).

Nippur recension of Urnamma D. But Nanna A is chiefly concerned with Nanna's lineage as first-born son of Ninlil and Enlil, with his function as provider of the Ekur, and with his investiture by An. An grants him shepherdship over/of the land (line 49) and kingship (line 52), and he enthrones him in Ur and brings abundance to its canal *i₇ - n u n*. At the end (line 60) an anonymous king is mentioned. The phraseology and content are thus reminiscent of Ur III royal hymns,²¹² and the themes similar to those in Urnamma D: the mention of the *i₇ - n u n*-canal²¹³ is noteworthy for it was dug by Urnamma specifically for Nanna.²¹⁴ The bringing of fish and birds in line 54²¹⁵ recalls Urnamma D (Ni) 31, and especially 33-34, and (Ur) 35'. Just as Urnamma D deals with the kingship of Urnamma and the resulting prosperity for his city Ur, so too is Nanna A concerned with that of Nanna and with prosperity for Nippur.

Urnamma D then, is closely connected with *b a l b a l e* compositions on the basis of thematic similarities, and poetic structure. Furthermore, the fact that a section of Urnamma D turns up in a *b a l b a l e* of Nanna shows that it is possible that Urnamma D might be an adaption of a *b a l b a l e* composition of Nanna, whereby the divine self-praise is centered on the king instead.²¹⁶

URNAMMA EF, a *š i r n a m š u b* composition,²¹⁷ is witnessed by two non-Nippur recensions, referred to as E and F, of an original Urnamma hymn. It occupies a special position within the *š i r n a m š u b* compositions of which we have twelve examples so far, for it centres on the praise of the king, rather than on the deity.²¹⁸ It is, in fact, the only hymn of that type explicitly mentioning a king. This leads to the possibility that a hymn to a god was modified and altered to compose Urnamma EF.²¹⁹ This type of hymn is susceptible to a composition technique using so-called "stock phrases" ("Versatzstücke") inserted into different contexts. *Š i r n a m š u b* compositions share these "stock phrases" of variable length with *b a l a ĝ* songs whose proximity to the *š i r n a m š u b* compositions is also evident on formal grounds. It is possible that the *š i r n a m š u b* compositions, like the *b a l a ĝ* songs, were part of the *g a l a*-singer's repertoire and therefore would have been sung in the temple cult. Urnamma EF may have been composed for ceremonies in the Ekišnuĝal involving the king.

²¹² Already Wilcke, *Kollationen* 47.

²¹³ Cf. in detail, Carroué, *ASJ* 15 (1993) 52-61.

²¹⁴ Urnamma 24:7-9. Cf. also III 1., p. 34.

²¹⁵ Cf. Wilcke, *Kollationen* 46; 54.

²¹⁶ It is possible, but unlikely, that the *b a l b a l e* composition was modelled on Urnamma D, an original royal hymn with rigid poetic structure (to my knowledge the only example so far), and that therefore the boundaries between type A and B hymns had not yet been so sharply drawn for the early stream of royal hymnic tradition.

²¹⁷ For details on this type of hymn, cf. V 5.1, pp. 260ff.

²¹⁸ Cf. V *ibid.*, p. 262.

²¹⁹ Or, again, that the lines between type A and B hymns had not yet been so sharply drawn for the Urnamma hymns.

3.2 Statues, Stelas and Self-laudatory Hymns

The discussion of topoi of legitimation and kingship and narrative material describing royal achievements in sections 1.2 and 3.1 of this chapter illustrates that during the Lagaš II, Ur III and Isin-Larsa periods such material can be found both in statue and stela inscriptions and/or Old Babylonian copies thereof, and in a more literary form in the royal hymns of those periods. This finding shows the close relationship between these two text types and raises in particular the question of the original setting of royal hymns that have come down to us almost exclusively in Old Babylonian scribal copies. Already decades ago W.W. Hallo surmised that royal, divine and temple hymns were originally composed as monumental inscriptions.²²⁰ More recently M.-C. Ludwig has suggested that especially self-laudatory hymns were written on stelas and exhibited, for they contain ample "autobiographical" narrative. And, like the Old Akkadian Sargonic stela inscriptions,²²¹ the content of some of the hymns is asserted to be "true" in the hymns themselves.²²² The following section reiterates previously known observations which indicate that royal hymns were originally written on monuments and presents additional ones contributing to the ongoing discussion of the original setting of royal hymns.

Archaeological evidence for self-laudatory hymns, i.e. B. II type hymns inscribed on stelas, comes so far only from Old Babylonian fragments of stelas with hymnic contents from Ur and Kiš. They contain self-praise of Ḫammurapi.²²³ *RIME* 4.2.1.3.15 (Waradsîn) is a fragmentary text containing a self-praise of Enanedu, e n-priestess of Nanna, and could represent part of a stela, although according to D.R. Frayne a stone tablet is more likely than a stela.²²⁴ Unfortunately, most statues and stelas of the Sargonic, Ur III, and Isin-Larsa periods were either pillaged or reused,²²⁵ and when we do have fragments of original pieces of those periods, such as e.g. Urnamma's stela (Urnamma 29), too little of the text is usually preserved to make any comments about its contents or its style. An indication that hymns could be written on stelas are Old Babylonian tablet copies written in the so-called short-line format and case-ruled and thus probably made from the original monuments themselves by imitating the layout of their inscriptions in cases.²²⁶ Further, the curses at the end of Sulgi E and Išmedagān A

²²⁰ Hallo, *CRRAI* 17 (1970) 121; idem, *AS* 20 (1975) 195.

²²¹ E.g. *RIME* 2.1.2.4 || 6:73-78 || 78-83 et passim (Rīmuš); *RIME* 2.1.3.1:47-52 (Maništū su); *RIME* 2.1.4.2 vii 28-viii 1 (Narāmsu'en).

²²² Ludwig, *Išme-Dagan* 62f.; 67.

²²³ Cf. Frayne, *RIME* 4 357 (no. 20) with references.

²²⁴ Frayne, *ibid.* 224.

²²⁵ Cf. above, 1.2, p. 45, fn. 28.

²²⁶ For examples, including tablets containing Sulgi and Išmedagān hymns, cf. Tinney's short-line groups S₃-S₅ discussed in *OLZ* 90 (1995) 11-14.

(+ V_A + Z^{227}), both type B. II hymns, are reminiscent of those that were used to end texts on statues and stelas and therefore bolster the assumption that type B. II hymns were inscribed on stelas or statues. The stela on which Išmedagān's self-laudatory hymn A was inscribed²²⁸ may actually be mentioned in the hymn itself, for Z_A 5-10 states that Išmedagān has constructed a magnificent copper stela inscribed with "hymns" ($e n_3 - d u$) and "songs" ($\check{s} i r_3$) and has brought it (into the Ekur?) to Enlil.²²⁹ Besides cultic provisions for the Ekur and the stela, the hymn also mentions the erection of statues and votive objects which the king gives to Enlil and Ninlil in the Ekur. This is similar to inscriptions on statues which mention the statue itself and the occasion which prompted its fashioning, consecration, and installation in the temple. Gudea's statues, for example, are mentioned in their respective inscriptions which centre on a cultic deed, most often the (re)construction of a temple, and like Išmedagān A, some inscriptions end in curse formulae.

In addition to the findings just mentioned it can be shown that both royal hymns and statues and stelas serve a common function and also share common themes, again indicating the close affinity of these two text types. Both the hymns and the inscriptions on statues and stelas functioned as messages to the gods, rendering account of royal deeds: the former were recited in sanctuaries,²³⁰ the latter were erected in courtyards²³¹ and sanctuaries of temples.²³² Such accounts go back to Pre-Sargonic times (cf. e.g. Eanatum's Stele of the Vultures [= Ean. 1] and Ent. 1). Far from being mute reminders of royal achievements alone, statues or sculptural images of rulers, identified by likeness as the ruler himself,²³³ were empowered to speak on the ruler's behalf, through a set of rituals of consecration, installation and maintenance,²³⁴ and represent him in the funerary sanctuary after his death at the

227 For Išmedagān V_A and Z as part of Išmedagān A, cf. Ludwig, *Išme-Dagan* 4; 23; 165. For reservations that Išmedagān Z is part of A, cf. however Tinney, *ibid.* 20f. ad IšD A.

228 Cf. immediately below, p. 80.

229 Cf. Ludwig, *Išme-Dagan* 62f.

230 Cf. Ludwig, *ibid.* 44ff. with references to Sulgi E 57ff.; 252ff., Išmedagān V_A 44-50. Another reference is possibly $e \check{s}_3 \check{g} a r - r a - b i$ in Gudea, Stat. B 8:24-25, for which see Klein, *Studies Sjöberg* (1989) 297, and fn. 51 and Steible, *FAOS* 9/2 (1991) 34 ad 104. A translation of "sanctuary" for $e \check{s}_3$, at which hymns should not be neglected, rather than "festivals", as an abbreviated form of $e \check{s}_3 - e \check{s}_3$ (Klein, *ibid.*) in the Gudea passage is supported by two other passages: Ibbisu'en A 9-10:67-70 (the object is a vessel) $d u_8 m a \check{h} u n u_2 g a l l u_3 k i e z e m - m a l d n a n n a - k e_4 l b i_2 - i b_2 - d a_{13} - d a_{13} - a$ "Who neglects them (= the vessels) at the . . . , the large dining hall, and the place of Nanna's festival", which Steible cites, *ibid.*, and Sulgi E 58 $k i - \check{s} u - k e_4 l u_2 n a m - b i_2 - i b_2 - d a_{13} - d a_{13} - a$ "One should not neglect them (= the songs) at the cult-places" (cf. Ludwig, *Išme-Dagan* 44 and Klein, *ibid.* 297 with vars.) both refer to locations. It remains uncertain what a $d u_8 m a \check{h}$ is (for suggestions and previous literature, cf. Frayne, *BiOr.* 45 [1988] 354) but it always appears in connection with eating facilities or kitchens, cf. perhaps also *RIME* 4.1.4.15:2'-6' (Išmedagān).

231 Cf. e.g. Gudea, Stat. B 6:9-12; *RIME* 4.1.6.2 vi 10'-12' (Urninurta); *RIME* 4.1.10.11:18-19 (Enlilbāni). For Sargonic statues and stelas in the courtyard of Enlil's temple Ekur in Nippur and other cities of the Sargonic kings' realm, cf. Frayne, *BiOr.* 48 (1991) 394, and fn. 79; 384 with previous literature.

232 Cf. e.g. Gelb, Kienast, *FAOS* 7 (1990) 219; 349 (the $e_2 - g u - l a$ of Ninlil as the site of a Šušu'en stela).

233 Cf. e.g. *RIME* 2.1.4.23:15-16; 26 iii 32-34; 50 iii 1-2 (Narām-Su'en); *RIME* 4.1.6.2 vi 6'-12' (Urninurta); *RIME* 4.2.9.1:28-33 (Šiniddinam).

234 In detail Winter, *Journal of Ritual Studies* 6 (1992) 21ff. It must be noted that the only evidence so far for the so-called mouth-opening ritual, as part of the consecration ritual of a statue of a ruler, is for the statue of the

k i - a - n a ḡ, the place where the statues received libations and food rations (n i ḡ₂ - b a), thereby guaranteeing the king's continuous existence after death.²³⁵ Urnamma received daily offerings at his k i - a - n a ḡ, probably located at Ur, and also at his "throne" (ḡ e ṣ ḡ u - z a), as late as the reign of the last Ur III ruler, Ibbiṣu'en.²³⁶

Just as the statues' presence in the temple would have kept their creator visibly alive and memorialized his achievements, so also do hymns memorialize royal achievements by continued recitation. This function of hymns is clearly stated in the curse section at the end of Gudea's statue B and is also expressed by Sulgi in his self-laudatory hymn E.²³⁷ A collation of the Old Babylonian Louvre Catalogue of Sumerian compositions, *TCL* 15 28,²³⁸ now provides evidence for and thus supports M.-C. Ludwig's assumption that at least self-laudatory hymns were actually inscribed on stelae, erected in temple courtyards, and that they, too, like statues, would therefore have perpetuated the ruler and his deeds more concretely. The collation indicates that the fourteen last *incipit* (iv 54-67) are indeed of compositions written on stelae (iv 68: *14 n a - r u₂ - a). Only four *incipit* can be identified so far: Išmedaḡān A (iv 58), Sulgi E (iv 61), Sulgi C (iv 63), which are self-laudatory hymns, and Sulgi O (iv 62), broken off at the end and therefore uncertain as to which type the hymn belongs.

Besides the functional proximity of hymns, statues, and stelae, common themes in similar sequence are also evident in these two text types.²³⁹ Gudea, for example, entrusts his statue B, being empowered to speak on the ruler's behalf, with a message for his lord Ningirsu, to specifically remind him that his temple's construction took place together with social reforms²⁴⁰ (Gudea, Stat. B 7:26-46) thus showing that Gudea had attended to the justice demanded by Nanše and Ningirsu. The same thematic sequence leading to and reporting the accomplishment of these reforms is found in the Gudea building hymn Cylinder B: after a description of the construction work and the completed temple (Stat. B 2:1-6:76 ≈ Cyl. B -17:11) a summary statement follows: the temple is built (Stat. B 6:77-7:4 e₂ u r₅ - ḡ i n₇ d i m₂ - m a (...) l n a - m u - d u₃ ≈ Cyl. B 17:13 ḡ u₃ - d e₂ - a e₂ - n i n n u m u - d u₃), whereby the *vital* regulations are made to function (Stat. B 7:6 n i ḡ₂ - d u₇ p a b i₂ - e₃ ≈ Cyl. B 17:12 n i ḡ₂ - d u₇ i r i - n a - k e₄ p a b i₂ - e₃) and the m e put in full force (Cyl. B 17:14 m e - b i ṣ u b i₂ - d u₇). Agricultural produce enters the temple (Cyl. B

deceased ruler Gudea of Lagaš in Ur III times. Given the documentation for Nippur from Drēhim, one would expect to hear about mouth-openings for royal statues of living rulers in the Ekur.

²³⁵ This is nicely expressed in Lugale 475-79; cf. perhaps also *RIME* 4.2.13.27:18-20 (Waradsîn) where m u p a₃ . d could be understood in context of the funerary cult (cf. V 1.4 ad 222, p. 181); in general, cf. Klein, *Studies Sjöberg* (1989) 296, and fn. 45; Winter, *ibid.* 26ff.

²³⁶ Additional offerings were handed out at the beginning and the middle of the month. Cf. Sallaberger, *Kalender* 63ff.; 105; 147 (in Nippur).

²³⁷ Cf. Klein, *Studies Sjöberg* (1989) 296ff.

²³⁸ Cf. Flückiger-Hawker, *N.A.B.U.* 1996/119 with reference to the edition and previous collations.

²³⁹ Cf. also above, 3.1, pp. 70ff. (similar sequence in hymns and especially artefact inscriptions).

²⁴⁰ Cf. also Averbek's general remarks on the social function of the temple in *A Preliminary Study of Ritual and Structure in the Cylinders of Gudea*, Ph.D. Dissertation, The Dropsie College (1987) 168ff.

17:15-16) and reforms are accomplished. In the text of statue B the statue enters the temple (Stat. B 7:19-20) and then tells of the accomplished reforms (Stat. B 7:26-46 ≈ Cyl. B 17:17-18:11). Thus, at the same point in the sequence, the singer of the hymn and the statue would be reporting the same royal reform acts to Ningirsu, and both statue and cylinder would have memorialized the same royal achievements by regular performance of the former and continuous recitation of the latter.

As a reward for the construction of Ningirsu's temple, Gudea shall get life as a gift. The name of statue B (7:14-17) reflects this message: *l u g a l - ḡ u₁₀ | e₂ - a - n i | m u - n a - d u₃ | n a m - t i l₃ n i ḡ₂ - b a - ḡ u₁₀* "For my lord I have built his temple, (may) life (be) my gift!", and similarly also Gudea, Stat. E 9:1-3 *n i n - ḡ u₁₀ b a - z i - g e | n a m - t i l₃ ṛ b a¹ | u₄ d u₁₁!* (S A Ḡ) - *g a - b a i₃ - d u₃* "My mistress, you have made me rise,²⁴¹ allot life! (For) at its (= the temple's) appointed time I have built it!". In fact, many names of the Gudea statues ask a deity in whose honour a temple has been built to bestow long life on Gudea,²⁴² sometimes mentioning explicitly that life is being granted for his construction work. Blessings for a happy reign and long life at the end of statue and other royal inscriptions are already in evidence for Early Dynastic²⁴³ and in later Isin-Larsa times.²⁴⁴ They recall passages in royal hymns containing a prayer or blessing for the long life of the mentioned king. In Urnamma C 107-108, Urnamma asks for life (from Enlil?) for the construction of Nanna's temple: (...) *t i l₃ n i ḡ₂ - b a - ḡ u₁₀ ḥ e₂ - a | d n a n n a l u g a l - ḡ u₁₀ e₂ - g a l - l a - n a m u - n a - d u₃* "(...) let life be my gift! For Nanna, my lord, I have built his palace".

The occasion which prompted the realization of Urnamma's self-laudatory hymn C was probably the (re)construction of the Ekišnuḡal, the temple complex of the city-god Nanna in Ur, and the inauguration of the yearly ceremony of first-fruit offerings for Enlil in Nippur,²⁴⁵ just as the construction of the Eninnu, Ningirsu's temple in Ġirsu, prompted the realization of Gudea's statue B. Both Urnamma C and Gudea's statue B share common themes. Statue B, however, sticks more closely to the subject at hand, whereas Urnamma C is more literary and uses poetic devices such as parallel sequences of matching or similarly constructed sequences. Both texts describe their focal point, the construction of the city-god's temple, at some length. Urnamma C does this in form of hymnic praise of the Ekišnuḡal, listing its parts at the beginning. Statue B elaborates on the actual construction of certain parts of the Eninnu. Preparations include the reform and purification of society (Stat. B 3:12-5:11) as well as the opening of routes (Stat. B 5:24-27)²⁴⁶ for the supply of raw materials from foreign lands (Stat. B 5:28-6:63). Similarly, in

²⁴¹ Cf. also the name of the š i t a-weapon in Nammaḡni 4:12-13 *l u g a l - ḡ u₁₀ (= d k i n d a₂ - z i) b a - z i - g e | ḥ e₂ - m a - d a - z i - z i* (and similarly Nammaḡni 16:4').

²⁴² Exceptions are Stat. D 5:2-8, Stat. M 3:2-3, Stat. O 3:2-4, and Stat. Q 2:4-5.

²⁴³ E.g. Luzag. I, 3:19-21.

²⁴⁴ E.g. *RIME* 4.1.10.11:20-22 (Enlilbāni); *RIME* 4.2.8.3:53-56 (Nūradad); *RIME* 4.2.9.4:22-25 (Sīniddinam); *RIME* 4.2.13.2:22-26 et passim (Waradsīn).

²⁴⁵ Cf. above, III 2., p. 39.

²⁴⁶ The technical term is ḡ i r i₃ ḡ a l₂ t a k a₄ (line 27).

Urnamma C, Urnamma's securing of routes (Urnamma C 19 and 54)²⁴⁷ and his enforcement of law and order bring social stability, a prerequisite for work on the temple, and this ensures that regular offerings for the Ekišnuḡal can be made (Urnamma C 32-42). Both Gudea and Urnamma are endowed with attributes from different gods to show their unique qualification for the job (Urnamma C 20-30; 43-49 and Gudea, Stat. B 2:5-3:5). At the end of statue B's inscription, as well as Urnamma C is the request for life in perpetuity as recompense for the construction of the city-god's temple.

In summary, both the collation of the Louvre Catalogue *TCL* 15 28, listing fourteen compositions inscribed on stelas of which those identifiable are self-laudatory, together with the fact that statues and self-laudatory hymns share common themes and the purpose to keep their creator visibly alive and memorialize his achievements through the ages, indicate that self-laudatory hymns (type B. II), like Urnamma C, were originally inscribed on stelas erected in the temple²⁴⁸ and copied on tablets by the scribes of the Old Babylonian schools. On the other hand comparison with e.g. the texts of Gudea's cylinders, a type B I. hymn, and Gudea's statue B show the use of the same materials and suggests that royal type B I. hymns may also have been originally inscribed on stelas. In fact, examples given by S. Tinney of short-line formatted and case-ruled fragments of type A hymns containing rubrics²⁴⁹ may raise the possibility of an original monumental setting of all types of royal hymns, as W.W. Hallo suggested. Still, the following observations should caution us to take the view that Old Babylonian copies of all types of royal hymns are exclusively verbatim texts of statue and stela inscriptions: a common but not exclusive²⁵⁰ feature of texts inscribed on statues and stelas is the ending curse formulae which we would therefore also expect royal hymns to have, but unlike many statue and stela inscriptions, only two examples of hymns discovered to date have curses at the end, Sulgi E and Išmedagān A (+ V_A + Z), both type B. II hymns, reminiscent of those that were used to end texts on statues and stelas.²⁵¹ This could indicate that during the transmission of royal hymns from monument to copy, the Old Babylonian scribes in fact adapted the texts in many instances, rather than copying verbatim the texts found on stelas and statues, among other things by leaving out the curses at the end. Adaption of many royal hymns may find additional support in the fact that the quality of the narrative in the hymns seems so different from royal inscriptions.

²⁴⁷ The technical term is *girišsisa*.

²⁴⁸ Already suggested for Urnamma C by Falkenstein, *Iraq* 22 (1960) 147 and followed by Hallo, *JCS* 17 (1963) 117, fn. 93.

²⁴⁹ Išmedagān D, source A (= CBS 2343), a fragmentary piece of a *zamazam* of Enlil (= N 1045), cf. Tinney, *OLZ* 90 (1995) 12, and an unidentifiable Išmedagān hymnic fragment (= N 3326), cf. Tinney, *ibid.* 23. Note also source N 5873 + N 6989 of Išmedagān K (Tinney, *ibid.* 13, and fn. 32), a hymn that focuses entirely on the praise of Inana and mentions Išmedagān as Inana's spouse at the end. It contains no rubrics but has a concluding punchline which it shares with other Išmedagān hymns (cf. above, II 1., p. 13).

²⁵⁰ E.g. some of Gudea's statues.

²⁵¹ Cf. already above, p. 78f.

Basic components of royal inscriptions such as the deity for whom the structure or object is built or fashioned and/or dedicated to (element 1), the royal benefactor (element 2), and the act of building and/or dedication, may be expanded to sections which elaborate more fully on the components and incorporate additional information in temporal clauses. The "when-then" ($u_4 \dots - a \text{ — } u_4 - b a / - b i - a$) schema (elements 3 and 4) is typical of royal inscriptions. It is a way to introduce "historical" and other information and is already found in Pre-Sargonic inscriptions²⁵² and continues to be used in Sargonic through Larsa royal inscriptions. By introducing a temporal clause with "at that time" (vars. "in this same year",²⁵³ "on the first, second etc. day"²⁵⁴), an important event can be singled out of a series of events or narratives and the purpose added to it in subordinate { $\text{əd} + e$ } clauses. Often this event prompted the fashioning of the object on which the inscription was written and with which the event was commemorated. A dedicatory clause (element 5) stating on whose behalf ("for his life, for the life of so-and-so") the dedication is made may be added together with concluding curses and/or blessings for the benefactor at the end of the inscription (element 6).²⁵⁵ The "when-then" schema is also apparent in prologues to law codes which have come down to us in copies of original stela inscriptions (e.g. Codex Urnamma 31; 36; [104]; 125; Codex Lipiteštar [1]; 20; 38). The statue inscriptions Sulgi V and Išmedagān S,²⁵⁶ although commonly classified as royal hymns, show this same formal structure:

1. Dedication to deity (DN + epithets): Sulgi V 1-2 ≈ Išmedagān S 1-2
2. Royal subject (RN + epithets): Sulgi V 3-21 ≈ Išmedagān S 3-8
3. $u_4 \dots$ clause: Sulgi V 22-25
4. $u_4 - b a$ clauses: Sulgi V 26-29; 30-33(/35) ≈ Išmedagān S 9-22; 23-25 (fashioning of royal sculptural image)
5. "Dedicatory clause" (placing of image in front of deity): Sulgi V 34-35 ≈ Išmedagān S 26-28 (in form of a blessing)
6. Concluding curses: Išmedagān S 29-34

Royal hymns, too, may contain the components listed in the formal structure of royal inscriptions. Urnamma B, for example, introduces Enlil, to whom the reconstructed Ekur is dedicated, first (element 1). Then follows the introduction of the royal subject, Urnamma (element 2), followed by the building account (element 4). The successful completion of the work prompts the setting up of a dais of kingship at Ur (element 4) in the presence of Enlil (cf. element 1) who bestows a

252 Cooper, *Presarg. Inscr.* 9.

253 E.g. Ukg. 4, 12:29 || 5, 12:5. Cf. also e.g. Gudea, Stat. E 8:16 || G 2:17 (§ $a_3 - m u - b a - k a$), Gudea, Stat. R 2:9 ($m u - b i - a$).

254 E.g. Utuḫeḡal Inscr. = *RIME* 2.13.6.4:73; 75; 84. Cf. also e.g. *RIME* 2.1.2.6:68f. (in *šanutim šalištim* "in the third year").

255 Cf. e.g. Frayne, *BiOr.* 48 (1991) 405 for the Šūsu'en Inscription Collection A.

256 For discussions and editions, cf. Ludwig, *Išme-Dagan* 75-91; for Sulgi V also Klein, *Beer-Sheva* 2 (1985) 7*-38* [cf. now also Frayne, *RIME* 3/2 (1997) 156f., as *RIME* 3/2.1.2.54], and for Išmedagān S Frayne, *RIME* 4 36ff. (= *RIME* 4.1.4.8).

blessing upon Urnamma (element 5).²⁵⁷ But the difference is that in this case the "when-then" schema seems to be replaced by poetic structure. This is true of royal hymns in general: they adhere less to chronological order, as e.g. the discussion of Urnamma C in the previous chapter shows,²⁵⁸ and by dropping the "when-then" schema may reduce events to literary patterns or topoi. Many have an intrinsic poetic structure as their rubrics demonstrate.

As to the development of narrative materials of the formal structure with its expanded sections discussed above, one can say that for the Ur III and Isin periods such materials appear mainly in inscriptions on statues and stelae, known from Old Babylonian copies, a pattern first noted for the Sargonic and Lagaš II periods of shifting narrative materials out of artefact inscriptions into statue and stela inscriptions, and in a more literary vein, into hymns. For the Larsa dynasty, beginning with Nūradad (1865-1850 B.C.), and under the last kings of Larsa who were his successors, Sīniddinam, Waradsīn, Rīmsīn, and the Babylonian kings Ḫammurapi and Samsu'iluna, however, artefact inscriptions inscribed on cone shafts, foundation tablets etc., also include narrative materials and make use of the same structure. Here again an important event prompts the fashioning of an object, but the inscription is this time not only written on the object itself, but on some other artefact. The "when-then" schema may remain,²⁵⁹ but each section is given such a strong literary flavour that it often cannot be differentiated from hymnic passages.²⁶⁰ This literary development has already been noticed in a similar manner for topoi of legitimation and kingship in section 1.2.²⁶¹

Another difference between the narrative of royal inscriptions and hymns can be observed at the beginning of these texts: royal inscriptions usually begin with the divine name, followed by epithets, whereas many hymns begin with epithets of the god, followed by the divine name a few lines later.²⁶² Thus, adaption of statue and stela inscriptions to hymns may also have taken place at the beginning of a text.

Also, the use of persons is handled differently: hymns use the 1st and 3rd persons, sometimes including addresses in the 2nd person. Royal inscriptions through Ur III times use predominantly the 3rd person.²⁶³ From the Isin period onward the 1st person starts to get used, i.e. in the artefact inscriptions of Lipiteštar²⁶⁴ and in Old Babylonian copies of texts inscribed most likely on stelae

²⁵⁷ Cf. already above, 3.1, pp. 69ff. For a detailed structural analysis of Urnamma B, cf. V 2.1, pp. 183ff.

²⁵⁸ III 2., pp. 37ff.

²⁵⁹ E.g. *RIME* 4.2.8.3 || 7:26; 37 || 64 (Nūradad); *RIME* 4.2.9.2:10; 33; 51 (Sīniddinam); *RIME* 4.2.13.3:20 (Waradsīn).

²⁶⁰ Edzard, *ZZB* 148; Michalowski, *Sachs Memorial Vol.* (1988) 267.

²⁶¹ Cf. pp. 55ff. Also above, 3.1, pp. 69ff.

²⁶² Of course there are well-known exceptions, e.g. Enl.sudr. (= Enlil in the Ekur); note that Sulgi E and Išmedagān A, two compositions on stelae, also begin with the divine name.

²⁶³ An exception is the statue inscription of Urba'u (no. 1 = Steible, *FAOS* 9/1 134-40) which uses the 1st person throughout (pace Steible). Note also that some statue and stela inscriptions in the 3rd person may have passages that contain a direct address: e.g. *RIME* 2.1.2.4:73-78 (Nārāmsu'en); Gudea, Stat. B 7:24ff.; Utuḫēgal Inscr. (= *RIME* 2.13.6.4) 27-32 et passim; *RIME* 4.1.6.2 vi 1'ff. (Urninurta); Kārki, *StOr.* 49 (1980) 69:46ff. (Sīniddinam).

²⁶⁴ *RIME* 4.1.5.2ff.

of Išmedagān²⁶⁵ and Enlilbāni.²⁶⁶ In the Larsa period, from Nūradad onward, the 1st person is widely used both in artefact and statue and stela inscriptions, a finding which coincides with the comments on the development of narrative materials made above.

In short, the fact that hymns generally have no curses at the end, omit the "when-then" schema in favour of a more poetic structure which adheres less to chronological order, most often begin with epithets of the god invoked, rather than with the divine name itself, and do not restrict the use of persons, as in the case of royal inscriptions, all argue against viewing Old Babylonian copies of all types of royal hymns as exclusive verbatim texts of statue and stela inscriptions, but rather corroborate the assumption that in many instances the scribes may in the process of copying statue and stela texts actually have adapted parts thereof.

3.3 *Urnamma A and Lamentation Literature*

C. Wilcke, in a series of published articles and in his unpublished, comprehensive study of Urnamma A, studied the relationship of this composition with other Sumerian literary texts and has drawn attention to numerous parallels to the Gilgameš epics,²⁶⁷ the lamentations over Ur (and Sumer),²⁶⁸ laments concerning distant gods, i.e. Dumuzi, Damu and Ningēšzida,²⁶⁹ and in Two Elegies.²⁷⁰ Job-like themes in Urnamma's lament over himself have prompted scholars to see thematic parallels with so-called wisdom literature, like Man and his God.²⁷¹

Urnamma A describes the king's death and its consequences, and so naturally contains allusions to myths which centre around the laments of divine mother and sister, and of the widowed goddess over the disappearance of their loved one.²⁷² Main representatives of this type of myth are the cult song *e d e n - n a u₂ s a ḡ - ḡ a₂*,²⁷³ the cult song of Damu *u₃ - m u - u n - e d u m u n u n ḡ a l a n - k i - š e₃ m a ḥ - a m₃* (= *TCL* 15 8 //),²⁷⁴ and also the composition known

²⁶⁵ *RIME* 4.1.4.6 vi 1'ff. (Išmedagān); classified by Edzard, *ZZB* 81f. as a royal hymn, by Frayne, *RIME* 4 33 as an inscription.

²⁶⁶ *RIME* 4.1.10.1001 (Enlilbāni); classified by Edzard, *ZZB* 83 and Römer, *SKIZ* 3 and 38 as a royal hymn, by Kraus, *Verfügungen* 28, fn. 60, and Frayne, *RIME* 4 87 as an inscription. Cf. also Tinney, *OLZ* 90 (1995) 14.

²⁶⁷ Wilcke, *CRRAI* 17 (1970) 82; 84; 91f.; idem, *UT* 27-29.

²⁶⁸ Wilcke, *UT* 30f.

²⁶⁹ Wilcke, *CRRAI* 17 (1970) 86-91; idem, *RIA* 5 (1976-80) 84 s.v. "Inanna/Ištar"; idem, *Studies Vajda* (1988) 246-50; idem, *UT* 32-47; idem, "Politik und Literatur" 35f. and 52f.

²⁷⁰ Wilcke, *UT* 48-52. For an edition of Two Elegies, cf. Kramer, *Two Elegies on a Pushkin Museum Tablet: A New Sumerian Literary Genre*, Moscow (1960) with additions by Sjöberg, *JAOS* 103 (1983) 315-20.

²⁷¹ Kramer, *JCS* 21 (1967) 104; with reservation Wilcke, *CRRAI* 17 (1970) 86. For an edition of Man and his God, cf. Kramer, *VTSuppl.* 3 (1955) 170-82; supplemented with a new translation by Römer, *TUAT* III/1 (1990) 102-09.

²⁷² Wilcke, *UT* 32-42; idem, *Studies Vajda* (1988) 246-49.

²⁷³ Cf. Wilcke, *Studies Vajda* (1988) 248, and fn. 21 for references.

²⁷⁴ For an edition, cf. Römer, *BiOr.* 49 (1992) 636-80.

as "Ninĝešzida and Ninazimua" (= *TMH NF 4 4 II*).²⁷⁵ There is evidence from Ur III administrative documents from Ur and Umma for actual rituals in the first month of the year (around April), at the beginning of harvest time, in the $u_2 s a \hat{g}$ "high? grass", all involving lamenting goddesses, and which were coupled, in the case of Ur, with the cult of the dead Ur III kings.²⁷⁶ Urnamma and his son and successor Sulgi claim Ninsumun and Gilgameš as their divine mother and brother.²⁷⁷ In addition, Sulgi explicitly mentions in his hymns Lugalbanda and Ĝeštinana his divine father and sister,²⁷⁸ and the Susa version of Urnamma A (line 126) testifies to the tradition that the goddess Ĝeštinana/Ninazimua was regarded as Urnamma's divine sister. P. Steinkeller has demonstrated that Sulgi most probably venerated his mother *S I . A - t u m*²⁷⁹ after her death (and perhaps already during her lifetime) as one of the personifications of Ĝeštinana, naming her $d \hat{g} e \check{s} t i n - a n - n a - S I . A - t u m$.²⁸⁰ The association of Ĝeštinana with Urnamma's wife probably has to do with Urnamma being the god Dumuzi, since, as *e n*-priest of Uruk,²⁸¹ he identifies himself with Dumuzi, husband of the goddess Inana, the chief deity of Uruk.²⁸² Although we do not have any explicit reference that Urnamma and Inana are husband and wife, as we do for two late Early Dynastic kings (ca. 2400 B.C.), Mesanepada of Ur and Eanatum of Lagaš, and later rulers,²⁸³ such an intimate relationship is certainly referred to in Inana's lament over the dead Urnamma, condemned to a life in the netherworld.²⁸⁴ In addition to his divine wife, Urnamma can also be mourned by his real wife *S I . A - t u m* in the guise of a divine sister, which shows how in this case divine and genetic genealogies are being juggled. Two laments, known under the titles of $e - n e - e \hat{g}_3 - \hat{g}_2 - n i i - l u i - l u$, and $u_3 - u_8 g a - a m_3 - d u_{11}$, the former a *b a l a \hat{g}* song of Dumuzi, the latter an *e r \check{s} e m a* song of Inana,²⁸⁵ centre on the myth of Inana's attempted rescue of Dumuzi from the netherworld in which she humbly asks for an audience with Enlil and pleads with him for Dumuzi's release.²⁸⁶ Urnamma A 195 and following seem to allude to this myth: Inana is not present when An and Enlil's decision is changed (lines 8-9). But when she hears of the loss of her lover, she

275 Cf. Wilcke, *Studies Vajda* (1988) 248, and fn. 20 for references.

276 Sallaberger, *Kalender* 183, and fn. 865; 233f. (for the Umma ritual).

277 Urnamma A 16; 63; C 48; 113; EF 12; F 40 and 49 (broken); e.g. Sulgi A 7; B 7; 184; D 41; 43; F 4-5 et passim (cf. Wilcke, *CRAI* 19 [1974] 201, fn. 131); O 29; X 47, for Ninsumun as divine mother. Urnamma A 143; C 112; e.g. Sulgi D 292; O 50 II 86 II 139, for Gilgameš as divine brother.

278 E.g. Sulgi D 42; P b 23; 38, for Lugalbanda as divine father; e.g. Sulgi E 21 (cf. Ludwig, *Išme-Dagan* 206); P b 43, for Ĝeštinana as divine sister.

279 For the suggested readings of *S I . A - t u m* as *Watartum* and *Zibnatum*, cf. the summary in Steible, *FAOS* 9/2 (1991) 195f. with reference to Michalowski, *ASJ* 4 (1982) 130ff. for the reading *Zibnatum*, but for *zib-na-tum*, cf. now Cavigneaux, *ASJ* 18 (1996) 38, fn. 19 ("a ceremony").

280 Steinkeller, *ASJ* 3 (1981) 77f.

281 Urnamma 10:7 and 34:5. Note also Urnamma C 73-75 which refers to Urnamma as *e n*-priest of Inana involved in the "sacred marriage" rite (cf. also above, III 2, p. 38).

282 Cf. Cooper, *Sacred Marriage and Popular Cult* 91.

283 Cooper, *ibid.* 83ff.

284 Wilcke, *CRAI* 17 (1970) 89; *idem*, *Studies Vajda* (1988) 246.

285 Cf. Wilcke, *Studies Vajda* (1988) 247, fns. 15f. for references.

286 Wilcke, *CRAI* 17 (1970) 86-89; *idem*, *UT* 42-46; *idem*, *RIA* 5 (1976-80) 84 s.v. "Inanna/Ištar"; *idem*, *Studies Vajda* (1988) 246; *idem*, "Politik und Literatur" 35f. and 52f.

humbly appears before Enlil (a topos) only to hear that Urnamma will never appear again. She directs an angry speech at An and reproaches him for the fact that Urnamma's fate has been changed, against the established decrees of the land (lines 208-210). The expression in lines 208-209 "who has changed that word?", implying the sarcastic answer that only An and Enlil themselves could have done so, is the same used to describe the futile attempt at altering a divine decision once taken. Aware of this, Inana sets up a wail over the fact that she indeed cannot bring back her lover Urnamma.²⁸⁷

Just as the representation of Inana's husband Dumuzi by a king in the "sacred marriage" ceremony seems to have become common practice from Ur III times onward,²⁸⁸ it is likely that the presentation of Urnamma's death was mediated by the Dumuzi-Inana myths, rather than Urnamma's premature death and its consequences giving rise to the myths mentioned above. The cult song of Damu (= *TCL* 15 8 //) ends with a list of Ur III and Isin kings headed by Urnamma and shows that these rulers were considered as representatives of Damu/Dumuzi.

Urnamma A can also be compared with the city laments. Due to its theme of calamity that has befallen Ur and its inhabitants at the loss of their king, Urnamma A shows the same "generic set of symbols" employed by the creators of the city laments to describe the devastating consequences that can befall a city from military attack and destruction. Urnamma A thus shares similar themes in similar language, if not always similar form, with the city laments and to some degree also with the *b a l a ḡ / e r š e m a* genre, which in turn is similar in content to the city laments.²⁸⁹ The city laments are the most explicit geographically and historically, and name the enemy at whose attack the city collapses,²⁹⁰ whereas in the *b a l a ḡ / e r š e m a* songs it is most frequently just "the enemy", or Enlil's storm, and in turn his pronouncement (*e n i m*) which is the destructive force. In Urnamma A the enemy's name is not mentioned and appears as the evil (*ḥ u l - ḡ a l ₂*) that overcomes Ur, its king, and inhabitants; less likely, the enemy may have been named in the broken section at the very beginning of the composition.²⁹¹

Common themes apparent in the laments and in Urnamma A include the initial description of devastation (lines 1-7) and the finality of the gods' decision (lines 8-9, 52-55, and lines 208-209), as well as various descriptions that centre around destruction, that is Urnamma's premature death in the case of Urnamma A, and the cities' destruction with regard to the city laments, and its consequences: disruption of husbandry and agriculture, cessation of urban happiness, wrecking, etc. Other themes are the laments over their own fates by deities in the city laments, and in the *b a l a ḡ / e r š e m a* songs over their destroyed homes,²⁹² and by Urnamma in Urnamma A over his condition and that of his family. These laments can be seen as

²⁸⁷ In summary Wilcke, "Politik und Literatur" 35f.

²⁸⁸ Cf. Cooper, *Sacred Marriage and Popular Cult* 84ff.; 91.

²⁸⁹ Black, *Studies Civil* (1991) 30f., and fn. 60; Tinney, *Nippur Lament* 47ff.

²⁹⁰ Black, *ibid.* 30, fn. 59.

²⁹¹ Cf. also I 1., p. 7, and fn. 63, and the commentary ad 6-7 in V 1.4, p. 164.

²⁹² E.g. Inana in M. Cohen, *Eršemma* 66ff. (no. 32), 70f. (no. 106), Ningal in the Ur Lament, Nanna-Su'en in the Lament over Sumer and Ur.

an attempt at intervention and entreaty, sometimes on behalf of somebody else, before Enlil and An to stop the calamity. In the city laments they lead to the restoration of the city and the decreeing of a good fate for it or its king. In Urnamma A this theme is coupled with the above mentioned mythological narrative of Inana's attempted rescue of her lover in the netherworld. Here the lament results in Urnamma's posthumous fame.

The imagery that is used in the city laments to describe the destruction of a specific city and the resulting consequences for its people and their land is used in Urnamma A to describe the "destruction" of Urnamma, i.e. his premature death, and the fate of his widow. Actions and reactions of all the participants and victims are described in similar language and metaphors: the gods' retreat in the face of calamity, Urnamma's futile attempt at pleasing the gods with lavish sacrifices trying to change An and Enlil's pronouncement echoing both that of Narāmsu'en in *Curse of Agade*, and Ningal's attempt in the *Ur Lament* to change the gods' minds. Animal imagery is used in the description of the destroyed cities²⁹³ and for Urnamma in lines 170-173, the description of his widow at the absence of her dead husband (lines 183-185), and perhaps in reference to Ningal in *Ur Lament* 320. The following twelve paragraphs list these various themes in more detail to show the close relationship in tone, and sometimes also form, between Urnamma A and the city laments. They are additions to the themes conveniently listed by J.S. Cooper in *Curse of Agade* 20ff.:

I. The initial portrait of destruction (lines 1-9) includes Urnamma's departure in lines 6-7: ʾu ri₅ ki⁷ - ma ḥ ul - ḡ al₂ im - š i - D U si pa zi ba - ra - ab - e₃ | [si] pa ʾ zi⁷ ur - d ʾ n a m m a ba⁷ - ra - ab - e₃ si pa zi ba - ra - ab - e₃ "Evil came upon Ur and made the faithful shepherd leave it! It made the faithful shepherd Urnamma leave it, it made the faithful [shep]herd leave it!" (similarly line 18). Compare e.g. *Nippur Lament* 77 me gal š a₃ - bi ba - ra - an - e₃ - a - a š (...) "Because he (= its lord) made the great me depart from its (= the Ekur's) midst (...)"; 111 u₃ - m u - un - bi me - bi ba - ra - an - e₃ - a "Its lord who made its me depart"; 114 me gal - gal - la - ni a - gi n₇ ba - ra - an - e₃ - a "He who made his great me depart thus!",²⁹⁴ and the abandonment of the city-gods in the city laments.²⁹⁵ Urnamma's departure is final, the king cannot return back to his city (lines 164-165). The same case applies to Ibbiṣu'en in *Sumer and Ur Lament* 37.

II. Other deities withdraw their support: in Urnamma A the gods retreat in sorrow (lines 10-16).

Themes of destruction and calamity appear in Urnamma A in three blocks: a.) following Urnamma's departure from Ur and the retreat of the gods (lines 19-30), b.) describing Urnamma's dying and eventual death (lines 31-61), and c.)

²⁹³ Cf. Cooper, *Curse of Agade* 23.

²⁹⁴ Var. N₄: b a - r a - a n - d a l "he made fly off". Cf. also the commentary ad Urnamma A 6-7 in V 1.4, p. 164.

²⁹⁵ E.g. *Curse of Agade* 60ff. and *Sumer and Ur Lament* 373-376.

Urnamma's lament over his and his family's pitiable condition (lines 155-196, possibly 215). They include the following topoi:

III. The topos of sleeplessness in the face of calamity: Urnamma A 20 *na m - lu₂ - ulu₃ li - bi i b₂ - til - la - am₃ u₃ du₁₀ nu - mu - un - ku - ku* "With their bliss(fulness) having come to an end, the people do not sleep soundly" recalls Uruk Lament 3. 23-24 *a₂ - ġi₆ - ba ni₂ ir₂ mu - ni - i b - te - eš i ġi - lib i₃ - AK - e l ki - nu₂ (tu ġ₂) ni ġ₂ ba ra₃ - bi u₃ du₁₀ li - bi (2) (- in) - ku - ku - ne* "In the middle of the night they become terrified and tearful, and suffer insomnia, in[?] their resting places *strewn with bedding* they cannot sleep soundly".

IV. Disruption of agriculture and husbandry²⁹⁶ is described in Urnamma A 22-30: lack of control over the spring floods (lines 22-23) results in crop failure (line 24), the removal of embankments and ditches (lines 25-26[?]) results in flooding (line 27), and

V. The alteration of landscape:²⁹⁷ Urnamma A 28 *ed in - ed in - e u₂ s [a₆ ? - ga] nu - mu - u [n - m] u₂ u₂ a - nir ba - an - mu₂* "On the steppes no f[ine? grass] grew any more, mourning grass grew there" recalls Curse of Agade 268 *ed in ša₃ u₂ sa₆ - ga mu₂ - a - zu ġi ir₂ - ra ħe₂ - e m - mu₂* "On your interior steppes, where fine grass grew may lamentation reeds grow!" (similarly Sumer and Ur Lament 11). The verb *u₂ - ġu de₂* "to disappear", attested in Urnamma A 27, presupposes in general the removal or abandonment of preceding or succeeding objects,²⁹⁸ as in Ur Lament 231ff. and Curse of Agade 144-148. Compare Urnamma A 27 *u m u š [(...)] ka la m - ma [u₂ ? - [ġ] u i m - ma - an - [de₂ ? ?] u₂ nir - ġa l₂ ba - su d* "The senses [(and...)] of the land disappeared, splendid food has been withdrawn"²⁹⁹ with Ur Lament 231 *di m₂ - ma ka la m - ma u₂ - ġu i m - ma - an - de₂ u ġ₃ - e še a m₃ - ša₄* "The good sense of the land disappeared, the people moan".

VI. The state of the dying Urnamma is described in language reminiscent of the wrecking, profanation and pillaging of the city and its temples in the city laments.³⁰⁰ Indeed, Urnamma's "destruction" stands for the ruining of the land: line 45 *te š₂ ka la m - ma - ka ba - šu b u b (...)* "The land's vigour is felled (...)", line 46 (Susa) (...) *a - ra₂ [ka la m - ma ?] ba - e - su ħ₃* "(...) the state of the land is confused", 46a (Susa) (...) *a - [ra₂ ka la m ?] - ma ba - e - k u r₂* "(...) the state of the land is altered". Just as the temples are laid open by the removal of the gates and their appearance alters³⁰¹ so Urnamma's appearance changes when he is felled like a tree (Urnamma A 45-46a). In line 45 *te š₂ ka la m - ma* "the land's vigour" is a well known Ur III royal epithet. The

²⁹⁶ Cf. Cooper, *Curse of Agade* 24f.

²⁹⁷ Cf. also Sulgi D 222-227.

²⁹⁸ Cf. Urnamma A 25 *ka r* "to take away", and perhaps line 26 *ki ta ġ* "to put on the ground".

²⁹⁹ For the reading *su d* and translation "has been withdrawn", cf. the commentary ad 27 in V 1.4, p. 165.

³⁰⁰ Cf. Cooper, *Curse of Agade* 23f.

³⁰¹ Curse of Agade 122; Eridu Lament 2. 17-18.

distortion (k u r₂, š u b a l a A K, s u ḥ₃) of a peoples', a city's or territory's (m a - d a) healthy status quo, i.e. the people's good sense, their (intellectual) ability in conducting successful affairs (d i m₂ - m a, u m u š), is a common literary topos.³⁰² We find it also in the royal correspondence of Ur III kings.³⁰³

It is the people who are distorted in Urnamma A 55-57 (k u r₂ and b a l a) after Urnamma's futile attempt at changing his fortune. His fate, however, is already decided: Urnamma's sacrifices to the gods are rejected, An and Enlil's word stands (lines 54-55). This might be an allusion to the passage in Curse of Agade where Narāmsu'en performs extispicy and looks for a favourable sign. The same tradition is preserved in two fragmentary texts about Amarsu'en (Amarsu'en A and B).³⁰⁴ But Enlil's words cannot be altered (Curse of Agade 94-101), and just as it is futile to attempt this by oracle, so too it is in Urnamma A by lavish offerings for the gods. The topos of trying to change the pronouncements of An and Enlil can also be found in Ur Lament 145ff. where Ningal twice asks An and Enlil to change their minds and not destroy Ur.

The third distortion takes place, now of the land, in line 72 where Urnamma crosses over the . . . of the land and starts his journey to the netherworld.

VII. The passage in Urnamma A 49-50 is partially broken and rather obscure, but perhaps the underlying image of a sand storm that covers everything may be compared with the storm that envelops the land like a (linen) garment and linen in Ur Lament 203-204 and Eridu Lament 1. 5-6 and "the storm" in b a l a ḡ songs.

VIII. Urnamma's abandonment and final death is described in the common image of people likened to broken pots.³⁰⁵

IX. Images of mourning: musical entertainment ceases,³⁰⁶ wails are intoned instead: Urnamma A 187 t i g i₂ a - ḫ d a ḫ - a b g i - S U₃ z a - a m - z a - a m - ḡ u₁₀ / ḫ i r₂ ḫ - r a m u - d a - a n - k u₄ "My t i g i- and a d a b-instruments, my . . . flutes and my z a m z a m-instruments were turned into tears because of me" recalls Ur Lament 359-360 e n₃ - d u - z u i r₂ - r a (/ r e) b a - e - d a (- a n) - k u₄ (/ b a - d a - a n - k u₄) e n₃ - t u k u m (b i) - š e₃ S A R (/ - e) t i g i₂ - z u a - n i r - r a b a - e - d a (- a n) - k u₄ (/ b a - d a - a n - k u₄) e n₃ - t u k u m (b i) - š e₃ S A R (/ - e) "Your songs are turned into wails, how long . . . ? Your t i g i-instruments are turned into lamentations, how long . . . ?".

X. Urnamma A 189-190 ḡ e š ḡ u - z a ḫ i - l i - b i n u - m u - t i l - ḫ a ḫ - ḡ u₁₀ l s a ḫ a r P U₂ - s a ḡ - ḡ a₂ - ḫ a ḫ l u₂ i m - m i - i n - t u š ? - [u₃ ?] - ḫ x ḫ "That (/ because), instead of my throne, whose luxuriance I had not exhausted, they make me squat in the dust of a pit!"³⁰⁷ is comparable to Sumer and Ur Lament 410 ḡ e š ḡ u - z a - b i i g i - b i - t a b a (- e) - š u₂

³⁰² E.g. also Nippur Lament 47-48; 103-104; Uruk Lament 1. 22; Curse of Agade 147-148.

³⁰³ Šarrumbāni to Šūsu'en 23 and 26. Cf. Michalowski, *Correspondence* 233 ad 23 with previous literature.

³⁰⁴ Cooper, *Curse of Agade* 27f.

³⁰⁵ Cf. Michalowski, *Lamentation* 100f. ad 406.

³⁰⁶ Urnamma A 187-188; Ur Lament 356; Nippur Lament 83; cf. also Enki and the World Order 447-448.

³⁰⁷ Similarly Gudea, Stat. B 9:10-11 in the curse passage, cf. the commentary ad 189-190 in V 1.4, p. 179.

s a ḥ a r - r a (/ - t a) b a (- e) - d a - (a n) - t u ṣ "In their (= the enemy's) presence its (= Ekišnuḡal's) throne is/was covered, she (= Niniagara) squatted (instead) in the dust".³⁰⁸ Urnamma in the netherworld obviously shares a fate similar to that of a deity whose city is doomed to destruction. In city laments the deities (have to) leave their temple and city and retreat to the steppe. We find the same theme in some mythological narratives of various b a l a ḡ hymns. An e r ṣ e m a song,³⁰⁹ for example, tells of Ninisina's sojourn in Arali (the netherworld). This can be compared with Urnamma leaving his city and setting up his dwelling in Arali.³¹⁰

XI. The city laments exhibit a positive turn at the end: after destruction follows restoration and the return of the gods. Some city laments elaborate on royal accomplishments in the city's reconstruction. A possible allusion to this may be found at the end of Urnamma A where the king's memorable accomplishments are described. Whereas the kings in the city laments will be known for their rebuilding the city and its holy precinct in order to regain and maintain divine favour, Urnamma will be always known by his legacy.

XII. In the closing section of the Uruk Lament, Inana takes an intercessory role before the gods for Išmedagān and Uruk, to persuade them to decree a good fate for him and his city.³¹¹ In Urnamma A Inana is aware that An and Enlil's decision cannot be altered. But it is her lament over her dead lover that perhaps prompts Ningēšzida - if the reconstruction in line 217 is correct, and he is still the subject of line 221 - to proclaim Urnamma's posthumous fame.

Urnamma A, Curse of Agade, and the city laments all draw on a common stock of topoi and motifs. The earliest of the compositions are Urnamma A and Curse of Agade, dating to Ur III,³¹² but they can hardly have originated this repertoire of topoi and motifs, which seems at home in a context of ritual lament. Although none of the liturgical laments, such as the b a l a ḡ and e r ṣ e m a songs, is attested earlier than the Old Babylonian period, the Ur III composition Curse of Agade 196-208 and Ur III administrative texts refer to ceremonies using ritual laments,³¹³ and professional lamentation performers are known as early as the Early Dynastic period.³¹⁴ Thus, the presence of a stock of lamentation topoi and motifs in Urnamma A is a strong if indirect argument for the existence of ritual laments in the Ur III and earlier periods.

308 Cf. Michalowski, *Lamentation* 101 ad 410 who interprets s a ḥ a r - r a (/ - t a) t u ṣ (with ablative infix) as a "willful act of despair", similarly Green, *JAOS* 104 (1984) 278 ad l. 21 (some references collected by Attinger, *ZA* 74 [1984] 44 ad 220). The references mentioned above seem to contrast sitting in the dust rather than on a throne.

309 M. Cohen, *Eršemma* 96-103 (no. 171).

310 Cf. also the commentary ad Urnamma A 6-7 in V 1.4, p. 164.

311 For the relationship between Išmedagān and Inana manifested in the Uruk Lament and Išmedagān's hymns, cf. Tinney, *Nippur Lament* 68-70.

312 For Ur III manuscripts of Curse of Agade, cf. Cooper, *Curse of Agade* 41ff., and Alster, *ASJ* 15 (1993) 1-3.

313 Cooper, "Genre, Gender and Lamentation" (unpub. paper held at the Third Mesopotamian Literature Group Meeting, Groningen, 1995).

314 *PSD* B 79, s.v. balaḡ-di B; Attinger, *Éléments* 451-53.

CHAPTER V

EDITIONS OF URNAMMA A-H

0. Introductory Remarks

The layout of each edited hymn is basically the same, i.e. an introduction, transliteration and translation, followed by a philological commentary. The transliteration and translation of the two recensions of both Urnamma D and EF are followed by synoptic transliterations and translations, and a collective philological commentary to facilitate comparison. In the introduction a short summary of the history of the text publication, where appropriate, is given, followed by an outline of the structure of the composition which is also intended as a guide to the translation.¹ At the end a short description and list of the sources is presented.

Although methodologically problematical, I have created a composite text for Urnamma A and B for which more than one text source exists for a given line. Because the text sources are so small in number, each eclectic line is immediately followed by a score of individual text sources for that line, rather than listing each line more conventionally in a separate score at the end of the edition. Sign index numbers follow F. Ellermeier, *Sumerisches Glossar*. The translation is given on facing pages, for Urnamma A and B in blocks of ca. five to seven lines below the transliteration on the same page.

The commentary is kept as brief as possible and concentrates more on philological than interpretative matters. These are mainly discussed within the framework of the other chapters. Material presented in the commentaries of previous editions is in general not repeated.

Note that [. . .] signifies a break in the text, . . . indicates that the word(s) is/are untranslatable, or the corresponding signs unreadable. Words in brackets [] are restored with a high degree of certainty, unless they are followed by a question mark. A translation which is only very tentative appears in cursive script.

¹ Michalowski, *Lamentation* 10.

1. URNAMMA A = URNAMMA'S DEATH

1.1 Introduction

*Previous studies*²

S. Langdon published a first edition of the composition based on a part of source A (CBS 4560) in *PBS* 10/2 (1917) 127-36. A subsequent edition using photos and collations by S.N. Kramer of CBS 4560 was attempted by G. Castellino in *ZA* 52 (1957) 1-57 with an appendix in *ZA* 53 (1959) 131f. In *JCS* 21 (1967) 104-22 S.N. Kramer presented a new edition incorporating newly identified fragments from Jena of source A and the Istanbul source B. C. Wilcke published his joins of the Jena fragments to source A and source E with photos and new copies in *CRRAI* 17 (1970) 81-92. In his unpublished Habilitationsschrift *Urnammus Tod, Tod und Bestattung eines Königs in neusumerischer Zeit* (1972) he was able to use new photos of source A, unpublished collations by D.O. Edzard of sources B and F, and unpublished transliterations by M. Civil of sources C and D. The copies of the Jena fragments of sources A and E were subsequently published in *Kollationen* (1976) 66-69. The latest revised edition to date is by S.N. Kramer in *Studies Mikasa* (1991) 193-214. He consulted M. Civil's unpublished manuscript which includes the unpublished small Nippur fragments and the Susa duplicates.

Structural Analysis

The composition³ begins with a long narrative section (lines 1-155) describing the evil that befalls the city of Ur and its inhabitants and the events that lead to Urnamma's death, his death and the journey to the Netherworld, and Urnamma's installation there. Then follow passages in direct speech in response to the events of lines 1-155: Urnamma speaks in lines 156-196 (possibly 156-215), Enlil in 201-203, Inana in 207⁴-215 and Ningēšzida (?) in 222-233. At the end the composition has a doxology (lines 234-240) with the usual $z a_3 - m i_2$ ending. The two last lines presumably sum up the overall lamenting tenor of the composition

² Cf. also II 2., p. 18f.

³ For a general assessment of Urnamma A within the corpus of Sumerian literary compositions, cf. II 1., p. 16f.

⁴ Or 204, cf. below, 1.2, p. 137, fn. 145.

which includes the long wails of Urnamma, his wife, and also of Inana as Urnamma's divine lover.⁵

The last section (3.3) of the preceding chapter IV discusses the relationship of Urnamma A with lamentation literature and shows that this composition uses both the form and the language of laments and the Curse of Agade which describe the destruction of cities, and applies them to the death of a monarch. Some of these passages are unusually rich in similes that mostly occur in groups of four lines (45-48; 170-173; 182-185; 214-215). They use animal imagery for the description of Urnamma's state (170-173) and that of his lamenting widow (183-185). The dying Urnamma is likened to a mountain (mine) that is cut away and to different kinds of trees that are felled (45-48). His widow is a boat that gusty winds have torn from the mooring pole and set adrift (182). In Inana's lament over her dead lover, Urnamma is likened to herbs in the steppe and to a river boat holding firm in its calm harbour (214-215).

The passage describing the sacrificial offerings to the netherworld deities follows a rigorous, repetitious pattern: object — receiver (DN + epithet) — *s i p a u r - d n a m m a - k e₄ e₂ - g a l - (l) a - n a ġ e š i m - m a - a b - t a g - g e* "Shepherd Urnamma offers as a sacrifice in her/his palace". In Urnamma A cases of absence of postpositions, a well known phenomenon in Old Babylonian Sumerian literary texts, are probably due to rhythmical reasons. Note especially the pattern *l u g a l +* postposition *l l u r - d n a m m a* in lines 70-71 (broken), 74-75 (broken) 81-82, 85-86, 132-133 (broken), and 146-147. One way of indicating a strophic arrangement of lines is by abbreviating repeated lines with ornamental repetition.⁶ Such examples are Urnamma A 70-71, of which line 71 writes only the beginning *u r - d ṛ n a m m a ṽ (- ṛ x ṽ) a n š e - n i b a -*, and 79-80, of which line 80 likewise writes only the beginning *u r - d n a m m a ġ e n - n a - n i*. Earliest hymnic example of this technique is Gudea A (STVC 36).

Urnamma A starts off with a description of evil that has come upon Ur and from which Urnamma cannot escape (1-9). In the face of such calamity the gods are helpless, the inhabitants of Ur mourn, and successful husbandry comes to an end. (10-30). The dying king is returned to the capital and vanishes to the realm of the dead (31-63). He is buried, journeys to Arali, the abode of the dead, arrives at the gates of the netherworld, and gets a tumultuous welcome which is followed by a banquet (64-83). He presents customary animal sacrifices to the gods of the netherworld and presents gifts to each one of them (84-131). The gods set up a dwelling place for Urnamma and make him a judge (132-144). But Urnamma starts craving for past activities he enjoyed and intones a lament (145-154). He utters a bitter invective against the gods and shows his sorrow over the lamentable state of his widow and his own pitiable situation (155-196). Inana is absent at Urnamma's judgment and is ordered before Enlil in Ekur only to be informed that Urnamma has left her temple Eana for good. Inana is angry and mourns Urnamma (197-216). The

⁵ For similar endings, cf. *TMH NF* 4 7 (= J. Westenholz, *Studies Sjöberg* 552) iii 105 (before the subscript *b a l b a l e*); Two Elegies 178.

⁶ Cf. Wilcke, *AS* 20 (1975) 233.

end of the composition is marked by a peripety in which Ningēšzida (?) decrees Urnamma's fate (217-233) and a doxology in which Ningēšzida is praised (234-240).

In summary the composition can be divided into the following sequences:

I. The setting (1-30)

1. Initial portrait of destruction: evil comes upon Ur, Urnamma's fate changed deceitfully (1-9)
2. Impact on the gods, the people and the land (10-30)
 - a. Passive retreat of the gods Ninmaḥ, Enki-Nudimmud, Nanna, Utu and Ninsumun, Urnamma's divine mother (10-16)
 - b. The people mourn in the streets and cannot sleep well (17-21)
 - c. Devastating impact on agriculture (crops and animals) (22-30)

II. Urnamma's return to Ur, his untimely death, its impact and his vanishing to the realm of the dead (31-63)

1. The dying Urnamma returns to his palace in Ur (31-42)
2. Urnamma lies dying, the state of the land is altered (tree similes) (43-48)
3. Urnamma's death (49-51)⁷
4. Its impact: the gods turn away, the people become irrational (52-57)
5. Urnamma vanishes to the realm of the dead (58-63)⁸

III. The burial scene (64-71)

1. Urnamma is likened to a boat in a storm (64-69)⁹
2. The burial scene (70-71)

IV. Urnamma's journey to Arali and his arrival (72-83)

1. The hazardous journey on a chariot (72-75)
2. Arrival at the gates of the netherworld, tumultuous welcome with following banquet (76-83)

V. The offerings to the gods in the netherworld (84-131)

1. Animal sacrifices to the gods (84-87) (cf. below V. 3)
2. Individual offerings associated with that particular deity (88-128)
 - a. Nergal (88-91)
 - b. Gilgameš (92-96)
 - c. Ereškigal (97-101)
 - d. Dumuzi (102-105)
 - e. Namtar (106-109)
 - f. Hušbisag (110-113)

⁷ Wilcke, *UT* 54 assumes direct speech of Urnamma's wife in lines 51-69.

⁸ Lines 60-61 seem to be spoken by Urnamma's wife.

⁹ Cf. the commentary ad 64-75, p. 170. That this passage describes Urnamma's hazardous journey by boat cannot be excluded.

- g. Ningēšzida (114-119)
- h. Dimpi(me)kug (120-122)¹⁰
- i. Ninazimua (123-128)

3. Summary of sacrifices to the above mentioned gods (?) (129-131) (cf. above V. 1)

VI. Establishment of a dwelling place and induction as a judge (132-144)

- 1. Enthronement on the dais of the netherworld (132-137)
- 2. Induction as a judge (138-144)

VII. Urnamma's craving for past activities that leads to his lament (145-154)

- 1. Sumer's mourning makes Urnamma think of past, unfinished activities (145-147)
 - a. Public activities (148-149)
 - b. Family activities (150-153)
- 2. Summary line of the preceding description leading to his lament (154)

VIII. Urnamma's lament concerning himself (155-196, possibly -215)¹¹

- 1. Invective against the gods (156-163)
- 2. No return (164-165)
- 3. The sorrow and lamentable state of his widow (166-194)
 - a. Sorrow over Urnamma's failing strength and resulting death (?) (animal similes) (166-175)
 - b. His widow's abandonment by her protective spirits and gods (176-181)
 - c. Her resulting defencelessness (boat and animal similes) (182-186)
- 4. Laments over Urnamma's pitiable state in front of his family (187-194)
 - a. Instead of merry music making, chanting of laments (187-188)
 - b. Instead of royal comfort, miserable existence in the netherworld (189-192)
 - c. Summary lines: Urnamma's lament (156-192) is chanted by people in front of his family (193-194)
- 5. Transition lines to the next narrative sequence: Inana's absence at Urnamma's judgment (195-196)

IX. Inana's reaction to the fate of Urnamma (197-216)¹²

- 1. By order of Enlil Inana appears before Enlil in the Ekur (197-200)
- 2. Enlil tells Inana that Urnamma has left her temple Eana for good (201-203)
- 3. Inana becomes angry (204-206)
- 4. Inana's invective and lament over her lover Urnamma (207-215)
 - a. The divine pronouncements have been changed, the rules of the land not maintained (207-212)

¹⁰ In source D Dimpi(me)kug is inserted between Dumuzi and Namtar, cf. also the commentary ad 122, p. 175.

¹¹ Cf. also the commentary ad 155, p. 176.

¹² Lines 197-215 possibly narrated by Urnamma himself.

b. Lament over her lover Urnamma (similes) (213-216)

X. The Peripety: Ningēšzida's (?) decreeing of Urnamma's fate (217-233)

1. Introductory lines (217-221)

2. Ningēšzida (?)¹³ decrees Urnamma's fate (222-233)a. His name and royal function acclaimed (222-224)¹⁴

b. His agricultural achievements acclaimed (225-230)

c. Summary lines: his name invoked, the evil u d u g-spirit driven away (231-333)

XI. Doxology: praise of Ningēšzida (234-240)

XII. Ending lines: laments over Urnamma (241-242)

*Manuscripts*1. "Single-tablet edition" ('Gesamttafeln')¹⁵:

Source A: six-column tablet.

Source C: fragment of lower left edge of tablet, originally containing possibly six columns, as well.

2. "Tablets from multi-tablet editions" ('Teiltafeln'):

Source B: one-column tablet with the first 52 lines of the composition.

Source E: one-column tablet with probably a little missing at the beginning of the obverse and the end of the reverse.

Source D: fragment of probably one-column tablet (source E?).

Source F: small fragment of a tablet (one-column or multi-column).

Source G: lower left edge of tablet containing end of the composition.

Sources Sb₁-Sb₃: three one-column tablets containing presumably the whole composition.¹⁶

Sources D (especially lines 106ff. and 120-122), C and F (especially lines 212-213) show partially divergent variants and we have therefore at least two Nippur recensions of the composition, one represented by source A, the other by sources C?, D and F. A third, different, and strikingly shorter version is represented by the Susa tablets.¹⁷

¹³ Cf. the commentary ad 221, p. 181.

¹⁴ Cf. also the commentary ad 222, p. 181.

¹⁵ Cf. Edzard, ZA 80 (1991) 168, and fn. 11a. for the terms 'Gesamttafeln' and 'Teiltafeln'.

¹⁶ Cf. also 1.3, p. 143f.

¹⁷ Cf. in more detail, *ibid.*, pp. 143ff. (especially pp. 143, 150 and 152f.).

The following transliteration is based on personal collations of sources A (CBS 4560 + N 7095) C, D and G conducted at the University Museum with kind permission of Å.W. Sjöberg. M. Civil, who has the publication rights to the Susa tablets, kindly agreed to let me incorporate them in this edition. The Susa tablets Sb₁-Sb₃ have been personally collated at the Louvre with the kind permission of B. André-Salvini. The transliteration of each Susa line appears below the score of individual text sources from Nippur although the Susa line sequence sometimes considerably differs from the Nippur line sequence. Therefore a separate transliteration and translation of the Susa version is added after the Urnamma A text and before the collective philological commentary. C. Wilcke generously made his unpublished Habilitationsschrift available to me, as did S. Tinney his unpublished University Museum manuscript with contributions by C. Wilcke, M. Civil and A. Cavigneaux.

Sources

See in general C. Wilcke, *Kollationen* 65. The sigla are those used in S. Tinney's unpub. University Museum manuscript (3/15/92).

Nippur:

A CBS 4560 + HS 1428 + HS 1560 + HS 1450 + HS 1549 + HS 1570 + HS 1581 + HS 1528 + HS 1548 + N 7095

i 1-40 = **1-40**

ii 1-44 = **41-84**

iii 1-43 = **85-127**

iv 1-40 = **128-167**

v 1-36 = **168-203**

vi 1-39 = **204-242**

copy of CBS 4560: S. Langdon, *PBS* 10/2 (1917) 6.

copies of HS 1428 +: C. Wilcke, *CRRAI* 17 (1970) 83 and 85 (pls. 2 and 4) and idem, *Kollationen* 66f.; copies of the individual fragments in I. Bernhardt, S.N. Kramer, *TMH NF* 4 (1967) 28; 30; 32-35 = 82; 65; all HS fragments, except HS 1528 and HS 1548, also in S.N. Kramer, *JCS* 21 (1967) 107-09.

copy (1:1) of N 7095: E. Flückiger-Hawker, cf. pl. 1.

photo of CBS 4560: G. Castellino, *ZA* 52 (1957) after p. 16; obv. and rev. mistakenly exchanged.

photos of HS 1428 +: C. Wilcke, *CRRAI* 17 (1970) pls. 1 and 3.

collation of CBS 4560: E. Chiera, *AJSL* 36 (1919/20) 233 and 236-38; S.N. Kramer apud G. Castellino, *ZA* 52 (1957) 15-17; E. Flückiger-Hawker.

collation of N 7095: E. Flückiger-Hawker.

- B Ni. 4487
 obv. 1-24 = **1-24**
 rev. 1-28 = **25-52**
 copy: M. Çiğ, H. Kizilyay, *ISSET* 1 (1969/71) pp. 76f. and in S.N. Kramer, *JCS* 21 (1967) 105f.
 unpub. collation: D.O. Edzard; marked by preceding *.
- C N 3135
 obv. 1'-7' = **31-37**
 rev. 1'-7' = **212-219?**
 copy (1:1): E. Flückiger-Hawker, cf. pl. 1.
 transliteration: M. Civil in letter (11-20-69) to C. Wilcke, cf. C. Wilcke, *UT* Appendix.
 collation: E. Flückiger-Hawker.
- D 3 N-T 523 = IM 58534
 obv. 1'-13' = **102-111**
 obv. 5'-7' = **120-122**
 rev. 1'-14' = **146-159**
 transliteration: M. Civil in letter (11-20-69) to C. Wilcke, cf. C. Wilcke, *UT* Appendix.
 collation: E. Flückiger-Hawker.
- E HS 1440 + HS 1529
 obv. 1'-29' = **164-192**
 rev. 1-29 = **193-221**
 copies: C. Wilcke, *CRRAI* 17 (1970) 90 (pl. 5) and idem, *Kollationen* 68f.;
 copies of the individual fragments in I. Bernhardt, S.N. Kramer, *TMH NF* 4 (1967) 29; 31; also in S.N. Kramer, *JCS* 21 (1967) 110.
- F Ni. 9918
 obv. 1'-9' = **210-220**
 copy: S.N. Kramer, *ISSET* 1 (1969/71) p. 186.
 unpub. collation: D.O. Edzard; marked by preceding *.
- G N 2355
 obv. 1'-8' = **222-231**
 rev. 1'-7' = **235-241**
 copy (1:1): E. Flückiger-Hawker, cf. pl. 1.
 collation: E. Flückiger-Hawker.

Susa:

Sb₁ Sb 12363

obv. 1'-19' = **1'-19' = 12-29**¹⁸

rev. 1'-22' = **20'-41' = 35-61**

photos made available by B. André-Salvini, cf. pls. 2-4.

collation: E. Flückiger-Hawker.

measurements: 9,3 × 6,7 × 3,0 cm.

one-column tablet; upper half broken with about 9 to 10 lines missing; on lower edge perhaps one to two lines missing; probably the same format as Sb₂ and Sb₃ (about 30 lines on each side).

Sb₂ Sb 14137 + Sb 14083

obv. 1-31/14' = **42'-71' = 63?-99**

rev. 1-31/16' = **72'-102' = 100-128a**

join: A. Cavigneaux.

photos made available by B. André-Salvini, cf. pls. 5-10.

collations: E. Flückiger-Hawker.

measurements: 14,5 × 6,5 × 3,0 cm.

one-column tablet with 30 lines on each side; lower and upper edge preserved; the same ductus as Sb₁.

Sb₃ Sb 12358 + Sb 12362

obv. 1-28 = **103'-130' = 129-162**

rev. 1'-21' = **131'-151' = 183?-213**

colophon rev. 22': 'im¹ gid₂-da *pir-ḥu-um* 'u₄? x x x x¹

join: M. Civil.

photos made available by B. André-Salvini, cf. pls. 11-13.

collations: E. Flückiger-Hawker.

measurements: 11,0 × 6,7 × 3,0 cm.

one column tablet with 28 lines; upper edge preserved; on lower edge (obv.), upper edge of rev. about two to three lines missing; the same ductus as Sb₂.¹⁹

¹⁸ Lines that roughly correspond to the line counting of the Nippur version.

¹⁹ For Sb_{1,3}, cf. also below, 1.3, p. 143f.

1.2 Transliteration and Translation²⁰

- 1 [...] -ta kalam teš₂-a mi-ni-¹ib-x¹
 A i obv. 1 [...] -ta kalam teš₂-a mi-ni-¹ib-x¹
 B obv. 1 [...] 'kalam' teš₂-a i-[...]
- 2 [...] -¹i₃²¹ -sag₃ e₂-gal im-si₃-si₃
 A i obv. 2 [...] -¹i₃²¹ -sag₃ e₂-gal im-si₃-si₃
 B obv. 2 [...] 'x' 'e₂'-gal *in-[...]
- 3 [...] aḡ^{1?} gi₆ tuš-a-ba ni₂ ul₄-la bi₂-¹ib₂¹-te
 A i obv. 3 [...] -¹x¹ ni₂ ul₄- la ba-an- te
 B obv. 3 [...] aḡ^{1?} *gi₆ tuš-a-ba ni₂ 'ul₄'-la bi₂-¹ib₂¹-te
- 4 [(x)] 'x x x' x ki šub-ba-bi ki-en-gi-ra bi₂-ib-ḡar
 A i obv. 4 [...] -bi ki-en-gi-ra bi₂- ib-ḡar
 B obv. 4 [(x)] 'x x x' x ki šub-ba-bi ki-en-gi-ra bi₂-¹ib-ḡar²¹
- 5 [(x) n] iḡ₂-daḡal-ba iri 'ba¹-an-gul uḡ₃-e ni₂ bi₂-in-te
 A i obv. 5 [...] -gu] i uḡ₃-e ni₂ bi₂-in-te
 B obv. 5 [(x) n] iḡ₂-daḡal-ba iri 'ba¹-an-gul uḡ₃-e ni₂ bi₂-in-te
- 6 'uri₃^{ki}-ma ḡul-ḡal₂ im-ši-DU sipa zi ba-ra-ab-e₃
 A i obv. 6 [...] -'ši-DU' sipa(PA.UDU^{1?}) zi ba-ra-ab-e₃
 B obv. 6 'uri₃^{ki}-ma ḡul-ḡal₂ im-ši-DU / 'sipa' zi 'ba¹-ra-ab-e₃
- 1 From the [..., the ...] was [...] evenly in/on the land.
 2 [The ...] struck, the palace(s) collapsed.
 3 [The ...] spread panic rapidly among its Black-Headed who dwelt there.
 4 [The ...] established its abandoned places in Sumer.
 5 In its vast [...] cities are destroyed, the people are seized with panic.
 6 Evil came upon Ur and made the faithful shepherd leave it!

²⁰ Variants between the Nippur versions, as well as variants of the Susa version, are noted in footnotes.

²¹ A reading i] n-sag₃ is epigraphically also possible.

7 [si]pa ʽziʽ ur-dʽnamma baʽ-ra-ab-e₃ sipa zi ba-ra-ab-e₃

A i obv. 7 [...] sip]a zi ba-ra-ab-e₃
B obv. 7 [si]pa ʽziʽ ur-dʽnamma baʽ-ra-ab-e₃ / sipa zi ba-ra-ab-e₃

8 ʽanʽ-ne₂ enim ku₃-ga ʽdu₃ʽ-⁷a mu-un-kur₂ ša₃ ʽusan_xʽ⁷ su₃-ga-am₃

A i obv. 8 [...]] AN.ʽUSANʽ⁷ (usan_x) su₃-ga- am₃
B obv. 8 ʽanʽ-ne₂ enim ku₃-ga ʽdu₃ʽ-⁷a mu-un-kur₂ ša₃ AN.ʽxʽ su₃-[ga]-ʽam₃ʽ

9 ʽdenʽ-lil₂-le nam(-)ʽtarʽ-ra du₃-a ʽšuʽ lul [mi]-ni-ib-bala

A i obv. 9 [...]]-ni- ib-bala
B obv. 9 ʽdenʽ-lil₂-le nam(-)ʽtarʽ-ra du₃-a ʽšuʽ lul [mi-n]i-i[b-x]

10 dʽnin-maḥʽ-e ʽxʽ [x] ʽxʽ.LA₂.A.BA-na a-nir mu-un-ḡa₂-ḡa₂

A i obv. 10 [...] L]A₂? .A.BA-na a-nir mu-un- ḡa₂-ḡa₂
B obv. 10 dʽnin-maḥʽ-e ʽxʽ *[x] ʽxʽ.LA₂. A.BA-na a-ni[r mu-u]n-[...]]

11 den-k[i-k]e₄ ḡeš[i]g gal eridu^{ki}-ga gu₂-bi ba-an-ge₄

A i obv. 11 [...] i]g gal eridu^{ki}- ga gu₂-bi ba-an-ge₄
B obv. 11 den-k[i-k]e₄ ḡeš[i]g gal eridu^{ki}-ga g[u₂-...]]

12 dnu-ʽdim₂ʽ-[m]ud ʽitimaʽ^{ma}-ka ba-an-ku₄ ša₃(-)^{ka}-tab-ba ba-an-nu₂

A i obv. 12 [...]] ʽxʽ²²- a- ka ba-an-ku₄ ša₃(-)^{ka}-tab-ba ba-an-nu₂
B obv. 12 dnu-ʽdim₂ʽ-[m]ud ʽxʽ^{ma}-ʽkaʽ ba-an-ku₄ ʽxʽ(-)^{ka}-ta[b-...]]
Sb₁ obv. 4' [x x (x)] ʽx x x itimaʽ^{ma}- ka[!] ba-an-ku₄ ša₃(-)^{ka}-tab(-) ba- nu₂

7 It made the faithful shepherd Urnamma leave it, it made the faithful [shep]-herd leave it!

8 An changed the precious pronouncement which he had fixed,²³ it is an empty *midst of the evening*.²⁴

9 The decreed fate that Enlil had fixed²⁵ was altered deceitfully.

10 Ninmaḥ sets up laments in/over her [...].

11 Enki hermetically closed the great door of Eridu.

12 Nudimmud entered the bedchamber and lay down listlessly.

²² Traces are compatible with itim]a[?] as well as -m]a[?].

²³ Literally: "What An had invested in the precious pronouncement, he changed".

²⁴ Or: "the heart . . . is empty".

²⁵ Literally: "What Enlil had invested in the decreed fate".

13 enim ʾku₃?²⁶ an-na-ʾka²⁷ d_nnanna si-un₃-na saġ-ki ba-da-ni-in-gid₂

A i obv. 13 en[im ... d_nan]na si-un₃-na saġ-ki ba-da-ni-in-gid₂
 B obv. 13 enim ʾku₃?²⁷ an-*na-ʾka²⁷ d_nnanna si-un₃-na saġ-ki(-)NI(-)²⁷da¹-[...]
 Sb₁ obv. 2' [...] ʾx x x²⁷ saġ-ki- ni mi-ni- gid₂²⁷

14 d_utu(-)²⁸an¹-n[a?] nu-um-e₃-e u₄- de₃ i-si-iš im-la₂

A i obv. 14 d[utu(-)...] ʾu₄¹-de₃ i- si- iš im-la₂
 B obv. 14 d_utu(-)²⁸an¹-n[a?] nu-um-e₃-e u₄- de₃ i-ʾsi¹-[iš...]
 Sb₁ obv. 3' [...] u₄- de₃ i- si- iš im-la₂

15 ama dumu-ni-še₃ ħulu til₃-la-e

A i obv. 15 [...] ħulu til₃- la- e
 B obv. 15 ama dumu-ni-še₃ ħulu til₃-ʾla¹-e
 Sb₁ obv. 5' [ama] ʾx²⁸ dumu-ni-še₃ ħul-ġal₂-la ʾtuš²-(x²)²⁹

16 ama lugal-la ku₃ d_nnin-sumun₂-na a ša₃-ġu₁₀ im-me

A i obv. 16 [...] d_nnin-sumun₂-na a¹ [š a₃]-ġu₁₀ im- me
 B obv. 16 ʾama lugal¹-la ʾku₃¹ d_nnin-sumun₂-na a ša₃- ġu₁₀ im- me
 Sb₁ obv. 6' ama lugal- la ku₃ d_nnin-sumun₂-ka a₂ ša₃- ġu₁₀ ʾim¹-me

17 nam ur-d_namma mu-un-tar-ra-še₃

A i obv. 17 [...] ur-d_nam]ma mu- un-tar-ra-ʾa¹-še₃
 B obv. 17 ʾnam²⁷ ur-d_namma¹ mu- un-tar-ra- še₃
 Sb₁ obv. 7' nam ur-d_namma ʾmu¹-un-bala-e-eš³⁰-am₃

13 Nanna at the zenith frowned at/because of An's precious² pronouncement.

14 Utu does not rise in the sky,²⁹ the days are full of sorrow.

15 The mother who is miserable because of her son,³⁰

16 The mother of the king, dazzling Ninsumun, says: "O my heart!"

17 Because of the fate that was allotted to Urnamma,³¹

²⁶ ʾku₃¹ on copy of source B possible; according to Edzard's collations very unlikely.

²⁷ At the beginning of Sb₁ obv. approximately 9-10 lines are missing. Line 1' reads [...] ʾx x x²⁷ [(x x)].

²⁸ Or simply a scratch.

²⁹ Or: "Utu-of-Heaven does not rise".

³⁰ Susa: "[The mother] *who sits*² in a wretched state because of her son".

³¹ Susa: "They (= the gods?) have overturned Urnamma(s) destiny".

18 mu sipa zi ba-ra-ab-e₃-a-še₃A i obv. 18 [...] ba-ra-^ṛab- e₃^ṛ-a-še₃B obv. 18 ^ṛmu^ṛ sipa zi ba- ra- ab- e₃- a-še₃Sb₁ obv. 8' mu sipa zi ba-^ṛra- ab^ṛ-e₃- a-ta19 sila daḡal ki a-ne-di ḡal₂-la-ba ir₂ gig i₃-še₈-še₈A i obv. 19 [...] ^ṛx ḡal₂^ṛ-la^ṛ-[...] ^ṛi₃^ṛ- du₁₁-du₁₁B obv. 19 ^ṛsila^ṛ daḡal ki a-ne-di [ḡal]l₂- la- ba i[^ṛr₂] g[ig] i₃- še₈-še₈Sb₁ obv. 9' sila daḡal ki e-ne-de₃ ḡal₂-^ṛla^ṛ-ba ir₂ gig ^ṛmu^ṛ-a-ši-ši20 nam-lu₂-ulu₃ li-bi ib₂-til-la-am₃ u₃ du₁₀ nu-mu-un-ku-kuA i obv. 20 [...] u₃ du₁₀ nu-mu-un-ku- kuB obv. 20 nam-lu₂-ulu₃ ^ṛx^ṛ li-bi [...] (-)^ṛx(-)^ṛx^ṛ [...]]-mu-un-ku- kuSb₁ obv. 11' nam-lu₂-ulu₃ lib ib₂-til-la-am₃ u₃ d[u₁₀ x (x)] ^ṛx(-x)^ṛ[x]-ku21 i-lu sipa zi ba-dab₅-ba-na u₄ mu-ni-ib-zal-eA i obv. 21 [...] sipa ^ṛzi ba^ṛ- dab₅-ba- na u₄ mu-ni- ib- zal- eB obv. 21 i-^ṛ*lu^ṛ si[pa] zi ba- dab₅-ba- na [...] -i]b- zal- eSb₁ obv. 10' i- lu sipa zi ba-an-dab₅-be₂-NE-eš-a ^ṛu₄^ṛ mi-n[i^ṛ-i] b₂-zal-zal-e22 a-eštub i₇-da de₂-a-bi ku₃-ḡal₂-bi ba-siA i obv. 22 [...] ^ṛi₇^ṛ-da de₂- a- bi ku₃-ḡal₂-bi ba-siB obv. 22 [a-eš]tub ^ṛi₇^ṛ-da^ṛ de₂^ṛ-a- bi [...] -b]i ba-siSb₁ obv. 12' a-eštub i₇- da de₆-^ṛa^ṛ-ba ku₃-ḡal₂-[...]18 Because it³² made the faithful shepherd leave,19 They³³ weep bitter tears in their broad squares where merriment had reigned.

20 With their bliss(fulness) having come to an end, the people do not sleep soundly.

21 They spend (their) days in lamenting the faithful shepherd who has been snatched away.³⁴22 When the early flood had poured into the canals, their (canal-)inspector became/was weary,³⁵

32 i.e. the evil (cf. lines 6-7).

33 i.e. the people.

34 Literally i-lu (...) -na means "in the lamentations over him" (-ani in an objective, rather than subjective sense). Susa: "(As) they (= the gods?) have snatched him away (...)".

35 If ku₃-ḡal₂ represents Urnamma, then translate perhaps "(...) was/became silent (or: weak)".

23 še gu-nu a-gar₃-re mu₂-a-bi¹ zi kalam-ma ba-su

A i obv. 23 [...] ʔx a-gar₃-re mu₂-a-bi¹ zi kalam-ma ba-su
 B obv. 23 [še gu]-nu a-gar₃-re mu₂-a-b[i... -m]a ba-su₁₃
 Sb₁ obv. 13' še gu-nu a-gar₃-re ʔx¹-e₃-a z[i...]

24 engar GANA₂ zi-de₃ gub ʔx(-)ni¹ mu-na-ab-tur-re

A i obv. 24 [...] ʔx¹ [...]] mu-na-ab-ʔtur-re¹
 B obv. 24 [x GA]NA₂ zi-ʔde₃ gub ʔx(-)ni mu-na-ab¹-tur-re
 Sb₁ obv. 14' engar GANA₂ zi-de₃ ʔgub¹-bu ʔx¹ [...]]

25 den-ki-im-du lugal eg₂ p[a₅-re ur]i₂ki-ʔta[?] eg₂¹ pa₅ ba-da-an-kar

A i obv. 25 [...]]
 B rev. 1 [...] ur]i₂ki-ʔ*ta[?] eg₂¹ pa₅ ba-da-an-kar
 Sb₁ obv. 15' den-ki-im-du lugal eg₂ p[a₅-...]

26 na[?]-[...] ʔx x x¹ PI x [...] ʔx¹ ki bi₂-in-tag

A i obv. 26 na[?]-[...]] ʔx¹ ki bi₂-in-tag
 B rev. 2 [...] ʔx x x¹ *PI x [...]] ki bi₂-in-tag
 Sb₁ obv. 16' ʔx AB⁷¹ uĝ₃ daĝal-bi ʔba¹-[...]

27 umuš [(...)] kalam-ma ʔu₂¹-[g]u im-ma-an-ʔde₂⁷¹ u₂ nir-ĝal₂ ba-sud

A i obv. 27 umuš [(...) kalam-ma...] u₂ nir-ĝal₂ ba-sud
 B rev. 3 [...] u₂-g]u im-ma-an-ʔde₂⁷¹ u₂ nir-ĝal₂ ba-sud₄
 Sb₁ obv. 17' ʔ(x) x¹ BU kalam-ma-kam¹ ʔu₂¹-[...]

23 (So that) when the *mottled* barley had been growing in the arable tracts,³⁶ 'the life of the land' became inundated.

24 For the farmer, who stood on the cultivated field, his . . . diminishes it for him.

25 Enkimdu, the lord of embankments and di[tches], took away embankments and ditches from[?] [U]r.

26 [...] he[?] has put on the ground.³⁷

27 The senses [(and...)] of the land disappeared, splendid food has been withdrawn.

³⁶ Susa: "Mottled barley sprouted in the arable tracts" (ʔx¹-e₃-a = ʔx¹-e₃-am₃).

³⁷ Susa probably has a different version for this line.

28 edin-edin-e u₂ s[a₆[?]-ga] nu-mu-u[n-m]u₂ u₂ a-nir ba-an-mu₂

A i obv. 28 edin-e[din-e u₂ sa₆-ga... u₂ a]-nir ba- mu₂
 B rev. 4 'x' [...] nu-mu-u[n-m]u₂ u₂ a- nir ba-an-mu₂
 Sb₁ obv. 18' [ed]in-edin-e u₂ s[a₆[?]-...]

29 ab₂-e[?] x' [...] mu-un-'x' tur₃ 'x'-bi ba-gul

A i obv. 29 ab₂-e[?] x(-)' [...] 'x'-bi ba- gul
 B rev. 5 'ab₂[?] [...] mu-un-'*x' tur₃ 'x- bi ba'-gul
 Sb₁ obv. 19' [(x) x] 'x' ab₂ dugud-d[a[?] ...]

30 amar ab₂ 'x' [...] 'x'-bi im-DU

A i obv. 30 amar ab₂ 'x' [...] 'x'-bi im-DU
 B rev. 6 am[ar...] 'x x' [...] -D]U³⁸

31 sipa ku₃-zu [...] x A [...] x a₂[?] n[u[?]-mu]-da-an-aĝ₂-e

A i obv. 31 sipa ku₃- zu [...]]-da-an-aĝ₂-e
 B rev. 7 sipa ku₃-*zu [...] (-)*x(-)*A(-)[...] *x *a₂[?] *n[u[?]-...]-e[?]
 C obv. 1' [...] 'x' [...]

32 me₃ š[en-šen-na[?]...] A SI. 'A ba'-da-'ab-TAB[?]-e[?]

A i obv. 32 me₃ š[en-...]-'x-ab-TAB[?]-e[?]
 B rev. 8 *me₃ š[en-...] A x 'x'-da-[...]
 C obv. 2' 'x x x' [...]]/SI. 'A ba'-d[a-...]

33 lugal ka mud-ĝal₂ 'ki'-[e]n-gi-r[a me-te[?] unken-na]

Ai obv. 33 lugal ka [...]]
 B rev. 9 lugal *ka *mu[d]-*ĝ[al₂[?] ki-*e]n-gi-*r[a me-te[?] unken-na]
 C obv. 3' lugal 'ka mud- ĝal₂ ki'-[...]

28 On the steppes no f[ine[?]] grass grew any more, mourning grass grew there.

29 Cows [...], their [...] cattle pens are destroyed.

30 Calves [...] cows [...].

31 The wise shepherd [...], cea]ses to give instructions.

32 [In[?]] battle and com[bat...] . . .

33 The king, the *advocate* of Sumer, [the adornment[?] of the assembly],

³⁸ Restore and read possibly with Wilcke, *UT* 63 amar ab₂-ši[lam-ta ku₃-da] 'ur₃[?] g[ig-g] a-bi im-ša₄ "Calves [that had been cut off from their mother] cows mooded bitterly."

34 ur-^dnamma ka ʾmud-ġal₂ʾ ki-en-[gi-ra me-t]eʾ unken-na

A i obv. 34	ur- ^d namma [...	me-t]eʾ unken-na
B rev. 10	ur- ^d namma ka m[ud-ġal ₂] ki-en-[gi-ra...]
C obv. 4'	ur- ^d namma ka ʾmud-ġal ₂ ʾ (ʾxʾ) [...]

35 mas-su ʾki-en-gi-ra-ke₄ʾ [(...) i₃/in]-nu₂ dur₁₁-ra-am₃

A i obv. 35	mas-su x [(...) i ₃ /in]-nu ₂ dur ₁₁ -ra-am ₃
B rev. 11	mas-su x x [...]
C obv. 5'	mas- ^r su ki-en-gi-ra-ke ₄ ^ʔ [...]
Sb ₁ rev. 1'	[ur]- ^r dnamma ^ʔ ki-[...]

36 šu-ni dab₅-ba nu-mu-ʾun-dab₅ʾ in-nu₂ ʾdur₁₁ʾ-ra-am₃

A i obv. 36	šu ¹ -ni [
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37 ʾġiri₃ʾ-ni dib₂-ba nu-mu-un-da-ʾdibʾ i₃-nu₂ ʾdur₁₁ʾ-ra-am₃

A i obv. 37	[...]	ʾmuʾ-un- da-ʾdibʾ i ₃ -nu ₂ ʾdur ₁₁ ʾ-ra-am ₃
B rev. 13	ʾġiri ₃ ʾ-[x]	ʾx-(x)ʾ nu-mu-un/eʾ-daʾ-[...]
C obv. 7'	ʾġiri ₃ ʾ-[x]	ʾx-(x)ʾ nu-mu- un/eʾ-daʾ-[...]
Sb ₁ rev. 3'	[ġi]ri ₃ -ni dib ₂ -ba	[x x x (x)]-ġ a ₂ -ġ a ₂ [...]

38³⁹ [...] ʾx xʾ IM ʾxʾ [...SA]Ĝʾ.ME ba-BU

A i obv. 38	[...] ʾx xʾ IM ʾxʾ [...SA]Ĝʾ ⁴⁰ .ME ba-BU
B rev. 14	[...]
Sb ₁ rev. 4'	za-pa-aġ ₂ ʾA xʾ [x x x (x)-b] a GAM-e US ₂ [...]

34 Urnamma, the *advocate* of Sum[er, the adornm]entʾ of the assembly,

35 The leader of Sumer [(...)] lies suffering.

36 With his hands which had seized, he was not able to seizeʾ any more. He lies suffering.

37 With his feet which had *tread*, he was not able to treadʾ any more. He lies suffering.

38 [...] . . . was *torn*.⁴¹

³⁹ Source A.

⁴⁰ The sign could also be KA.

⁴¹ Susa: "Tumult [...] . . .".

39 sipa zi lug[al] UL₄-gal ki-en-gi-ra-ke₄

A i obv. 39 [...] UL₄-gal ki-en-gi-ra-ke₄
 B rev. 15 [*x¹] [...]
 Sb₁ rev. 5' sipa zi lug[al... ki-e]n-gi-ra

40 ur-^dnamma lugal kalam-ma-ke₄ e₂-sumur-ra ba-an-te

A i obv. 40 [...] lugal kalam-ma-ke₄ e₂-sumur-ra ba-an-te
 B rev. 16 [*x¹] [...]
 Sb₁ rev. 5' ur-^dnamma [...]

41 uri₂ki-ma im-te ur-^dnamma e₂-zu₂-ra-aḥ-^ra x¹-ku₄

A ii obv. 1 ur[i₃^{ki}-m]a im-te ur-^dnamma e₂-zu₂-ra-aḥ-^ra x¹-ku₄
 B rev. 17 ur[i₂^{ki}...]
 Sb₁ rev. 6' uri₂ki-ma?! ni₂ ^rḡen⁷¹-na-ni ur-^dnamma e₂-{... }

42 saḡ(-)ku₃(-)ḡal₂ e₂-gal-a-na i₃-nu₂

A ii obv. 2 saḡ(-)ku₃(-)[ḡa]l₂ e₂-gal-a-na i₃-nu₂
 B rev. 18 *saḡ(-)ku₃(-)[...]
 Sb₁ rev. 7' saḡ(-)gu₂(-)ḡal₂ ^re₂¹-gal-la(-)NI(-)nu₂-a

43 ur-^dnamma lu₂ eren₂-e ki-aḡ₂-ḡa₂ gu₂ nu-mu-un-da-zi-ge

A ii obv. 3 ur-^d[namma] lu₂ eren₂-e ki-aḡ₂-ḡA₂(ḡa₂/ḡe₂₆) gu₂ nu-mu-un-d[a- z]i-ge
 B rev. 19 [...]
 Sb₁ rev. 7'-8' ur-^dnamma lu₂ eri/e(-)[...] | ur₅ nu- un-da-an-zi

39 The faithful shepherd, the king, the . . . of Sumer,

40 Urnamma, the king of the land, let himself be brought to the Furious House.

41 Urnamma approached Ur and entered the . . . House.⁴²42 *The proud one* lies in his palace.43 Urnamma, the beloved of troops, is not able to lift (his) head⁴³ any more.

⁴² A literal translation of e₂-zu₂-ra-aḥ (so far as the reading of KA as zu₂ is correct) "Tooth-Gnashing House" is not assured. Susa: "When Urnamma *himself* had arrived? at Ur (...)".

⁴³ Literally "neck". Susa: "Urnamma whom the cities [...], was not able to raise himself any more".

44 igi(-)ġal₂ kur-kur-ra i₃-nu₂ ġeš-la₂-bi im-DU

A ii obv. 4 igi(-)ġal₂ [kur-kur]-ra i₃-nu₂ ġeš-la₂-bi im-[D]U
 B rev. 20 [...]]-bi im-DU
 Sb₁ rev. 8' igi(-)ġal₂ kur-kur-ra i₃-nu₂ ġeš-l[a₂?-...]

45 teš₂ kalam-ma-ka ba-šubub ħur-saġ-gin₇ ba-gul

A ii obv. 5 teš₂ [kalam-m] a-ka ba- šubub ħur-saġ-gin₇ 'ba-gul'
 B rev. 21 teš₂ [... -gi]n₇ ba-gul
 Sb₁ rev. 9' teš₂ kalam-ma ba-da-an-šub ħur-saġ-gin₇ ba-g[ul? (x x x)?]

46 tir ħa-šu-ur₂-ra¹-gin₇ im-ma-su₃ me-dim₂-bi ba-kur₂

A ii obv. 6 t[ir ħa-šu-u]r₂-ra¹-gin₇ im-ma- su₃ me-dim₂-bi [ba-ku]_{r₂}
 B rev. 22 tir ħa-[...] 'x' ba-kur₂
 Sb₁ rev. 10' ġeš tir ħa-šu-ur₂ 'ba-da¹-an-saġ₃ a-ra₂ 'kalam-ma¹ ba-e-suĥ₃

46a Sb₁ rev. 11' ġešeren²⁴⁴ kalam-ma-ke₄¹ ba-da-bala a-ra₂ kalam¹-ma ba-e-kur₂

47 ġeš-taškarin-gin₇ ki-tuš gir₁₇-zal-¹la¹-na GIN₂ mu-ni-in-ġar-re-eš

A ii obv. 7 ġeš[...](-)'x-la¹-na GIN₂'mu- ni-in-[... -e]š?
 B rev. 23 ġeš-taškarin¹?(ŠE₃)-gin₇ ki[-tuš] 'r*GIN₂ mu- ni-in¹- ġar-re-eš
 Sb₁ rev. 12' ġeš-taškarin-e ki-tuš gir₁₇-zal-a-ni AGA 'mu¹-un-na-an-ġar-re-eš

44 The one who oversees all (the foreign) lands is lying, deathly silence settles in.

45 The land's vigour is felled, like a mountain (mine) it is cut away.

46 Like a grove of ħ a š u r-trees it is clear cut, its appearance is altered.⁴⁵

46a He⁴⁶ passed the cedar trees[?] of the land, the state of the land is altered.

47 Like to a boxwood tree they⁴⁷ set axes against his delightful dwelling place.

⁴⁴ The sign does not look like a classic EREN but rather a simplified form of *KWU* 896 (cf. *LAK* 668) = also (?) EREN/ŠEŠ₄ (cf. Ferwerda, *TLB/SLB* V, p. 6).

⁴⁵ Susa: "A grove of ħ a š u r-trees was felled, the state of the land is confused".

⁴⁶ i.e. Urnamma.

⁴⁷ i.e. the enemy? Cf. also I 1., p. 7, fn. 62.

48 ḡeš¹eren¹ duru₅-gin₇ ¹e₂-gal¹-[(l)a n]u₂-a mu-ni-in-bala-bala-e-ne

A ii obv. 8 ḡeš¹[er]en duru₅-gin₇ ¹e₂- gal- x¹(-)[...]] ¹mu-ni-ib¹-bala-ba[la-e-n]e¹
 B rev. 24 ¹ḡeš¹eren¹ duru₅-gin₇ ¹e₂¹-[gal-(l)a n]u₂-a mu-ni-in-bala-bala-e-ne
 Sb₁ om.

49⁴⁸ ki-nu₂ nitadam-a-¹ni[?] ba¹-[x(x)] ¹x x¹ u₁₈-lu-da ba-da-dul

A ii obv. 9 ki-¹nu₂¹ nitadam-a-¹ni[?] ba¹-[x(x)]] ¹x x¹ u₁₈-lu- da ¹ba-da[?]- dul¹
 B rev. 25 ¹x¹-nu₂-a¹(*DIŠ) US₂.A.¹x¹ [...] ¹bi₂[?]-in-¹UL[?] u₁₈-lu-*da ba-da-an-dul
 Sb₁ om.

50 se[s]-¹a¹-ni-da dam-a-ni-¹gin₇¹ gu₂-d[a[?]] am₃-mi-ib-la₂

A ii obv. 10 se[s]-¹a¹-ni-da dam-a-ni-¹gin₇ x¹ [...] -m]i-ib-la₂
 B rev. 26 [...]] *gu₂-d[a[?]] am₃-mi- ib-la₂
 Sb₁ om.

51 u₄ ¹du₁₁¹-ga-ni sa₂ mu-ni-¹ib¹-du₁₁ a-la-na ba-ra-e₃

A ii obv. 11 u₄ ¹du₁₁¹⁴⁹-ga-ni sa₂ mu-ni-¹ib¹-du₁₁ a- la- na ba-[x-x]
 B rev. 27 [...]]-du₁₁ a-*la-*x ba-ra-¹e₃¹
 Sb₁ rev. 13' u₄ ¹sa₂¹ du₁₁-¹ga¹-ni-a sa₂ mi-ri- ib₂- du alan-a-ni ba-ra- e₃

52 ¹sizkur₂¹ niḡ₂ du₁₀-ga la-ba-an-tag-ge šu gig ba-¹ni-x¹-gid₂

A ii obv. 12 ¹sizkur₂¹ niḡ₂ du₁₀-ga la-ba-an-tag-ge šu gig ba-¹ni-x¹-[...]
 B rev. 28 [...] ¹*x x¹ [...]]
 Sb₁ rev. 14' ¹sizkur₂¹ niḡ₂ du₁₀-ge ¹šu¹ la-¹ba¹-an-tag šu gig ba-da-an-gid₂

48 Like a sappy cedar tree they uproot him [in[?]] the palace [where he is] lying.

49 His wife . . . (his) resting place [...], it is covered with a storm (from the South).

50 It⁵⁰ embraced it⁵¹ as a spouse her *sweetheart*.

51 His appointed time has reached him, he has lost his vitality.⁵²

52 Pleasing sacrifices are no longer seized, (because) afflicted hands have been stretched out towards them.

48 Source A.

49 Possibly s[a₂ d]u₁₁-ga-ni but hardly any space.

50 Referring to the storm of the previous line.

51 Referring to the resting place of the previous line.

52 i.e. "he has lost his hold on life". Susa: "... , he has lost his healthy appearance".

53 kadra₂^a-ni ^da-nun-na-ke₄-ne KA(enim) im-ma-an-^ṛge₄^ṽ-[x]

A ii obv. 13 kadra₂^a- ni ^da-nun-na-ke₄- ne KA(enim) im-ma-an-^ṛge₄^ṽ-[x]
Sb₁ rev. 15' ^ṛkadra₂^a-bi ^da-nun-na-ke₄-e-ne šu nu-um-ma-gid₂-e

54 an ^ṛmuš₃[?]-am₃ ^ṛx[?] la-ba-e-gub^ṽ u₄-bi la-ba-ni-ib-si

A ii obv. 14 an muš₃[?]-^ṛam₃ x[?] la-ba-e-gub^ṽ u₄-bi la-ba-ni-ib-si
Sb₁ rev. 16' [(x)] ^ṛmuš₃^ṽ- am₃ ^ṛx^ṽ [x] ^ṛx^ṽ la-^ṛba^ṽ-ni-^ṛin^ṽ-DU u₄-bi nu-sud-e

55 enim ^de[n]-lil₂-la₂ du₁₁-ga-še₃ ur₅ zi-zi la-ba-ḡal₂

A ii obv. 15 enim ^de[n]-lil₂-la₂ du₁₁-ga-še₃ ur₅ ^ṽzi-zi^ṽ la-ba-ḡal₂
Sb₁ rev. 17' [x] ^ṛd^ṽe[n[?]]-^ṛx^ṽ [x x (x)[?]] ^ṛx^ṽ-am₃ ^ṛur₅^ṽ zi-zi la-ba-ḡal₂-la

56 ^ṛx(-x)-ulu₃^ṽ-ni ki ba-aḡ₂-ḡa₂-bi igi-ḡal₂-bi ba-kur₂

A ii obv. 16 ^ṛx(-x)-ulu₃^ṽ-ni ki ba-aḡ₂-ḡa₂-bi⁵³ igi-ḡal₂-bi ba-kur₂
Sb₁ om.

57 ^ṛx^ṽ [(x)]-la lu₂ nu-zu-u₃-ne i-im-bala-bala-e-ne

A ii obv. 17 ^ṛx^ṽ [(x)]-la lu₂ nu-zu-u₃-ne i-im- bala-bala-e-ne
Sb₁ rev. 19' [... -n]e mu-ni-bala-bala-e

58 a-g[in₇ k]i-^ṽlu^ṽ-la ur-^dnamma dug gaz-gin₇ a-ba-ni-in-taka₄-aš

A ii obv. 18 a-g[in₇ k]i-^ṽlu^ṽ-la ur- ^dnamma dug gaz-gin₇ a-ba-ni-in-taka₄-aš
Sb₁ rev. 18' [x x (x)] ^ṛx (x)^ṽ [(x x) ur] ^ṽd^ṽnamma dug [g]az im-mi-ni- taka₄-e

53 (Therefore) the Anuna reject his gifts.⁵⁴

54 An did not stand by (his) *aḥulap* . . ., the days for that were not (yet) accomplished.⁵⁵

55 Because of Enlil's command, there was no getting up.

56 His *people*, the ones he had loved, their insight is altered.

57 [...] strangers turn over.

58 After they had thus abandoned Urnamma in the Place of Treachery as if he were a broken jar,

53 Wilcke, *UT* 64 reads n[am²-lu₂-u]lu₃ ki ba-aḡ₂-ḡa₂-bi.

54 Susa: "(Therefore) the Anuna no longer stretched out (their) hands towards these gifts".

55 Second half of the line in Susa: "he does not remove that day".

59 ʽxʽ [(x)]-a-ni IM.UD sir₂-da-gin₇ gal-bi im-ši-ĝen

A ii obv. 19 ʽxʽ [(x)]-a-ni IM.UD sir₂-da-gin₇ gal-bi im-ši-ĝen
Sb₁ rev. 20' [... -gi]n₇ gal-bi im-šeĝ₃-ĝe₂₆

60 ʽxʽ [x x (x)] nu-ĝa₂-ĝa₂-a niĝ₂ ša₃-ge šu nu-gid₂-i im-me

A ii obv. 20 ʽxʽ [x x (x)] nu-ĝa₂-ĝa₂-a niĝ₂ ša₃-ge šu nu-gid₂-i im-me⁵⁶
Sb₁ rev. 21' [...] šu nu-dab₃-be₂ im-me

61 ʽx x x urʽ-dnamma me-li-e-a nam-ĝu₁₀

A ii obv. 21 ʽx x x urʽ-dnamma me-li-e-a nam-ĝu₁₀
Sb₁ rev. 22' [...] na]m-ĝu₁₀

62 a-ra-li ki(-)saĝ-ki kalam-ma-še₃

A ii obv. 22 a-ra-li ki(-)saĝ-ki kalam-ma-še₃

63 ur-dnamma dumu ʽdʽnin-sumun₂-ka ħi-li-na ba-da-DU

A ii obv. 23 ur-dnamma dumu ʽdʽnin-sumun₂-ka ħi-li-na ba-da-DU
Sb₂ obv. 1 [...] ʽx-bi im-xʽ [...] ⁵⁷

64 eren₂ lugal-da ʽi₃ʽ-ʽre₇-eš-a ir₂ mu-da-ab-us₂-e

A ii obv. 24 eren₂ lugal-da ʽi₃ʽ-ʽre₇-eš-a ir₂ mu-da-ab-us₂-e
Sb₂ obv. 2 [...]]-ʽx-aʽʽ ir₂ ʽim-xʽ-[...]]

59 His [...] went there in grandiose fashion like *cumulated clouds*.⁵⁸

60 "[...] that he does not set, he does not reach out any more for desirable things!" she? says.

61 ". . . Urnamma, alas, what is it to me?"

62 To Arali, the . . . -place of the land,

63 Urnamma, the son of Ninsumun, was brought in his physical prime.

64 The soldiers who had gone with (their) lord, *shed* tears because of him.

⁵⁶ Or perhaps read with Wilcke, *UT* 64 [...] nu-ĝa₂-ĝa₂ a ninda? ša₃-ge (...).

⁵⁷ Maybe this Susa line should not be connected with line 63.

⁵⁸ Susa: "[...] precipitates in vast quantity like [...]"

65 dilmunki-gin, ⁷kur⁷ ki nu-zu-na ġešma₂-bi ba-da-ab-su

A ii obv. 25 dilmunki-gin, ⁷kur⁷ ki nu-zu-na ġešma₂-bi ba-da-ab-su
Sb₂ om.

66 [Š]U/[Š]E₃ MIN DU₃ E E ŠE₃ ba-da-ab-kud

A ii obv. 26 [Š]U/[Š]E₃ MIN DU₃ E E ŠE₃ ba-da-ab-kud
Sb₂ om.

67 ġeš ġisal ġeš gi-muš ġeš zi-gan ġal₂-la-bi gu₂-guru₅ ba-ab-du₁₁

A ii obv. 27 ġeš ġisal ġeš gi-muš ġeš zi-gan ġal₂-la-bi gu₂-guru₅ ba-ab-du₁₁
Sb₂ obv. 3 [...] -b)a⁷gu₂-guru₅ ba-⁷x-x⁷-(x)]

68 ġeš⁷x⁷ [x (x)]-na KIŠIB ba-da-tab ġešsaġ-kul-bi ba-kud

A ii obv. 28 ġeš⁷x⁷ [x (x)]-na KIŠIB ba-da-tab ġešsaġ-kul-bi ba-kud
Sb₂ obv. 4 [...]] ⁷(x)-an-RU⁷ ġešsaġ-ġu₁₀(-)⁷x⁷ [...]]

69 ġeš⁷x⁷ [x (x)] ⁷A⁷ IGI.MIN/A⁷ SU ba-da-ġar saḥar ses-a ba-DU

A ii obv. 29 ġeš⁷x⁷ [x (x)] ⁷A⁷ IGI.MIN/A⁷ SU ba-da-ġar saḥar ses-a ba-DU
Sb₂ obv. 5 [...]]-⁷da⁷-TAR saḥar ses ba-da-an-⁷TUŠ-x⁷⁵⁹

70 lugal-⁷x⁷ [anše]-ni ba-da-dur₂-ru anše ki mu-un-di-ni-ib-tum₂

A ii obv. 30 lugal-⁷x⁷ [anše]⁶⁰-ni ba-da-dur₂-ru anše ki mu-un-di-ni-ib-tum₂
Sb₂ obv. 9 [...]]-⁷x⁷-ru-ne ⁷ġiri₃? x⁷ [(x x)] ⁷mu⁷-un⁷-di-ni-ib-us₂

65 Their ship, as if from/in Dilmun, was sunk in the (foreign) land, a place unknown to him.⁶¹

66 . . . was cut.

67 It was stripped of its existing oars, punting poles and rudder.

68 [...] . . . was *devastated*, its bolt was/is broken.

69 [...] . . . was put aside, it *stood* in bitter dust.

70 With the king his [donkeys] were to be found, the donkeys were buried with him.⁶²

59 -⁷x⁷ belongs perhaps to the line on the rev.

60 Langdon's copy shows anše before -ni.

61 i.e. Uramma.

62 Susa: "[...] . . . they made (their) way with him".

- 71 ur-d^rnamma¹ (-^rx¹) anše-ni ba(-da-dur₂-ru anše ki mu-un-di-ni-ib-tum₂)

A ii obv. 31⁶³ ur-d^rnamma¹ (-^rx¹)⁶⁴ anše-ni ba(-da-dur₂-ru anše ki mu-un-di-ni-ib-tum₂)

Sb₂ obv. 10 [...] kaskal kur-ra-ke₄ [...-u]n-di-ni-ib-us₂

- 72 ^rgeš[?]-x¹ kalam-ma-ke₄ ba-da-bala teš₂ kalam-ma ba-kur₂

A ii obv. 32 ^rgeš[?]-x¹ kalam-ma-ke₄ ba-da-bala teš₂ kalam-ma ba-kur₂

Sb₂ om.

- 73 ^rkaskal¹ [kur]-ra in-di₃ su₃-ga-am₃

A ii obv. 33 ^rkaskal¹ [kur]-ra in-di₃ su₃-ga-am₃

Sb₂ obv. 8 [...] ki-in-^rdu¹ su₃-ud-da

- 74 ^rlugal¹-[da[?]] geš[?]gigir ba-da-šu₂ ḫar-ra-an im-ma-da-suḫ₃ šu nu-um-ma-ni₁₀-ni₁₀

A ii obv. 34 ^rlugal¹-[da[?]] geš[?]gigir ba-da-šu₂ ḫar-ra-an im-ma-da-suḫ₃ šu nu-um-ma-ni₁₀-ni₁₀

Sb₂ obv. 6 [...]]-(.)^rAN¹-šub ḫar-ra-an im- suḫ₃ šu nu-um-ma-ni₁₀-ni₁₀

- 75 [ur-d^rnamma(-da[?])] geš[?]gigir ba-da-šu₂ ḫar-ra-an im-ma-da-suḫ₃ šu nu-um-ma-ni₁₀-ni₁₀

A ii obv. 35 [ur-d^rnamma(-da[?])] geš[?]gigir ba-da-šu₂ ḫar-ra-an im-ma-da-suḫ₃ šu nu-um-*ma-ni₁₀-ni₁₀

Sb₂ obv. 7 [...]]^rx¹⁶⁵-(.)AN-šub ḫar-ra-an im- suḫ₃ šu nu-um-ma-ni₁₀-ni₁₀

- 71 *With Urnamma his donkeys (were to be found, the donkeys were buried with him).*⁶⁶
- 72 He crossed over the . . . of the land, the land's vigour was altered.
- 73 The journey to the [netherworld] is a desolate⁶⁷ stretch of road,
- 74 To the king's [disadvantage?] the chariot was covered, the roads became twisted and one could not hurry along on them (any more).
- 75 [To Urnamma's disadvantage?] the chariot was covered, the roads became twisted and one could not hurry along on them (any more).

⁶³ Interlinear.

⁶⁴ The first visible sign on the CBS tablet could either be -namma or another sign; -ke₄ is very unlikely.

⁶⁵ 'x' could be 'A'; in that case read perhaps 'am₃'-šub.

⁶⁶ Susa: "[...] they undertook with him the journey to the netherworld".

⁶⁷ Susa: "long".

76 ʾi₃-du₈ g[al] ʾkur¹-ra imin-bi niĝ₂-ba ba-ab-šum₂-mu

A ii obv. 36 ʾi₃-du₈ g[al] ʾkur¹-ra imin-bi niĝ₂-ba ba-ab-šum₂-mu
Sb₂ obv. 11 [...] ʾx¹-bi niĝ₂(-)(-)ba(-)ʾab⁷¹-[...-m]u⁷

76a Sb₂ obv. 12 [...] i₃-du₈ gal mu-ši-ʾx¹-[...] ʾx¹

77 lugal mu tuku ba-ug₅-ge-eš-a

A ii obv. 37 lugal mu tuku ba-ug₅-ge-eš-a
Sb₂ obv. 13 [...] ba-ug₅-g[e-x x x (x)] ʾx¹

78 išib lu₂-ʾmah¹ NIN-diĝir ug₅-ga maš₂-e ba-dab₅-ba

A ii obv. 38 išib lu₂-ʾmah¹ NIN-diĝir ug₅-ga maš₂-e ba-dab₅-ba
Sb₂ obv. 14 [...] NIN-diĝir maš₂-e dab₅-ʾba¹ ba-ug₅-g[e-(x)]-ʾx¹-ta

78a Sb₂ obv. 15 [...] ʾx x-AĜ₂¹

79 lugal ĝen-na-ni uĝ₃ mu-un-zu-uš kur-ra za-pa-aĝ₂ mu-un-ĝar

A ii obv. 39 lugal ĝen-na-ni uĝ₃ mu-un-zu-uš kur-ra za-pa-aĝ₂ mu-un-ĝar
Sb₂ obv. 16 [...] ʾaĝ₂¹ bi₂- ĝar

80 ur-dnamma ĝen-na-ni (uĝ₃ mu-un-zu-uš kur-ra za-pa-aĝ₂ mu-un-ĝar)

A ii obv. 40⁶⁸ ur-dnamma ĝen-na-ni (uĝ₃ mu-un-zu-uš kur-ra za-pa-aĝ₂ mu-un-ĝar)
Sb₂ obv. 17/17 [...] ʾx¹[x] ʾx¹[...] ʾx¹-aĝ₂¹ bi₂- ĝar⁶⁹

76 He gives presents to the seven chief porters of the netherworld.

76a [...] the chief porter(s) [...].

77 The famous kings who had died,

78 The dead i š i b- and l u m a ħ-priests and the N I N d i ĝ i r-priestesses who had been chosen by extispicy

78a [...] . . .

79 Let the people know when the king had arrived, they⁷⁰ became tumultuous in the netherworld.

80 (Let the people know) when Urnamma had arrived, (they became tumultuous in the netherworld).

⁶⁸ Interlinear.

⁶⁹ It is uncertain if Sb 14083 1' is to be equated with Sb 14137 17; the only visible sign on the last line of Sb 14137 (= line 18) could be part of the -ʾzu¹ of Sb 14083 2'.

⁷⁰ i.e. the people.

81 lugal-e gud im-ma-ab-gaz-e udu im-ma-ab-šar₂-re

A ii obv. 41 lugal-e gud im-ma-ab-gaz-e udu im-ma-ab-šar₂-re
Sb₂ om.

82 ur-^dnamma ġišbun gal-gal-la ba-ši-in-dur₂-ru-ne-eš

A ii obv. 42 ur-^dnamma ġišbun gal-gal-la ba-ši-in-dur₂-ru-ne-eš
Sb₂ om.

83 u₂ kur-ra ses-am₃ a kur-ra mun₄-na-am₃

A ii obv. 43 u₂ kur-ra ses-am₃ a kur-ra mun₄-na-am₃
Sb₂ om.

84 sipa zi ġarza kur-ra-ke₄ / ša₃-ga-ni mu-un-zu

A ii obv. 44 sipa zi ġarza kur-ra-ke₄ / ša₃-ga-ni mu-un-zu
Sb₂ obv. 2' lu[gal ġar]za kur-ra-ke₄ ša₃-ga-ni ġ₃- zu⁷

84a Sb₂ obv. 3' ur-^dnamma ġarza kur-ra-⁷ke₄⁷ ša₃-ga-ni i₃-zu

85 lugal-e nidba kur-ra-ke₄ ġeš im-ma-ab-⁷tag-ge⁷

A iii obv. 1 lugal-e nidba kur-ra-ke₄ ġeš im-ma-ab-⁷tag-ge⁷
Sb₂ om.

86 ur-^dnamma nidba kur-ra-ke₄ ġeš im-ma-ab-tag-ge

A iii obv. 2 ur-^dnamma nidba kur-ra-ke₄ ġeš im-ma-ab-tag-ge
Sb₂ om.

81 The king slaughters numerous bulls and sheep.

82 Urnamma seated them⁷¹ at huge banquet-tables.

83 (For) the food of the netherworld is bitter and the drink of the netherworld is salty.

84 The faithful shepherd - his heart knew of the cultic norms of the netherworld⁷²:

84a Urnamma - his heart knew of the cultic norms of the netherworld:

85 The king offers sacrifices for/of the netherworld,

86 Urnamma offers sacrifices for/of the netherworld,

⁷¹ i.e. the people of the netherworld.

⁷² Or: "(...) he knew in his heart the cultic norms of the netherworld" (although one expects ša₃-ga-na).

87 gud du₇ maš₂ du₇ udu niga en-na ab-laḥ₅-a

A iii obv. 3 gud du₇ maš₂ du₇ udu niga en-na ab-laḥ₅-a
 Sb₂ obv. 4' gud sa₇ maš₂ du-du ʾudu¹ niga im-ma-ab-laḥ₄-e

88 ḡešmiddu₂ ḡešpana gal e₂-mar-uru₅ ḡešgag-pana ḡiri₂-zu₂ galam

A iii obv. 4 ḡešmiddu₂ ḡešpana gal e₂-mar-uru₅ ḡešgag-pana ḡiri₂-zu₂ galam
 Sb₂ obv. 5' ḡešmiddu₂ ḡešpana ʾgal a¹-ma-ʾru-bi[?] ḡeš⁷¹[g] ag(-)ti ḡiri₂[?]-zu₂ gal

89 kušlu-ub₂ gunu₃-a ib₂-ba ḡal₂-la-ba

A iii obv. 5 kušlu-ub₂ gunu₃-a ib₂-ba ḡal₂-la-ba
 Sb₂ obv. 6' kušlu-ub₂ gunu₃-a [x]-ba ḡal₂-la-ni¹(IR)

90 d_{ne3}-eri₁₁-gal den-lil₂ kur-ra-ra

A iii obv. 6 d_{ne3}-eri₁₁-gal den-lil₂ kur-ra-ra
 Sb₂ obv. 7' d^rne₃-d^reri₁₁-ʾgal¹ d^ren¹-lil₂ kur-ra-ke₄

91 sipa ur-d_{namma}-ke₄ e₂-gal-a-na ḡeš im-ma-ab-tag-ge

A iii obv. 7 sipa ur-d_{namma}-ke₄ e₂-gal-a-na ḡeš im-ma-ab-tag-ge
 Sb₂ obv. 8' sipa ur-d_{namma}-ke₄ e₂-ʾgal¹-la-a-ni ḡeš im-mi-in-tag-ge

92 ḡešgid₂-da kušlu-ub₂ dag-si AK-a i-mi-tum piriḡ an-na

A iii obv. 8 ḡešgid₂-da kušlu-ub₂ dag-si AK-a i-mi-tum piriḡ an-na
 Sb₂ obv. 9' ḡešgid₂-da kušlu-ub₂ dag-si ʾx¹ ḡešmitum piriḡ an-na

93 kušE.IB₂.UR₃ ki us₂-sa a₂ nam-ur-saḡ-ḡa₂

A iii obv. 9 kušE.IB₂.UR₃ ki us₂-sa a₂ nam-ur-saḡ-ḡa₂
 Sb₂ obv. 10' kušE.IB₂ ki ʾus₂-sa x¹

87 *As many* perfect bulls,⁷³ perfect bucks and fattened sheep *as* could be brought.

88 A mace, a large bow with quiver and arrows, an artfully fashioned . . . dagger,⁷⁴

89 And a multicoloured leather-bag which is worn at the hip

90 To Nergal, the Enlil of the netherworld,

91 Shepherd Urnamma offers as a sacrifice in his palace.

92 A spear, a leather-bag made for the saddle(-hook), an i m i t u m-weapon (with) a celestial lion,

93 A shield which is (firmly) pressed to the ground, the valorous arm,

⁷³ Susa: "magnificent bulls".

⁷⁴ Susa: "A mace, a large bow with its[?] quiver and arrows, a large . . . dagger".

94 [z]a-ḫa-da niĝ₂ ki-aĝ₂ dereš-ki-gal-la

A iii obv. 10 [z]a-ḫa-da niĝ₂ ki-aĝ₂ dereš-ki-gal-la
Sb₂ obv. 10' ʾĝeš[?]za⁷-[x-d]a[?]niĝ₂ ki-aĝ₂ ʾd¹ereš-ki-gal-ke₄

95 d¹bil₄-ga-mes lugal kur-ra-ke₄

A iii obv. 11 ʾd¹bil₄-ga-mes lugal kur-ra-ke₄
Sb₂ obv. 11' d¹bil₃⁷-ga-mes lugal kur-ra-ke₄

96 [s]ipa ur-d¹namma-ke₄ e₂-gal-la-na ĝeš im-ma-ab-tag-ge

A iii obv. 12 [si]pa ur-d¹namma-ke₄ e₂-gal-la-na ĝeš im-ma-ab-tag-ge
Sb₂ obv. 12' [s]ipa ur-d¹namma-ke₄ e₂-ʾgal¹-a-ni ĝeš im-mi-in-tag-ge

97 ʾĝeš⁷-keš₂-da i₃ ba-ni-in-de₂-a bur-šagan šu du₇-a

A iii obv. 13 ʾx¹(-)-keš₂-da i₃ ba-ni-in-de₂-a bur-šagan šu du₇-a
Sb₂ obv. 13' [ĝe]š-k[ēš₂[?]-x(x)] ʾx¹ i₃ ba-SAR-a b[ur]-šagan šu du₇-a

98 tu_g₂ʾdugud¹ tu_g₂z/sulu(m)ḫu/i tu_g₂pala₃ nam-nin-a

A iii obv. 14 tu_g₂ʾdugud¹ tu_g₂z/sulu(m)ḫu/i(SIG₂.SUD) tu_g₂pala₃ nam-nin-a
Sb₂ om.

99 ʾx x(x) x x¹ SAR dalla me kur-ra

A iii obv. 15 ʾx x(x) x x¹ SAR dalla me ʾkur-ra¹
Sb₂ obv. 14' [...](-)lugal-la sig NIĜ₂.ŠU(.PI) me kur-ra

100 dereš-ki-gal ama ʾd¹n[in]-ʾa¹-zu-ra

A iii obv. 16 d¹ereš-ki-gal ama d¹n[in]-ʾa¹-zu-ra
Sb₂ rev. 1⁷⁵ [(x)]ʾx¹ ereš-ki-gal ama [x x]-ʾa¹-zu- [...]

94 And a battle-axe, Ereškigal's favourite,

95 To Gilgameš, king of the netherworld,

96 Shepherd Urnamma offers as a sacrifice in his palace.

97 A *container* in which oil has been poured, a š a g a n-bowl of perfect make,

98 A heavy garment, a long-fleeced garment, a p a l a-robe fit for a queen,

99 A . . . resplendent . . . , the m e of the netherworld

100 To Ereškigal, the mother of Ninazu,

75 = Sb 14083 rev. 1.

101 sipa ur-^dnamma(-ke₄) e₂-gal-(l)a-na ḡeš⁷ im-[ma-ab-tag-ge]

A iii obv. 17 sipa u[r-^dnamma(-ke₄) e₂-gal-(l)a- na ḡe]š⁷ im⁷¹-[ma-ab-tag-ge]
Sb₂ rev. 2 [s]ipa ur-^dnamma-ke₄ e₂-gal- la-ḡa-ni ḡeš⁷ im- mi-i[n-tag-ge]

102 udu A.LUM udu z/sulu(m)ḥu/i_x maš₂-gal kur-ra-ḡke₄⁷

A iii obv. 18 udu ḡx⁷⁶ [x x (x)] ḡx⁷ [x x-g]al⁷ k[ur-...]
D obv. 1' [...] ḡx⁷ [...]
Sb₂ rev. 3 udu A.LUM udu z/sulu(m)ḥu/i_x(TUG₂.SUD) maš₂-gal kur-ra-ḡke₄⁷

103 ḡidri ku₃-ḡsig₁₇⁷ nam-en-na šu za-gin₃-ḡše₃ x(-)x⁷

A iii obv. 19 ḡidri ku₃-ḡsig₁₇ nam⁷-en-na⁷⁷ šu za-gin₃-ḡše₃ x(-)x⁷
D obv. 2' [...] n]am-en-na šu [...]]⁷⁹
Sb₂ rev. 4 ḡeš-nu₁₁ ḡeš ma-nu nam- en-na-kam šu za-gin₃-na tum₂-m[a]

103a Sb₂ rev. 5 šibir(EN×GANA₂-t.) ešgiri(U.EN×GANA₂-t.) ḡeš ma-nu nam-sipa-da nam-en-na tum₂-ma

104 ^ddumu-zi dam ki-aḡ₂ ^dinana-ra

A iii obv. 20 ^ddumu-zi ḡdam⁷⁸ ki-aḡ₂ ^dinana-ra
D obv. 3' [...]]-zi nitadam k[i-...]]
Sb₂ rev. 6 ^ddumu-zi dam ki-aḡ₂ ^dinana-ra

105 sipa ur-^dnamma(-ke₄) e₂-gal-a-na ḡeš im-ma-ab-tag-ge

A iii obv. 21 sipa ur-^dnamma e₂-gal-a-na ḡeš im-ma-ab-tag-ge
D obv. 4' [sipa u]r-^dnamma-ke₄ e₂-gal-la-na ḡ[eš...]⁷⁹
Sb₂ rev. 7 sipa ur-^dnamma- ke₄ e₂-gal-a-ni ḡeš im-mi-in- tag-ge

101 Shepherd Urnamma of[fers] as a sacrifice in her palace.

102 A L U M-sheep, long-fleeced sheep, and mountain he-goats,

103 A golden sceptre of e n-ship, . . . of a shining hand,⁸⁰

103a Staff and nose-leash, (a staff) made of m a n u-wood of shepherdship, worthy of e n-ship,

104 To Dumuzi, Inana's beloved husband,

105 Shepherd Urnamma offers as a sacrifice in his palace.

⁷⁶ ḡx⁷ could be ḡe⁷-[lum] (but this writing is only attested in a bilingual text, cf. *PSD* A/1 108 s.v. a-lum A 5.), or si[la₄].

⁷⁷ After -na and before šu possible traces of erasure.

⁷⁸ Over erasure; ḡnitadam⁷¹ cannot be entirely excluded.

⁷⁹ After 105 source D inserts three lines which correspond to lines 121, 120, and 122. They read:

obv. 5' [tu-di-t]um ku₃-sig₁₇ ku₃-babbar [...]

obv. 6' [...] ^aza-gin₃ ba-da-ḡra⁷ [...]

obv. 7' [ḡdi]m₃-ḡpi⁷-ku₃-ge ḡx⁷ [...].

⁸⁰ Susa: "A . . . made of m a n u-wood of e n-ship, worthy of a shining hand".

106 gi₁₆-sa šu du₇-a ħar ku₃-sig₁₇ ma₂-gur₈(-)BI(/+) x si₃?/sig?-ga

A iii obv. 22 gi₁₆-sa šu du₇-a ħar ku₃-sig₁₇ ma₂-gur₈(-)BI(/+) x si₃?/sig?("EREN₂")-ga
 D obv. 8' [gi₁₆-s] a šu du₇-a ħar ku₃-s[ig₁₇...]
 Sb₂ rev. 8 gi₁₆-sa šu du₇-a ħar ku₃-sig₁₇ ma₂-gur₈(-)BI(/+) x sa₇- ga

107 na₄gug ku₃? ʾniġ₂^ʾ gaba diġir-re-e-ne

A iii obv. 23 na₄gug ku₃? ʾniġ₂^ʾ gaba diġir-re-e-ne
 D obv. 9' [na₄]ʾgug^ʾ gaba diġir-r[e-...]
 Sb₂ rev. 9 na₄gug ʾsu/zu/ku₃? x^ʾ [(x)]ʾ x diġir^ʾ-re-e-ne-ke₄

108 ʿnam-tar lu₂ nam tar-tar-ra-ra

A iii obv. 24 ʿnam^ʾ-tar lu₂ nam tar-tar-ra-ra
 D obv. 10' [ʿnam]-tar lu₂ na[m-...]
 Sb₂ rev. 10 ʿnam-tar lu₂ nam t[ar^ʾ-...]-ke₄

109 sipa ur-ʿnamma(-ke₄) e₂-gal-a-na ġeš im-ma-ab-tag-ge

A iii obv. 25 sipa ur- ʿ[ʿnamma(-ke₄)] ʿe₂^ʾ-ga[l] ʿa^ʾ-na ġeš im-ma-ab-tag-ge
 D obv. 11' [sipa ur]-ʿʿnamma^ʾ-ke₄ e₂-gal-l[a-...]
 Sb₂ rev. 11 sipa ur- ʿnamma-ke₄ e₂-gal- a- ni ġeš im-mi- tag-ge

110 DUB šu za-gin₃(-[x]) niġ₂-nam irigal-a-ke₄

A iii obv. 26 DUB šu [za]-ʿ[gin₃ʾ(-[x])] ʿniġ₂-nam^ʾ irigal- a-ke₄
 D obv. 12' [...] ʿx^ʾ niġ₂-nam [...]
 Sb₂ rev. 12 dub-šen šu za- gin₃ niġ₂-nam irigal₂^{gal}-la

111 ġeškirid ʾku₃ na₄^ʾza-gin₃ šu tag-ga ġešga-rig₂ nam-munus-a

A iii obv. 27 ġeškirid ʾku₃ na₄za^ʾ-[gin₃] ʾšū tag-ga ġešga-rig₂ ʾnam^ʾ-munus-a
 D obv. 13' [...] ʿx^ʾ [...]
 Sb₂ rev. 13 ġeškirid za- gin₃ šu tag-ga ġešga-rig₂ imin^ʾ nam-munus-a

106 Perfectly wrought jewellery, a golden ring, *formed as a . . . cargo boat*,⁸¹

107 And a pure? carnelian-stone which is for the chest of gods

108 To Namtar who holds all the decreed fates⁸²

109 Shepherd Urnamma offers as a sacrifice in his palace.

110 A (treasure) *chest* with a lapis lazuli handle, (with) everything (concerning) the underworld,

111 A silver *hair clasp* decorated with lapis lazuli⁸³, and a comb of womenly fashion⁸⁴

⁸¹ Susa: "(...) a beautiful . . . cargo boat".

⁸² Literally: "To Namtar, the person of all the decreed fates".

⁸³ Alternatively: "A *hair clasp* decorated with silver and lapis lazuli".

118 sul ur-saġ ʳᵈnin-ġeš-zi-da-ra

A iii obv. 34 sul ur-saġ ʳᵈnin-ġeš-zi-da-ra
 Sb₂ rev. 4' [... ᵈnin-ġeš-zi-da-ra]

119 sipa ur-ᵈnamma-ʳke₄ ʳe₂-gal-a-na ġeš im-ma-ab-tag-ge

A iii obv. 35 sipa ur-ᵈnamma-ʳke₄ ʳe₂-gal-a-na ġeš im-ma-ab-tag-ge
 Sb₂ rev. 5' [sipa ur-ᵈnamma-ke₄] ʳe₂-gal-a-ni ġeš im-mi-in-tag-ge

120 na₄kišib za-gin₃ ba-da-ra i₃-la₂-a

A iii obv. 36 na₄kišib za-gin₃ ba-da-ra i₃-la₂-a
 D obv. 6' [... ᵈza-gin₃ ba-da-ʳa' [...]]
 Sb₂ rev. 13' [ᵈkišib za-gin₃ za₃-bi ku₃-sig₁₇ ʳu₃ ba-da-ra' ku₃ me-a]

121 tu-di-da ku₃-sig₁₇ ku₃-babbar saġ-bi alim-ma

A iii obv. 37 tu-di-da k[u₃]-sig₁₇ ku₃-babbar saġ-bi alim-ma
 D obv. 5' [tu-di-t]um ku₃-sig₁₇ ku₃-babbar [...]
 Sb₂ rev. 12' du-di-da ku₃-sig₁₇ ku₃-babbar ʳsaġ-bi alim-ma

122 ᵈdim₃-pi-me-ku₃-ge za₃-ga-na gub-bu-de₃ mu-ʳna-ʳab-šum₂-ʳmuʳ

A iii obv. 38 ᵈdim₃-pi-me-ku₃-ge za₃-ga-na gub-bu-de₃ mu-ʳna-ʳab-šum₂-ʳmuʳ
 D obv. 7' [ᵈdi]m₃-ʳpi-ku₃-ge ʳx' [...]
 Sb₂ rev. 14' [ᵈdi]m₃-ʳpi-me-ku₃ a₂ zi-da ʳa₂' [ga]bu₃ᵇᵇ gub-bu-na / mu-un-ʳna-an-[x]-
 ʳx(x)ʳ

122a Sb₂ rev. 15' [sipa u]r-ᵈnamma-ke₄ ʳe₂-gal-ʳa-a-ʳn[i ġeš im-mi(-in)-tag-ge]

123 ʳuḡsaġšu ġeštu₂ maḥ lu₂ zu ġeš-nu₁₁-ʳgalʳ

A iii obv. 39 ʳuḡsaġšu ġeštu₂ maḥ lu₂ zu ġeš-nu₁₁-ʳgalʳ
 Sb₂ om.

118 To the youthful hero Ningēšzida

119 Shepherd Urnamma offers as a sacrifice in his palace.

120 A lapis lazuli seal which is hanging from a pin,⁸⁸

121 And a toggle pin made of gold and silver whose head (is) that of a bison

122 He gives to Dimpī(me)kug for her to stand at his side.⁸⁹

123 A head-dress with great ears of a sage, made of alabaster,

⁸⁸ Susa: "A lapis lazuli seal, its edge made of gold and the pin of pure silver".

⁸⁹ Susa: "He . . . to Dimpimekug who stands at the right and left side". 122a: [Shepherd Ur]namma [offers (this) as a sacrifice] in/for her palace".

124 gi dub-ba za₃(-)bar-ra niĝ₂(-)nam(-)dub-sar-^{ra}-ke₄

A iii obv. 40 gi dub-ba za₃(-)bar-ra niĝ₂(-)nam(-)dub-sar-^{ra}-ke₄
Sb₂ rev. 6' [... -^{ra}a niĝ₂(-)nam(-)dub¹-sar- kam

125 eš₂-gana₂ [z]a-gin₃ gi(-)DIŠ-nindan ^x(-)^x

A iii obv. 41 eš₂-gana₂ [z]a-gin₃ gi(-)DIŠ-nindan ^x(-)^x
Sb₂ rev. 7' [...] ĝeš gag gi- nindan KAD⁷-na

126 nit[adam]-a-ni ⁿⁱⁿ(-)^{da}-zi-mu₂⁷-a

A iii obv. 42 nit[adam]-a-ni ⁿⁱⁿ(-)^{da}-zi⁷-m[u₂-a]
Sb₂ rev. 8' [...] ⁷x-mu₂⁷-a nin₉ lugal-la-ra

127 dub-[sar maḥ] ^{dumu}⁷ a-ra-li-[ra]

A iii obv. 43 dub-[sar maḥ] ^{dumu}⁷ a-ra]-li-[ra]⁹⁰
Sb₂ rev. 9' [...] du⁷ mu⁷ a-ra- li-^{ra}

127a Sb₂ rev. 10' [^dĝe]štin-an-na nin₉ lugal-la-^{ra}

128 [s]ipa ur-^dnamma(-ke₄) e₂-gal-(l)a-na ĝeš im-ma-ab-tag-ge

A iv rev. 1 [sipa ur-^dnamma(-ke₄) e₂-gal-(l)a- na ĝeš im-ma-ab-tag-ge]
Sb₂ rev. 11' [s]ipa ur-^dnamma-ke₄ e₂-gal- la-a-ni ĝeš im-^{mi}- tag

128a Sb₂ rev. 16' [gud sa₇ ma]š₂ d[u-du] udu niga i[m-ma-ab-laḥ₄⁷-a]⁹¹

124 A stylus . . . (with) everything (concerning) the scribe,⁹²

125 A surveying tape made of lapis lazuli and a measuring rod of one n i n d a n
. . .⁹³

126 To his⁹⁴ sp[ouse] Ninazimua⁹⁵

127 The [chief] scribe, denizen⁷ of Arali,

127a [Ĝe]štinana, the king's sister,

128 Shepherd Urnamma offers as a sacrifice in her palace.

128a [The magnificent bulls], the per[fect bu]cks and the fattened sheep [which have been brought?],

⁹⁰ Read according to photo; Langdon's copy shows -ra-li; neither sign exists on the tablet any more.

⁹¹ After this line only a line after a break is visible, so maybe one line is not preserved. If this is not so and line 128a is the last line on tablet Sb₂, then line 129 could be the catchline to Sb₃ and line 128a must be restored accordingly i[m-ma-ab-tuku-a]. For this phenomenon, cf. Heimpel, *JCS* 33 (1981) 71 ad (4) and Cooper, *Curse of Agade* 45.

⁹² Or: "(...) which belongs to the scribal art".

⁹³ Susa: "[...] a peg, a (n i n d a n) measuring rod . . .".

⁹⁴ i.e. Ning'ešzida's.

⁹⁵ Susa adds "(...) the king's sister".

129 [gud sa₇] maš₂ du-du udu niga im-ma-ab-tuku-a

A iv rev. 2 [...] ṣ x x ṣ [...]

Sb₃ obv. 1⁹⁶ [gud sa₇] maš₂ du-du udu niga im-ma-ab-tuku-a

130 [...] ṣ x ṣ-a-bi [(x x x)] ṣ x ṣ

A iv rev. 3 [...] ṣ x ṣ-a-bi [(x x x)] ṣ x ṣ

Sb₃ om.?

131 [d²a²-nun²-n]a ensi₂ gal kur-ra-ke₄ mu-na-da-ab-š[um₂²-m]u

A iv rev. 4 [...] ṣ x ṣ gal kur-ṣ ra(-x)² mu- na²-da-ab-š[um₂²-m]u

Sb₃ obv. 2 [d²a²-nun²-n]a ensi₂ gal kur-ra-ke₄ mu-un-na-da-ab-ku

131a Sb₃ obv. 3 [sipa u]r-dnamma-ke₄ e₂-gal-a-ni¹!(IN) ḡeš im-mi-in-tag-ge

132 [lugal-e] ṣ x kur-ra-ke₄ si bi₂-in-sa₂-a-ta

A iv rev. 5 [lugal-e] ṣ x⁹⁷ kur-ra-ke₄ si bi₂-in-sa₂-a-ta

Sb₃ om.

133 [ur-dnamma(-ke₄)] ṣ x kur-ra-ke₄ si bi₂-in-sa₂-a-ta

A iv rev. 6 [ur-dnamma(-ke₄)] ṣ x kur-ra-ke₄ si bi₂-in-sa₂-a-ta

Sb₃ om.

134 [ensi₂²] gal irigal-la-ke₄-ne

A iv rev. 7 [...] irigal-la-ke₄-ne

Sb₃ obv. 4 [ensi₂²] gal irigal₂-ṣ la²-ke₄-e-ne

129 [The magnificent bulls], the perfect bucks and the fattened sheep which have been obtained[?],

130 [...] . . .

131 He [giv]es[?] to the [Anun]a², the great e n s i₂ of the netherworld.⁹⁸

131a [Shepherd U]nmma offers as a sacrifice in/for their/his palace.

132 After [the king] had provided⁹⁹ for the . . . of the netherworld,

133 After [Urnamma] had provided¹⁰⁰ for the . . . of the netherworld,

134 The great [e n s i₂²] of the underworld,

96 = Sb 12358 obv. 1.

97 Wilcke, *UT* 116 ad 132-33 reads [...KUR₆^dINA]NA in lines 132f. and refers to lines 85f.

98 Susa: "Were ushered with him (= Urnamma) into the presence of the [Anun]a², the great e n s i₂ of the netherworld".

99 Or: "properly performed".

100 Cf. preceding footnote.

135 ʽxʽ [...] ʽxʽ-šu₂-ʽke₄ʽ-*ne*A iv rev. 8 ʽxʽ [...] ʽxʽ-šu₂-ʽke₄ʽ-*ne*

Sb₃ obv. 5 [ᵈa]-nun-ʽnaʽ NI₃ (inda₃/niḡ₂) šu tag-ga-ba

136 ur-ᵈnamma para₁₀ gal kur-ra-ke₄ mu-ni-ib-tuš-u₃-*ne*A iv rev. 9 ur-ʽᵈ[namma para₁₀ gal kur-r]a-ke₄ mu-ni-ib-tuš-u₃-*ne*

Sb₃ obv. 6 [ur]-ᵈnamma para₁₀ ʽgalʽ kur-ra-ke₄ x ʽimʽ-mi-in-TUŠ-na

137 kur-ra ki-t[uš (...)] mu-na-ḡa₂-ḡa₂-*ne*A iv rev. 10 kur-ra ki-t[uš (...)] mu-na-ḡa₂-ḡa₂-*ne*

Sb₃ obv. 7 [x-r]aʽ ki-tuš mu-un-na-ḡa₂-ḡa₂

138 enim du₁₁-ga ([...]) ʽᵈereš-ki-gal-la-ka-ta

A iv rev. 11 enim du₁₁-ga ([...]) ʽᵈereš-ki-gal-la-ka-ta

Sb₃ obv. 8 ʽenimʽ du₁₁-ga ᵈereš-ki-gal-la-ke₄

139 eren₂ ḡeštukul(-)ʽxʽ ([...]) en-na ba-ug₅-ga

A iv rev. 12 eren₂ ḡeštukul(-)ʽxʽ ([...]) en-na ba-ug₅-ga

Sb₃ obv. 9 lu₂ ḡeštukul-la in-na ba-ʽšubʽ-*e*

140 lu₂ nam-da₆-ga en-na ba-ʽzuʽ-xʽ-a

A iv rev. 13 lu₂ nam-da₆-ʽgaʽ en-na ba-ʽzuʽ-xʽ-a

Sb₃ obv. 10 ʽlu₂ʽ nam-da₆-ga in-na ba-mud-*e*

135 The [...] of the [...]¹⁰¹

136 Seat Urnamma on the great dais of the netherworld,¹⁰²

137 Set up a dwelling place for him in the netherworld.

138 At the command of Ereškigal

139 Soldiers, so far as they have died *in action*¹⁰³140 And sinners, so far as they have *been recognized*?¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ Susa: "The [A]nuna, after having seized the offerings".

¹⁰² Susa: "And having . . . seated Urnamma on the great dais of the netherworld".

¹⁰³ Susa: "Men of arms, so far as they have fallen".

¹⁰⁴ Susa: "And sinners, so far as they have been produced".

141 lugal-la šu-ni-še₃ ʾim¹-ma-ab-šum₂-mu-ne

A iv rev. 14 lugal-la šu-ni-še₃ ʾim¹-ma-ab-šum₂-mu-ne
Sb₃ om.

142 ur-dnamma ki-bi-še₃ ʾx¹ [x (x)] ʾx¹-eš i[m]-ʾx x x¹ ([...])

A iv rev. 15 ur-dnamma ki-bi-še₃ ʾx¹ [x (x)] ʾx¹-eš i[m]-ʾx x x¹ ([...])
Sb₃ om.

143 ses ki-aḡ₂-ḡa₂-ni ḏbil₄-ga-mes-ra

A iv rev. 16 ses ki-aḡ₂-ḡa₂-ni ḏbil₄-g[a-m]es-[ra/da]
Sb₃ obv. 11 ʾses¹ ki-aḡ₂-a- ni ḏbil₃-ga-mes- ra

144 e-ne di kur-ra i₃-ku₅-de₃ ka-aš kur-ra i₃-bar¹-re

A iv rev. 17 e-ne di kur-ra i₃-ku₅¹-de₃ ka-aš kur-ra i₃-bar¹-re
Sb₃ obv. 12 ʾe-ne¹-ne di kur-ra ku₅-de₃ ka-aš-bi ŠI(-)bar-re

145 u₄ imin u₄ u-am₃ ba-zal-la-ba

A iv rev. 18 u₄ imin u₄ u-am₃ ba-zal-la-ba
Sb₃ obv. 13 u₄ ia₂-am₃ u₄ u-ʾam₃¹ ba-zal-a- ta

146 lugal-ḡu₁₀ i-si-iš ki-en-gi-ra-ke₄ / sa₂ nam-ga-mu-ni-ib-du₁₁

A iv rev. 19 lugal-ḡu₁₀ i-si-iš ki-en-gi-ra-ke₄ / sa₂ nam-ga-ʾmu¹-ni-ib-du₁₁
D rev. 1' [...] ʾx¹ [...]
Sb₃ obv. 14 lugal-e i-si-iš k[i]-en-gi-ra si(-) gu₇-mu-un-na-ʾdu₁₁¹

141 They give into the king's hands.

142 They . . . [...] Urnamma there [...].

143 For¹⁰⁵ his beloved brother Gilgameš

144 He passes the judgment of the netherworld and renders the decisions of the netherworld.¹⁰⁶

145 After seven¹⁰⁷ days, ten days had passed,

146 The wails of Sumer reached also my lord,¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Or: "With".

¹⁰⁶ Susa: "They pass the judgment of the netherworld and render its decisions". However, cf. also the commentary ad 144, p. 176.

¹⁰⁷ Susa: "After five days (...)".

¹⁰⁸ Susa: "(...) the king".

147 ur-^dnamma i-si-iš ki-en-gi-ra-ke₄ / sa₂ nam-ga-mu-ni-ib-du₁₁

A iv rev. 20 ur-^dnamma i-si-iš ki-en-gi-ra-ke₄ / sa₂ nam-ga-^Γmu^Γ-ni-ib-du₁₁
 D rev. 2' [...] ki-en-^Γgi^Γ-[...]]
 Sb₃ obv. 15 ^Γur^Γ-^dnamma i-si-iš ki-en-gi-ra si(-) gu^Γ-mu-un-^Γna^Γ-[d]u₁₁

148 bad₃ uri₂^{ki}-ma nu-mu-un-til-la-ni

A iv rev. 21 bad₃ uri₂^{ki}-ma ^Γnu^Γ-mu-un-til-la-ni
 D rev. 3' [...] ^Γki^Γ-ma nu-mu-[...]]
 Sb₃ obv. 16 [ba]d₃uri₂^{ki}-ma nu-mu-un-til-li-na

149 e₂-gal-gibil na-mu-un-du₃-a-ni nu-mu-un-^hul₂-^hul₂-^Γla^Γ-ni

A iv rev. 22 e₂- gal-gibil na-mu-un-^Γdu₃-a^Γ-ni nu-mu-un-^hul₂-^hul₂-^Γla^Γ-ni
 D rev. 4' [...]]-mu-un- du₃-a- na nu-mu-[...]]
 Sb₃ obv. 17 ^Γe₂^Γ-gal-^Γgibil^Γ na-mu-un- du₃-a ša₃-bi nu- ^hul₂- l[a²-x (x)]

150 sipa-de₃ e₂-a-ni sa^g li-bi₂-in-AK-ni

A iv rev. 23 sipa- de₃ e₂-a-ni¹⁰⁹ ^Γsa^g li^Γ-bi₂-in-AK-ni
 D rev. 5' [...] ^Γe₂^Γ-a-ni sa^g li- bi₂-in-^Γx^{Γ110}-[x]
 Sb₃ obv. 18 [si]pa-[d]e₃[?] e₂- a-^Γni^Γ šu dul₃ li- bi-ra-a(-)(xx)]

151 dam-a-ni ur₂-ra-na a-la nu-mu-un-ge₄-a-ni

A iv rev. 24 dam-a-ni ur₂- ra-na ^Γa^Γ-[l]a nu-mu-un-ge₄-a-ni
 D rev. 6' [...] u]r₂- ra-na a- la nu-mu- g[e₄- x-x]
 Sb₃ obv. 19 [d]am ^Γur₂^Γ-ra-ni la-la-bi ^Γnu- ge₄^Γ-a(-)(xx)]

152 dumu-ni du₁₀-ba-na li-bi₂-in-peš-a-ni

A iv rev. 25 dumu-ni du₁₀-ba-na ^Γli^Γ-[b]i₂-in-peš- a- ni
 D rev. 7' [...] d]u₁₀-ba li- bi₂- in-peš- a- ^Γni^Γ
 Sb₃ obv. 20 dumu-ni du₁₀-ba-na li- bi- in-š A₃(peš_x?).šA₃-^Γna^Γ

147 The wails of Sumer reached also Urnamma.

148 Over the fact that he had not completed the (city-)wall of Ur,

149 That he indeed had built the New-Palace but did not enjoy it (long enough),¹¹¹150 That the shepherd¹¹² no longer *fully satisfied* his house(hold),¹¹³

151 That he no longer brought pleasure to his wife on his lap,

152 That he no longer raised his children on his knees,

¹⁰⁹ Under -a-ni of e₂-a-ni two gloss-signs are visible: AN and possibly ^ΓMU^Γ. Wilcke, *UT* 42 reads e₂-a^{an}-ni.

¹¹⁰ Beginning of AK possible.

¹¹¹ Susa: "That the New Palace's interior, which he indeed had built, had not delighted him".

¹¹² i.e. Urnamma.

¹¹³ Susa: "(...) put a protecting hand over his house(hold)".

153 nin₉ di₄-di₄ im-buluġ₃-buluġ₃-e-NE(ne) ħi-li nu-mu-un-til-la-ni

A iv rev. 26 ʾnin₉ di₄-di₄ in-ʾxʾ-[...] ʾħi-li nu-mu-un-til-la-niʾ
 D rev. 8' [...] n] u-mu-un-buluġ₃-buluġ₃-e- NE(ne) ħi-li(-)[...]
 Sb₃ obv. 21 nin₉ tur ʾxʾ(-)tur im-buluġ₃- ġe₂₆-NE(ne) ħi-li-bi nu-mu-un-til-li-ʾnaʾ

154 ʾlugal-ġu₁₀ ša₃-ga-ni im-si ir₂ gi[g i₃-še₈-še₈]

A iv rev. 27 ʾlugal-ġu₁₀ ša₃-[ga-ni i]m-si i[r₂ ...]
 D rev. 9' [...]-ga-ni im-si-a-ni ir₂ gi[g i₃-še₈-še₈]
 Sb₃ om.

155 sipa zi i-lu niġ₂(-)me-ġar ni₂-te-na mi-ni-ib-be₂

A iv rev. 28 sipa zi i-ʾluʾ [ni]ġ₂(-)me-ġar ni₂-te- na mi-ʾxʾ(-x)-[...]
 D rev. 10' [...] ʾiʾ-lu ni₂-te- na mi-[...]
 Sb₃ obv. 22 sipa ʾziʾ i-lu niġ₂(-) me-ġar ni₂-ta-a ni mi-ni-ib-be₂

156 ġe₂₆-e niġ₂-ʾneʾ-e ba-AK-a-ġu₁₀

A iv rev. 29 ġe₂₆-e niġ₂-ʾneʾ-e ba-AK-a-ġu₁₀
 D rev. 11' [...] m]aʾ-zu-a NE i[m-...]
 Sb₃ obv. 23 ʾġe₂₆-eʾʾ im-ma- zu-a ni₂ im-ma-an-zu-a

157 diġir-re-e-ne-er mu-ne-gub-bu-nam / ki-ur₃ mu-ne-ġal₂

A iv rev. 30 diġir- re-e-n[e]-er mu-ne-gub-bu-nam / ʾkiʾ-ur₃ mu-ne-ġal₂
 D rev. 12' [...] nu-mu-ne-gub-b[u...]
 Sb₃ obv. 24 diġir-ʾreʾ-e- ne mu-un-na-an-dim₂-me-eš ki-ur₃ la-ba-ġa₂-ġa₂

158 ʾa-nun-na-ke₄-ne ħe₂-ġal₂-la pa mu-ne-e₃-a

A iv rev. 31 ʾa-[nun-n]a-ke₄-ne ħe₂-ġal₂-la pa mu-ne-e₃-a
 D rev. 13' [...] ħe₂-ġal₂-l[a...]
 Sb₃ obv. 25 ʾa-nun-na- ke₄-ne ħe₂-ġal₂ pa e₃ AK-NE

153 That he no longer brought the attractiveness of the young, growing up sisters to maturity,¹¹⁴

154 My lord - his heart is choked up - [weeps bit]ter tears on account of that.

155 The faithful shepherd utters a silence-imposing lament concerning himself¹¹⁵:

156 "Although it was me who has done all this¹¹⁶:

157 I indeed served the gods and have provided them with homes.¹¹⁷

158 Although, having revealed abundance to the Anuna,

¹¹⁴ Source D: "(...) who had not yet grown up (...)".

¹¹⁵ Source D omits "silence-imposing".

¹¹⁶ Susa and perhaps source D: "(For) me who has experienced, who has experienced fear".

¹¹⁷ Source D: "That I have not served [the gods, ...]". Susa may have a corrupt text.

159 ġeš-[n]u₂ u₂ za-gin₃ bara₃-ga-ba gi₁₆-sa mu-ne-ġar-^{ra}ġu₁₀⁷

A iv rev. 32 ġeš-[n]u₂ u₂ za-gin₃ bara₃-ga-ba gi₁₆-sa mu-ne-ġar-^{ra}ġu₁₀⁷
 D rev. 14' [...] ^{ra}x x ^{ra} [...]]
 Sb₃ obv. 26 ġeš^{gu}-za za-gin₃ niġ₂ ba-ra-ga-aš gi₁₆-sa ^{mu}?(x)-ni-ib₂⁷-ge-na

160 ^{di}ġir⁷ ki-ġa₂ la-ba-e-gub ša₃-ġu₁₀ la-ba-ni-ib-šed₇

A iv rev. 33 ^{di}ġir⁷ ki-ġa₂ la-ba-e-gub ša₃¹¹⁸-ġu₁₀ la-ba-ni-ib-šed₇
 Sb₃ om.

161 ^x⁷-me-en niġ₂ ġiškim sa₆-ga-ġu₁₀ an-gin₇ mu-de₃-su₃-ud

A iv rev. 34 ^x⁷-me-en niġ₂ ġiškim sa₆-ga-ġu₁₀ an-gin₇ mu-de₃-su₃-ud
 Sb₃ obv. 27 ^x⁷[x-e]n ġiškim sa₆-ga-ġu₁₀ kur an-^{ra}gin₇?/ba x⁷¹¹⁹-DU

162 [(x)]? ^u⁴-da gub-ba sa₂-a-ġa₂ a-na šu ba-ni-ti

A iv rev. 35 [(x)]? ^u⁴-da gub-ba sa₂-a-ġa₂ a-na šu ba-ni-ti
 Sb₃ obv. 28 [...] ^x⁷ [...] ^x⁷ [...] ^x⁷ [...] ^{ra}ib⁷-ti¹²⁰

163 [ġ]i₆-da gub u₃ nu-ku-ġa₂-a u₄ im-ma-ni-til

A iv rev. 36 [ġ]i₆-da gub u₃ nu-ku-ġa₂-a u₄ im-ma-ni-til

164 [i₃/i/e]-ne-eš₂ im an-ta šeġ₃-ġa₂-gin₇

A iv rev. 37 [i₃/i/e]-ne-eš₂ im an-ta šeġ₃-ġa₂-gin₇
 E obv. 1' [...] ^x⁷ [...]]

159 I have placed for them treasures on their beds spread with fresh herbs,¹²¹

160 No god whatsoever assisted me, nor was my heart relieved!

161 I am . . ., anything that could have been a portent favourable to me was as far from me as heaven.¹²²

162 What have I obtained by being so zealous serving (the gods) by day?

163 I have (even) spent the time sleeplessly serving (the gods) by night!

164 But now, like rain that has fallen from the skies,

118 Underneath the ŠA₃-sign there is a gloss ĠEŠ.

119 ^x⁷ ≠ su₃; perhaps read [m]u⁷-DU.

120 Space of about two to three lines at the end of the obv. and at the beginning of the rev.

121 Susa does not make any sense and might be due to a dictation error.

122 Susa: "(...) as? the netherworld and heaven".

165 [me]-li¹-e-a šeg₁₂ uri²ki-ma-še₃ šu nu-um-ma-ni₁₀-ni₁₀

A iv rev. 38 [me]-li¹-e-a šeg₁₂ uri²ki-ma-še₃ šu nu-um-ma-ni₁₀-ni₁₀
E obv. 2' [...] šeg₁₂¹ u[ri_{2/5}^{ki}-ma...]

166 a₂⁷¹-še nitadam-ĝu₁₀ <nu>-mu-un-¹KUŠ¹-am₃

A iv rev. 39 a₂⁷¹-še nitadam-ĝu₁₀ <nu>-mu-un-¹KUŠ¹-am₃
E obv. 3' [...] ni]ta[dam-...]

167 [i-l]u a-nir niĝ₂ gig-ga-a u₄ mi-ni-¹ib¹-zal-zal-e

A iv rev. 40 [i-l]u a-nir niĝ₂ gig-ga-a u₄ mi-ni-¹ib¹-zal-zal-e
E obv. 4' [...] a-ni]r niĝ₂ g[i-ga-a...]

168 usu ḡal₂⁷¹-la-ĝu₁₀¹ ni₂-ba¹ til-l[a...]

A v rev. 1 usu ḡal₂⁷¹-la-ĝu₁₀¹(NUMUN?) ni₂-ba¹ til-l[a...]
E obv. 5' [...] -ĝ]u₁₀ n[i₂-...]

169 ur-saĝ-me-¹en šu nam[?] tar[?]-ra x-a¹ gi[g...]

A v rev. 2 ur-saĝ-me-¹en šu nam[?] tar[?]-ra x-a¹ gi[g...]
E obv. 6' [...] ¹x¹ [...]

170 am-gin₇ ¹x¹ [...] ¹x(-)ge₍₄₎⁷¹²³ šub-ba-ĝu₁₀ du₁₀ la-ba-¹x¹-[...-bad[?]]

A v rev. 3 am-gin₇ ¹x¹ [...] ¹x(-)ge₍₄₎⁷¹ šub-ba-ĝu₁₀ du₁₀ la-ba-¹x¹-[...-bad[?]]
E obv. 7' [...]

171 gud maḥ-gin₇ [...] ¹x¹ SES-ĝa₂ ba-[...]

A v rev. 4 gud maḥ-gin₇ [...] ¹x¹ SES-ĝa₂ ba-[...]
E obv. 8' [...] ¹x¹ [...]

165 Alas, I cannot return quickly back to the brickwork of Ur!

166 Is not my wife now a widow?

167 She spends (her) days in bitter wailing and lamentation!

168 My strength, which I once had[?], but has spontaneously come to an end [...],

169 I, the hero: the hand of fate[?] [...] bitter[ly...].

170 Because I fell [...] . . . like a wild bull¹²⁴ I was not [able to go] *swiftly*[?] any more.

171 Like a mighty bull [...] . . . [...].

123 The traces after -gin₇ do not seem to support Wilcke's reading ¹saman_x¹ in UT 68, despite the well attested topos am/gud...-gin₇ saman_(x) šub "to throw over a tether as over a bull/ox".

124 Depending on ¹x(-)ge₍₄₎⁷¹, alternatively perhaps: "Because [...] . . . had fallen on me as on a wild bull".

172 ḡeš isimu₃ SAR-^ṛx^ṛ ([...]) ^ṛx x ku₃^ṛ-ga ba-^ṛši-x^ṛ-[...]

A v rev. 5 ḡeš isimu₃ SAR-^ṛx^ṛ ([...]) ^ṛx x ku₃^ṛ-ga ba-^ṛši-x^ṛ-[...]
E obv. 9' [...]] ^ṛx^ṛ-ga [...]

173 anše-gin₇ IGI ([...]) ^ṛx sa₆^ṛ-ga-ḡu₁₀^ṛ-^ṛše₃/šu^ṛ ba-^ṛug₅-ge-x^ṛ

A v rev. 6 anše-gin₇ IGI ([...]) ^ṛx sa₆^ṛ-ga-ḡu₁₀^ṛ-^ṛše₃/šu^ṛ ba-^ṛug₅-ge-x^ṛ
E obv. 10' [...]] ^ṛx^ṛ-ga [...]

174 nitadam ^ṛx (x)^ṛ-ḡu₁₀ ma-ab^ṛ-ḡulu ši-in-TU-ra-^ṛx^ṛ

A v rev. 7 nitadam ^ṛx (x)^ṛ-ḡu₁₀ ma-ab^ṛ-ḡulu ši-in-TU-ra-^ṛx^ṛ¹²⁵
E obv. 11' [...]] ^ṛx^ṛ mu-^ṛx^ṛ-[...]

175 i-lu a-^ṛnir^ṛ niḡ₂ gig-ga-a u₄ mi-ni-ib-zal-zal-e

A v rev. 8 i-lu a-^ṛnir^ṛ niḡ₂ gig-ga-a u₄ mi-ni-ib-zal-zal-e
E obv. 12' [...] gi]g-ga-a [...]

176 ^dudug-sa₆^ṛ-ga-ni bar-ta ba-da-gub

A v rev. 9 ^dudug-sa₆^ṛ-ga-ni bar-ta ba-da-gub
E obv. 13' [...]]-ni b[ar-...]

177 ^d[amma s]a₆-ga-ni saḡ-ḡa₂-^ṛna^ṛ li-bi₂-in-ḡa-za

A v rev. 10 ^d[amma s]a₆-ga-ni saḡ-ḡa₂-^ṛna^ṛ li-bi₂-in-ḡa-za
E obv. 14' [...] s]a₆-ga-ni ki sa₆-ga [...]

178 ^dn[i]n-sumun₂-na-ke₄ a₂ maḡ-a-ni saḡ-ḡa₂-na li-bi₂-in-ge-en

A v rev. 11 ^dn[in-sumu]n₂-na-ke₄ a₂ maḡ-a-ni saḡ-ḡa₂-na li-bi₂-in-ge-en
E obv. 15' [^dni]n-sumun₂-na-ke₄ a₂ maḡ-a-[...]

172 [Like?] a shoot [...], the precious [...].

173 Like a donkey [...] my fine [...], I have died.

174 One has destroyed for me my . . . wife, *and now she has fallen ill?*

175 She spends (her) days in bitter wailing and lamentation!

176 Her benevolent u d u g-spirit stood aside (from her),

177 Her benevolent [guardian]-spirit did not take care of her.¹²⁶

178 Ninsumun did not firmly rest her mighty arm on her head.

¹²⁵ The last sign could be -a written over another sign.

¹²⁶ Source E: "Her benevolent [...] a good place [...]"

179 d_{nanna} en $d_{\text{AŠ-im}_2}$ -babbar šu-ta nu-un-ri

A v rev. 12 $d_{\text{nan}}[n]a$ en $d_{\text{AŠ-im}_2}$ -babbar šu-ta nu-un-ri
 E obv. 16' [d_{nan}]na en $d_{\text{AŠ-im}_2}$ -babbar₂ [...]

180 $d_{\text{en-ki}}$ lugal eriduki-ga-ke₄ $\lceil x \rceil$ -ra ba-ra-ta-an-e₃

A v rev. 13 $d_{\text{en-ki}}$ \lceil lugal \rceil eriduki-ga-ke₄ $\lceil x \rceil^{127}$ -ra ba-ra-ta-an-e₃
 E obv. 17' [$d_{\text{en-ki}}$ lugal eriduki-ga-k[e_4 ...]

181 PEŠ.PEŠ-a-ni im-ma-ni-in-si-ig enim šu nu-mu-un-di-ni-ib-ge₄

A v rev. 14 PEŠ.PEŠ-a-ni im-ma-ni-in-si-ig enim šu nu-mu-un-di-ni-ib-ge₄
 E obv. 18' [P]EŠ- a-ni ba- ni-in- \lceil si-ig \rceil [...]

182 $\hat{g}ešma_2$ -gin₇ tumu sumur_x-ra ba-ra-ab-diri $\hat{g}eš$ dimgul nu-mu-na-kalag

A v rev. 15 $\hat{g}eš$ \lceil ma₂-gin₇ \rceil tumu sumur_x(SAG)-ra ba-ra-ab-diri $\hat{g}eš$ dimgul nu-mu-na-kalag
 E obv. 19' ma₂-gin₇ tumu sumur-ra [...]

183 anše edin-na-gin₇ PU₂ ħulu ba-an-tum₂-mu-da[?] šu dugud lu₂ mu-un-ġar

A v rev. 16 [... -n]a-gin₇ PU₂ ħulu ba-an-tum₂-mu-da[?]128 šu dugud lu₂ mu-un-ġar
 E obv. 20' anše edin-na-gin₇ P[U₂...]
 Sb₃ rev. 1¹²⁹ traces

184 \lceil piriġ \rceil -gin₇ a-RU-ub-ba ba-šub-ba en-nu lu₂ mu-un-du₃

A v rev. 17 \lceil piriġ \rceil -gin₇ \lceil a-RU \rceil -ub-ba ba-šub-ba en-nu lu₂ mu-un-du₃
 E obv. 21' \lceil piriġ \rceil -gin₇ a-RU- ba ba-[...]
 Sb₃ rev. 2' [...] \lceil x(x) \rceil -ba en-nu-uġ₃ lu₂(-) [...]

179 Nanna, lord AŠimbabbar, was/did not . . .

180 Enki, the lord of Eridu, brought her out of . . .

181 He tore out her . . ., to her disadvantage there was no answer to that.

182 Like a boat in gusty winds one set her adrift, the mooring pole was not strong enough for her.

183 As on a wild ass for which one lays out a perilous pit, they laid a heavy hand (on her).

184 As for a lion which has fallen into a pitfall, they set up a guard.

127 $\lceil x \rceil \neq \lceil ba \rceil$.

128 -mu-de₃[?] cannot be entirely ruled out.

129 Sb 12362 (?) rev. 1'.

185 ur-gin₇ ġeš az-la₂-e mu-un-dab₅ me-a lu₂ mu-un-ġar

A v rev. 18 ur-gin₇ ġeš az-la₂-e mu-un-dab₅ me-a lu₂ mu-un-ġar
E obv. 22' [ur]-gin₇ az-la₂-[...]
Sb₃ rev. 3' [...] mu-un-DI me-a lu₂-bi nu-x (-x)¹-[...]

186 dutu DI 'x(-)x' ġeš nu-um-mi-in-la₂ / a 'lu₂'/[lu]gal-ġu₁₀ mu-un-si

A v rev. 19 dutu DI 'x(-)x' ġeš nu-um-mi-in-la₂ / a 'lu₂'/[lu]gal-ġu₁₀ mu-un-si
E obv. 23' [...] 'DI' x' [...]
Sb₃ om.

187 tigi₂ a-¹da¹-ab gi-SU₃ za-am-za-am-ġu₁₀ / 'ir₂'-ra mu-da-an-ku₄

A v rev. 20 tigi₂ a-¹da¹-ab gi-SU₃ za-am-za-am-ġu₁₀ / 'ir₂'-ra¹³⁰ mu-da-an-ku₄
E obv. 24' [...]
Sb₃ rev. 4' [...] a-da-¹ab¹ gi-SU₃?¹³¹ za₃-za₃-mi₂(-) ir₂ ba-¹ni-x' ([...])

188 ġeš-gu₃-di e₂ 'nam-nar¹-ra-ka za₃ e₂-gar₈-e / i-ni-in-us₂

A v rev. 21 ġeš-gu₃-di e₂ 'nam-nar¹-ra-ka za₃ e₂-gar₈-e / i-ni-in-us₂
E obv. 25' [...] 'x' [...]
Sb₃ rev. 5' [...] -d]i e₂ 'x x(-)NE⁷¹ za₃ e₂-gar₈ 'ba⁷¹-ni[?]-us₂

189 ġeš-gu-za ħi-li-bi nu-mu-til-¹la¹-ġu₁₀

A v rev. 22 ġeš-gu-za ħi-li- bi nu-¹mu- til-¹la¹-ġu₁₀
E obv. 26' [...] -bi 'x-x'¹-[...]
Sb₃ rev. 6' [...] 'x' [...] i[?]-¹bi¹ nu- mu-un-til-li-na

185 Like a dog she was snatched for the cage, they (thus) silenced her.¹³²

186 Utu . . . did not pay heed, the "O my man/lord!" filled her.

187 My t i g i- and a d a b-instruments, my . . . flutes and my z a m z a m-instruments were turned into tears because of me.

188 Someone propped the musical instruments against the wall in the conservatory of music.

189 That (/because), instead of my throne, whose luxuriance I had not exhausted,

¹³⁰ A reading a-[ni]r-ra instead of 'ir₂'-ra cannot be ruled out.

¹³¹ Read perhaps -BU.

¹³² Or: "Like for a dog someone took hold of a cage". For the second half of this line a less likely translation is: "where (me-a) did they place her?".

190 saḫar PU₂-saḡ-ḡa₂-¹ka¹ lu₂ im-mi-in-tuš²-[u₃?]-¹x¹

A v rev. 23 saḫar PU₂-saḡ-ḡa₂-¹ka¹ l[u₂]-¹x¹
 E obv. 27' [...]-¹x¹ lu₂ im-m[i-...]
 Sb₃ rev. 7' [...]m-mi-in-TUŠ-na

191 ¹ḡeš-nu₂ ki-nu₂¹ TUR-bi nu-mu-til-la²-ḡu₁₀

A v rev. 24 ¹ḡeš-nu₂ ki-nu₂ x x¹ ([...])(-)¹x-la²-ḡu₁₀¹
 E obv. 28' [...] TUR-bi nu-mu-¹e¹/u[n-...]
 Sb₃ rev. 8' [...]¹x x¹ [...]nu-mu- un-til-li- na

192 edin bar su₃-ga-ka lu₂ im-mi-in-nu₂-u₃-da

A v rev. 25 edin bar su₃-ga-[ka lu₂ im]-¹m¹-in-nu₂-u₃-da
 E obv. 29' [...]-g]a-ka lu₂ im- mi- i[n-...]
 Sb₃ rev. 9' [...]-i]n²-šub-bu-na

193 me-li-e-a dam-ḡu₁₀ ir₂-ra dumu-ḡu₁₀ a-nir-ra

A v rev. 26 me-li-e-a dam-¹ḡu₁₀ ir₂-ra¹ dumu-ḡu₁₀ a-nir-ra
 E rev. 1 [...] dam- ḡu₁₀ ir₂-am₃ dumu-ḡu₁₀ a-ni[r-am₃]
 Sb₃ rev. 10' [...] traces [...] ¹x-KU⁷¹ 133

194 lu₂ niḡ₂ du₁₁-ga-ḡa₂ i-lu balaḡ-di-gin₇ ḡe₂-na-du₁₂-uš

A v rev. 27 lu₂ niḡ₂ du₁₁-ga-¹ḡa₂¹ i-lu balaḡ-di-gin₇ ḡe₂-na-du₁₂-uš
 E rev. 2 [...]d]u₁₁-ga- ḡa₂ i-lu balaḡ-di-gin₇ ḡe₂-[...]
 Sb₃ om.

195 u₄ ur₅-gin₇ im-ma-ab-AK-a-ḡu₁₀

A v rev. 28 u₄ ur₅-gin₇ im-ma- ab-AK-a-ḡu₁₀
 E rev. 3 [...ur₅-gi]n₇ im-ma^{1?}-ab-[...]
 Sb₃ om.

190 They make me squat⁹ in the dust of a pit!

191 That (/because), instead of my bed, the sleeping place whose . . . I had not exhausted,

192 They make me lie down (way out) in the open, desolate steppe¹³⁴:

193 Alas, in front of my tearful wife, in front of my wailing children,¹³⁵

194 They chanted like lamentation and dirge singers what I had uttered.¹³⁶

195 When I was thus treated

¹³³ It is not clear to which lines (if any) Sb₃ rev. 9'-10' correspond.

¹³⁴ Literally: "(...) in the steppe of the desolate exterior".

¹³⁵ Literally: "(...) my wife, (all) tears, my children (all) wails".

¹³⁶ Or: "They chanted as a lamentation like dirge singers what I had uttered".

196 saĝ-kal dīnana nin me₃-a di-ĝa₂ nu-mu-un-til₃

A v rev. 29 saĝ-kal dīnana nin me₃-a di-ĝa₂ nu-mu-un-til₃
 E rev. 4 [saĝ-ka]l dīnana nin me₃-a di-ĝa₂ nu-[...]
 Sb₃ rev. 11' ʾki¹-sikil dīnana nin ʾme₃-a x¹[x]-ʾa⁷¹-ba si mu-da-ʾab⁷-[...]

197 den-lil₂-le kur-kur-ra enim gal-gal-še₃ / kiĝ₂-ge₄-a bi₂-in-ge₄

A v rev. 30 den-lil₂-e kur-kur-ra enim gal-gal-še₃ / ʾkiĝ₂^{1?}-ge₄-a bi₂¹-in-ge₄
 E rev. 5 [den-lil₂-l]e kur-kur-ra enim gal-gal-še₃ x- ʾx¹-[...]
 Sb₃ rev. 12' den-lil₂-le ĥur-saĝ gal-gal kiĝ₂- ge₄-ʾa⁷¹ bi₂- g[e]

198 ki-bi-ta igi-ni ĝar-ra-ni

A v rev. 31 ʾki-b[i-... -n]i[?][...]
 E rev. 6 ʾki-bi-ta¹ igi-ni ĝar-r[a-n]i
 Sb₃ rev. 13' ki-bi-ta igi-ni ĝar-ra-ni [(...)]¹³⁷

199 dīnana e₂-kur-za-ĝin₃-še₃ sun₅-na-bi mu-un- [...]

A v rev. 32 d[...]
 E rev. 7 dīnana e₂-kur-za-ĝin₃-še₃ sun₅-na-bi mu-un-[...]
 Sb₃ om.

200 saĝ-ki ĥuš den-lil₂-la₂-ka igi dub₂-dub₂-bu-ʾx¹-(x)]

A v rev. 33 saĝ-[de]n-lil₂-la₂-ka igi ʾdub₂[?]-dub₂[?]-x¹[...]
 E rev. 8 saĝ-ki ĥuš den-lil₂-la₂-ka igi dub₂-dub₂-bu-ʾx¹-(x)]¹³⁸
 Sb₃ rev. 15' saĝ-ki ĥuš den-ʾlil₂¹ ni₂ igi dub₂-dub₂-be₂

196 The foremost,¹³⁹ Inana, the lady (who was) in battle, was not present at my judgment."

197 Enlil sent a message to all (the foreign) lands¹⁴⁰ concerning (this) very important matter.

198 Having set her gaze from there,¹⁴¹

199 Inana humbly [*entered*] Shining Ekur.

200 *When* she . . . at Enlil's fierce forehead (he said):

¹³⁷ After -ni the tablet surface is broken off but probably no more signs follow.

¹³⁸ The traces in sources A and E after dub₂-dub₂-bu- seem to exclude -d[a¹-ni] (Wilcke's reading in *UT* 69 and 125).

¹³⁹ Susa: "The young woman (...)"

¹⁴⁰ Susa: "(...) all the big mountain ranges (...)"

¹⁴¹ "There" refers to the (foreign) lands (in line 197) where Inana received the news.

201 nin gal e₂-an-na ʿGAM¹-ma-ni nam-ma-da-ra-ʿta¹-[e₃/e₁₁]

A v rev. 34 nin gal e₂-[...] ʿGAM¹-ma- ni nam-ma-da-ra-ʿta¹-[e₃/e₁₁]
 E rev. 9 nin gal e₂-an-na ʿGAM-ma¹⁷-ni nam-ma- ra-ʿx-(x)¹-(x)]
 Sb₃ om.

202 sipa zi e₂-an-na-[k]a[?] mu-un-e₃ igi nu-mu-ni-i[n-du₈]

A v rev. 35 sipa zi e₂-[an-na-k]a[?] mu-un- e₃ igi nu-mu-ni-i[n-du₈]
 E rev. 10 sipa zi e₂- an-na-ʿta¹ mu-un- e₃ [...]
 Sb₃ rev. 14' sipa zi e₂- an-na mi-ni-ib₂-e₃ igi nu-mu-ni- d[u(-x)]

203¹⁴² nin-ġu₁₀ ʿA¹ [x] ʿx¹-a-ba uġ₃-ġa₂ mu-u[n-...]

A v rev. 36 nin-ġu₁₀ ʿA¹ [x] ʿx¹-a-ba uġ₃-ġa₂ mu-u[n-...]
 E rev. 11 nin-ġu₁₀ a GUB-ba-ʿgin⁷ uġ₃ ʿmu¹-[...]
 Sb₃ om.

204 ʿdinana u₄ ħuš dumu gal ʿsu'en-na A ʿx x x (x)¹-ga

A vi rev. 1 [...] ʿdumu[?] gal⁷ ʿsu'en-na A ʿx x x (x)¹-ga
 E rev. 12 ʿdinana u₄ ħuš dumu gal ʿsu'en-na ʿA⁷ [...]
 Sb₃ om.

205 an i₃-dub₂-be₂ ʿki i₃¹-sag₃-ge

A vi rev. 2 [...] ʿx¹-be₂ ʿki i₃¹-sag₃-ge
 E rev. 13 an i₃-dub₂-be₂ ¹⁴³ k[i...]
 Sb₃ om.

206 ʿdinana-ke₄ tur₃ im-gul-e amaš im-tab-e

A vi rev. 3 [...] t]ur₃ im-gul-e amaš im-tab-e
 E rev. 14 ʿdinana-ke₄ tur₃ im-gul-e amaš [...]
 Sb₃ om.

201 "Great lady of the Eana, because he *is bent down*, he will not [come back] from there,

202 The faithful shepherd has left the Eana, one has not se[en] him (since).¹⁴⁴

203 My lady, . . . *among* the people [...]."

204 Inana, the fierce storm, eldest child of Su'en who . . . ,

205 Makes heaven tremble, earth shake,

206 Inana destroys the cattle pen, devastates the sheepfold (saying):

¹⁴² Source A.

¹⁴³ Erasure.

¹⁴⁴ Susa: "One made the faithful shepherd leave the Eana, I[?] have not seen him (since)".

207 an lugal diġir-re-e-ne-ke₄ in-ŠE₃ ga-mu-un-[┐]dub₂[┐]

A vi rev. 4 [...]]-re-e-ne-ke₄ in-ŠE₃ ga-mu-un-[┐]dub₂[┐]
 E rev. 15 an lugal diġir-re- ne in-[┐]x[┐] [...]]
 Sb₃ rev. 16' an lugal diġir-re-e-ne in kur₂ mu-un-AK-e

208 ^den-lil₂-le saġ mu-da-an-zi-[┐]ga[┐] enim-bi a-ba mu-un-kur₂

A vi rev. 5 [^den-lil₂-l]e saġ mu-da-an-zi-[┐]ga[┐] enim-bi a-ba mu-un-kur₂
 E rev. 16 ^den-lil₂-le saġ mu-da-an-zi-g[e[┐]...]
 Sb₃ om.

209 an lugal enim maḥ du₁₁-ga-ni enim-b[i] [┐]a[┐]-ba mu-un-kur₂

A vi rev. 6 [an] [┐]lugal enim maḥ[┐] du₁₁-ga- ni [┐]enim[┐]-[bi] [┐]a[┐]-ba mu-un-kur₂
 E rev. 17 an lugal enim maḥ du₁₁-[┐]ga[┐]-ni enim-b[i]]
 Sb₃ rev. 17' an lugal du₁₁-ga-a-ni du₁₁-ga-a-ni nu- [┐]kur₂-x[┐]

210 ġeš-ḥur kalam-ma ḥe₂-me-a-gub-ba saġ ba-[┐]ra-ba-an[┐]-us₂-sa

A vi rev. 7 [┐]x[┐]-bur₂[┐] kalam-ma ḥe₂-me-a- gub- ba saġ ba-[┐]ra-ba-an[┐]-us₂-sa
 E rev. 18 ġeš-ḥ ur kalam-ma ḥe₂-me-[┐]a-gub[┐]-ba saġ [...]]
 F obv. 1' [...] -b)a saġ b[a[┐]?...]
 Sb₃ rev. 18' ur-^dnamma DA[┐]-mu-de₃ ib₂-la₂ [┐]u₄[┐] [...]

211 ki u₄ e₃ diġir-re-e-ne-še₃ nam-ḥe₂-ġal₂[┐]!-[b]i nu-ġal₂

A vi rev. 8 ki u₄ e₃[┐] diġir- re-e- ne-še₃ [┐]nam- x[┐]-[(x)]-ni/-b)i nu-ġal₂
 E rev. 19 ki u₄ e₃ [┐]diġir[┐]-re-e-[┐]ne[┐] nam- ḥe₂-[...]]
 F obv. 2' [...] -k]e₄ nam-^{*}ḥe₂[┐]!-^{*}ġal₂[┐]! [...]]
 Sb₃ rev. 19' u₄ e₃-a diġir- re-e- ne [x (x)]([┐])[┐]ga[┐] nu-ġal₂-[l]a

207 "I want to hurl the following as an insult at An, the lord of the gods"¹⁴⁵:

208 That Enlil has raised the head with/in front of me - who has changed that word?

209 The sublime word that king An has uttered - who has changed that word?¹⁴⁶

210 Rules in the land may have been established for us, but they have not been observed.¹⁴⁷

211 For the place of the gods where daylight breaks, *its* abundance does not exist (any more).

¹⁴⁵ Susa: "She (= Inana) *gravely* insulted An, the lord of the gods". If lines 204-206 are the content of the insult (cf. the commentary ad 204-206, p. 180), translate lines 204-207: "Inana (...) devastates the sheepfold". This is what I want to hurl as an insult at An (...).

¹⁴⁶ Susa: "What king An has uttered, what he has uttered, *should?* not be changed".

¹⁴⁷ Susa differs totally from the Nippur version.

212 ġi₆-par₄ ku₃ eš₃ e₂-an-na-ġu₁₀ ħur- saġ-[gin₇?] mu-un-¹⁷ge₄-eš

A vi rev. 9	ġi ₆ -par ₄	ku ₃	eš ₃	e ₂ -an-na-gin ₇ ?	ħur ² -sa[ġ-gin ₇ ? ...-u]n- ¹⁷ ge ₄ -eš
E rev. 20	ġi ₆ -par ₄	ku ₃	eš ₃	e ₂ -[an-na]-ġu ₁₀	ħur- saġ-[gin ₇ ? ...]
C rev. 1'	¹⁷ ġi ₆ -par ₄	ku ₃	eš ₃	e ₂ -[...] / an-gin ₇	mu-un-[...]
F obv. 3'	[...]			-ġu ₁₀ an-gin ₇	mu-u[n-...]
Sb ₃ rev. 20'	ġi ₆ -par ₄	ku ₃	¹⁷ eš ₃	e ₂ ?-an-na ¹ -[x x x(x)]-da-an-BU	

213 sipa-ġu₁₀ ħi-li-a-ni nu-uš-ma-an-¹⁷ku₄-ku₄ / ġe₂₆-e ba-ra-ku₄-ku₄-de₃-en

A vi rev. 10	sipa-ġu ₁₀	ħi-li-a-ni	nu-uš-ma-an- ¹⁷ ku ₄ -ku ₄	/ ġe ₂₆ -e ba-ra-ku ₄ -ku ₄ -de ₃ -en
E rev. 21	sipa-ġu ₁₀	ħi-li-[...]	- ¹⁷ uš ¹⁷ -[...]	
C rev. 2'	sipa	¹⁷ ħi-li- na ¹	nu-uš-m[a ² ...] / ġe ₂₆ -e a-na-aš	¹⁷ x ¹ (-)[...]
F obv. 4'	[... n]	u-uš ² -ma ¹ (*BA)-da-an-k[u ₄ -ku ₄] / [... a-n]a-aš	mu-ku ₄ -k[u ₄ ?	
Sb ₃ rev. 21'	¹⁷ x ¹ -li-a	¹⁷ e ₂ ¹⁷ (-)[...](-) ¹⁷ la ¹⁷ (-)	ba-ni-in-ku ₄ -re ¹⁴⁸	

214 kala-ga-ġu₁₀ u₂-šem-gin₇ edin-na nu-uš-ma-da-mu₂-am₃

A vi rev. 11	kala-ga-ġu ₁₀	u ₂ -šem-gin ₇	edin- ¹⁷ na ¹	nu-uš-ma-da-mu ₂ -am ₃
E rev. 22	kala-ga-ġu ₁₀	u ₂ -š[em]-gin ₇	e[din-na...]	
C rev. 3'	kala- ¹⁷ ga ² -ġa ₂ ?	u ₂ -šem-gin ₇	ed[in...]	
F obv. 5'	[...]	-gi[n ₇] ¹	edin-na	nu-uš-ma-d[a x x]

215 ġeš¹ma₂ i₇-da-gin₇ kar si-ga-ba nu-uš-ma-da-ge-na

A vi rev. 12	¹⁷ ma ₂	i ₇ -da-gin ₇	kar si-ga- ¹⁷ ba ¹⁷	nu-uš-ma- da-ge-na
E rev. 23	ma ₂	i ₇ - ¹⁷ x ¹ -[...]	si-ga-na [...]	
C rev. 4'	ġeš ¹ ma ₂	i ₇ -da- gin ₇	k[ar...] / nu-uš-ma- d[a ² -...]	
F obv. 6'	[...]		¹⁷ x-x ¹ -ba	nu-uš-ma ¹ (*BA)-da-[...]

212 My precious ġ i p a r, my sanctuary Eana, they have . . . [like?] a mountain!¹⁴⁹

213 If only my shepherd would bring in to me his sexual charm (again); (otherwise) I will not enter there!¹⁵⁰

214 If only my strong one would grow for me like herbs in the steppe!

215 If only like a river boat in its calm harbour he would hold firm for me!¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ Sb ends with the colophon Sb₃ rev. 22': ¹⁷im¹ ġid₂-da *pir-ħu-um* ¹⁷u₄² x x x x x¹.

¹⁴⁹ Sources C and F: "[...] like the heavens". Susa: "(...) [...] has been uprooted".

¹⁵⁰ Sources C and F: "If only the shepherd would enter to me (again) in/with his sexual charm. Why should I (otherwise) enter there?".

¹⁵¹ Source E: "(...) in his calm harbour (...)".

216 $\text{dinana-ke}_4 \text{ } \Gamma^1\text{-lu-ni } \text{he}_2\text{-kur-ku-ku}^1$

A vi rev. 13 [x x x (x)] $\Gamma^1\text{-lu-ni } \text{he}_2\text{-kur-ku-ku}^1$
 E rev. 24 [...] $\Gamma^1\text{-lu-ni } \text{he}_2\text{-kur-ku-ku}^1$
 C rev. 5' $\text{dinana-ke}_4 \text{ ur-}\Gamma^1\text{na[mma...]}$
 F om.

217 [(en) $\text{nin-ges}] \text{-}\Gamma^1\text{zi}^2\text{-da}^2\text{-ke}_4 \text{ } [\dots] \text{ } \Gamma^1\text{x}^1\text{-na}^2 \text{ he}_2\text{-em-mi-in-kala-ge}$

A vi rev. 14 [(en) $\text{nin-ges}] \text{-}\Gamma^1\text{zi}^2\text{-da}^2\text{-ke}_4 \text{ } [\dots] \text{ } \Gamma^1\text{x}^1\text{-na}^2 \text{ he}_2\text{-em-mi-in-kala-ge}$
 E rev. 25 [...] $\Gamma^1\text{x } A_2/\text{da- x}^1$ [...]]
 C om.(?)
 F obv. 7' [...] $\text{he}_2\text{-me-}\Gamma^1\text{x}^1\text{-}[\dots]$]

218 $\text{ur-}^d\text{namma(-)}\text{x (x-)}[\dots] \text{ ba-ug}_5\text{-ga-gu}_{10}$

A vi rev. 15 [x x x] $\Gamma^1\text{x}^1$ [...] $\Gamma^1\text{ba}^1\text{-ug}_5\text{-ga-gu}_{10}$
 E rev. 26 [...] $\Gamma^1\text{x}^1$ [...]]
 C rev. 6' $\text{ur-}^d\text{namma(-)}\text{x (x-)}[\dots] / \text{mu-}[\dots]$]¹⁵²
 F obv. 8' [...] $\Gamma^1\text{-}\Gamma^1\text{x}^1 \text{ ba-ug}_5\text{-}[\dots]$]

219 [...] $\Gamma^1\text{x } \text{x ba}^2\text{-an-la}_2 \text{ } \Gamma^1$

A vi rev. 16 [...] $\Gamma^1\text{x } \text{x ba}^2\text{-an-la}_2 \text{ } \Gamma^1$
 E rev. 27 [...] $\Gamma^1\text{x a}^1\text{-na } [\dots]$]
 C rev. 7' [...] $\Gamma^1\text{x (x)}^1$ [...]]
 F obv. 8' [...] a-na M[U/A[N...]]]

220 [$\text{ir}_2 \text{ DIŠ} \text{-}\Gamma^1\text{e}^1$] a-nir DIŠ-e

A vi rev. 17 [$\text{ir}_2 \text{ DIŠ} \text{-}\Gamma^1\text{e}^1$] a-nir DIŠ-e
 E rev. 28 [...] $\Gamma^1\text{e}^1 \text{ a}^1\text{-}[\dots]$]
 F obv. 9' [...] $\Gamma^1\text{a-nir}^1? \text{ x}^1\text{-}[\dots]$]

221 [... $\text{ur-}^d\text{namma} \text{-}\Gamma^1\text{ra}^1$] nam mu-ni-ib-tar-re

A vi rev. 18 [...] $\Gamma^1\text{x}^1$ nam mu-ni-ib-tar-re
 E rev. 29 [... $\text{ur-}^d\text{namma} \text{-}\Gamma^1\text{ra}^1$] nam¹ m[u²...]

216 (Thus) did Inana indeed *observe attentively* a lament *over* him.¹⁵³

217 [(Lord) Ningēš]zida² verily strengthens him with his² . . . [...].

218 My Urnamma . . . [...] who has died,

219 [...] . . .

220 Amidst [tears on the one hand], amidst laments on the other hand,

221 [...] decrees the fate for [Urnamma ...]:

¹⁵² This line could, however, belong to line 217. Read x (x-) perhaps as $\text{ges UL}_4\text{-[gal...]}$ and cf. line 39.

¹⁵³ Or "her lament". Source C: "(...) over Urnamma (...)".

222 [(x) ur]-rdnamma x^l [...-g]e[?]-en mu maḥ-zu ḥe₂-pa₃

A vi rev. 19 [x x] ^rx ša₃⁷¹ [...-g]e[?]-en mu maḥ-zu ḥe₂-pa₃
G obv. 1' [(x) ur]-rdnamma x^l [...]

223 ^rġidri⁷¹ ku₃[?] sig-ta igi-n[im-še₃...]-^rmu-un^l-na-an-TUKU.TUKU

A vi rev. 20 ^rġidri⁷¹ ku₃[?] sig-ta igi-[nim-še₃...]-^rmu-un^l-na-an-TUKU.TUKU
G obv. 2' [...] ^rx^l sig-ta igi-n[im-še₃...]

224 e₂-gal-zu-še₃ ki-en-gi [(ki-uri)?...]-pa₃-de₃-eš

A vi rev. 21 e₂-gal- zu- še₃ ki-en-gi [(ki-uri)?...]-pa₃-de₃-eš
G obv. 3' [...]-^r(x[?])-zu^l-še₃ ki-en-gi [...]

225 i₇ ba-al-la-zu [...]-^rx^l-zu

A vi rev. 22 i₇ ba- al-la- zu [...]-^rx^l-zu
G obv. 4' [i₇] 'ba^l-al-la₂-zu [...]

226 a-gar₃ gal-gal maḥ bi₂-^rge₄^l-(...)-^rx^l-a-zu

A vi rev. 23 a-gar₃ gal- gal [...]-^rx^l-a-zu
G obv. 5' [... gal]^l-^rgal^l maḥ bi₂-^rge₄^l-(...)

227 ġeš-gi a-ta i[m-...]-^re₃/e₁₁^l-a-zu

A vi rev. 24 ġeš-gi a-ta i[m-...]-^re₃/e₁₁^l-a-zu

228 še daḡal še daḡal-e [...]-^ra^l-zu^l

A vi rev. 25 še daḡal še daḡal-e [...]-^ra^l-zu^l
G om.

222 "[Ur]namma . . . , you [...], may your sublime name be called!

223 [...] make him possess the dazzling[?] sceptre[?] from below [to ab]ove!

224 To your palace [...] Sumer [and Akkad[?]] were called!

225 The canals which you have dug, the [...] which you have . . . ,

226 All the large and grand arable tracts which[?] you (thereby) created¹⁵⁴ (and [...]),

227 The canebrakes which you have drained,

228 The vast barley (fields) which you have [...] to vast barley (fields),¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁴ Literally "made return".

¹⁵⁵ Wilcke, *UT* 130 suggests a restoration daḡ as verb: "(...) which you have [added] to vast barley (fields)".

229 an-za-gar₃ a₂-[dam ...]-a-zu

A vi rev. 26 an-za-gar₃ a₂-[dam ...]-a-zu
G obv. 6' [... -ga]r₃? [...]

230 nam-lu₂-ulu₃ ʾu₆ʾ [...]-ʾx-e-ešʾ

A vi rev. 27 nam-lu₂-ulu₃ ʾu₆ʾ [...]-ʾx-e-ešʾ
G obv. 7' [...]-ulu₃ (ʾxʾ) [...]

231 ur-^dnamma mu-zu ʾxʾ [...-p]a₃?-ʾpa₃?-de₃?-ešʾ

A vi rev. 28 ur-^dnamma mu-zu ʾxʾ [...-p]a₃?-ʾpa₃?-de₃?-ešʾ
G obv. 8' [...] ʾmu-zuʾ [...]

232 en ^dnu-nam-n[ir...] ʾxʾ rib-ba

A vi rev. 29 en ^dnu-nam-n[ir...] ʾxʾ rib-ba

233 ^dudug ḫulu ʾxʾ [...(-)b]i₂-in-sar-re

A vi rev. 30 ^dudug ḫulu ʾxʾ [...(-)b]i₂-in-sar-re

234 sipa ^dur-namma ʾxʾ [...b]a²-ši-in-U-a-ta

A vi rev. 31 sipa ^dur-namma ʾxʾ [... b]a²-ši-in-U-a-ta

235 ^dnanna ʾenʾ [^dAŠ-im₂-babbar šu-ta] ʾxʾ-ri-a-bi

A vi rev. 32 ^dnanna ʾenʾ [^dAŠ-im₂-babbar šu-ta] ʾxʾ-ri-a-bi
G rev. 1' [...] ʾx x (x)ʾ [...]

229 Fortified villages and settl[ements] which you have [...],

230 [...] the people [looked at] in admiration!

231 Urnamma, your name they [...] called?!

232 The lord Nunamnir *mighty* [...],

233 Will drive away [...] the evil u d u g-spirit!"

234 After shepherd Urnamma [...] had been . . . ,

235 (And) that Nanna, lord [AŠimbabbar, *was/did (not)*] . . . ,

236 [d]¹en¹-ki lugal eridu^{ki}-ga-[ke₄...]-ta-an-e₁₁-da

A vi rev. 33 [d^{en}-k]i lugal eridu^[ki-ga-ke₄...]-ta-an-e₁₁-da
G rev. 2' [d]¹en¹-ki lugal eridu^{ki}-ga-¹x¹[...]

237 G rev. 3' saĝ-kal a-ma-ru mar-r[u₁₀ ...]

A vi rev. 34 [x x (x)] ¹d^x ¹[...-l]a[?] amaš tab-tab-ba

238 G rev. 4' gi GAM-ma KAL ĜAL₂ ba-n[i-...]

A vi rev. 35 [...] ¹ku₃[?] DU piriĝ¹ diĝir-ŠE₃ du₂-da

239 uru-zu-ta mi₂ z[i] du₁₁-ga di si-sa₂ ku₅-ku₅

A vi rev. 36 [...] du₁₁-ga di si-sa₂ ku₅-ku₅
G rev. 5' uru-zu-ta mi₂ z[i...]

240 dumu ĤI-re ¹x¹ ([...] ¹x¹) en ^dnin-ĝeš-zi-da za₃-mi₂

A vi rev. 37 [...] ¹x¹ en ^dnin-ĝeš-zi-da za₃-mi₂
G rev. 6' dumu ĤI-re ¹x¹ [...]

241 ¹lugal-ĝu₁₀⁷¹ [x (x) i]r₂-am₃ i-lu-am₃

A vi rev. 38 [lugal-ĝu₁₀[?] x (x) i]r₂-am₃ i-lu-am₃
G rev. 7' ¹lugal-ĝu₁₀⁷¹ [...]

242 [ur-^dnamma[?] (...)] ir₂-am₃ a-nir-am₃

A vi rev. 39 [ur-^dnamma[?] (...)] ir₂-am₃ a-nir-am₃

236 That Enki, the lord of Eridu, brought him[?] out of [...],

237 That the foremost, flood (and) tempest [...],¹⁵⁶

238 That the reed *which is bent down* . . . [...],¹⁵⁷

239 That the one who duly looked after your city, renders just judgments,

240 That the child/denizen . . . , lord Ningēšzida be praise!

241 My[?] lord [...] are tears, are wails!

242 [Urnamma[?] (...)] are tears, are laments!

156 Source A: "That [...Inana?[?]...] devastated the sheepfolds".

157 Source A: "[...] . . . a lion born to be a god".

1.3 The Susa Version of Urnamma A

Introduction

Besides the versions from Nippur the composition "Urnamma's Death" is also known in form of a multi-tablet edition from Susa. The three one-column *imgid₂-da*-tablets numbered Sb₁-Sb₃¹⁵⁸ were probably written by the same scribe in Old Babylonian ductus using occasionally more archaic signs.¹⁵⁹ All tablets are heavily scored with a stylus and for each tablet the individual lines are precisely 0.4 cm apart. Originally each tablet must have contained approximately 30 to 32 lines on one side, a standard count for this type of exercise tablet used by pupils to write perhaps daily exercises of approximately that amount.¹⁶⁰ Sb₂ and Sb₃ show each a ten-mark for lines 81' and 112' respectively. There is a possibility that the last preserved line of Sb₂ is the catchline to Sb₃.¹⁶¹ The column of the reverse of Sb₃ is not fully inscribed and the last line ends with double ruling followed by a blank and then a colophon with most of it illegible.¹⁶² This is probably the end of the composition with no other tablets following, as one would have expected the scribe to fill in the whole reverse of tablet Sb₃, thus making this version of the composition much shorter than the ones from Nippur.

Paleography

The most striking paleographical feature of the three tablets is the occasional use of more archaic signs than the normal Old Babylonian ductus. They resemble Old Babylonian signs found on monumental inscriptions. Giving the line number in brackets, the signs in question are: - u n - (7'), perhaps ḡ a l₂ - (9'), n a m - (11'), perhaps - e š t u b , k u₃ - (12'); perhaps g u - (13'), u ḡ₃ (16'), k a l a m - (17'), - e d i n - (18'), perhaps - m a (25'), u r₅ , - u n - (27'), k a l a m - (28'), k a l a m - (29'), e r e n[?], k a l a m - (30'), A G A , - u n - (31'), perhaps - g a - , perhaps a l a n - (32'), d u g (37'), m u - (38'), g u₂ - (44'), perhaps s a ḡ - (45'), perhaps - i n - (49'), - g a - (59'), - g a - (60'),

158 Cf. also above, I.1, p. 100. Sb₂ and Sb₃ are joins by A. Cavigneaux and M. Civil respectively. The reconstruction of the Sb₂ join is not entirely clear, cf. below, p. 158, fn. 198.

159 Cf. immediately below, p. 143f.

160 Michałowski, *Lamentation* 18 and Civil, *Farmer's Instructions* 12.

161 Cf. below, p. 160, fn. 204.

162 It presumably contained the name of the scribe (*Pirḫum*) and a date.

m a š₂, i m - (61'), g u n u₃ -, - l a - (63'), p i r i ĝ (66'), - g a - (68'), i m - (69'), - š a g a n (70'), - g u r₈ (-) (79'), g u₂ (88'), a l i m - (98'), perhaps [n] a₄ (99'), - u n - (100'), - m u d - (112'), G I B I L i n b i l₃ - (113'), S E S i n u r i₂ k i - , - u n - (118'), perhaps - ħ u l₂ - (119'), d u l₃ (120'), - b u l u ĝ₃ - (123'), ħ e₂ - (127'), ĝ i š k i m , s a₆ - (129'), - u ĝ₃ (132'), - u n - (133'), - u n - (136'), - g a - , - g a - (147').

Variations

The following list gives all the variations between the main Nippur version (source A)¹⁶³ and the texts from Susa:

line	Nippur (A)	Susa (Sb ₁ -Sb ₃)
(12) ¹⁶⁴	-n-	-Ø-
(13)	-Ø; -n-	-ni; -Ø-
(15)	ħulu til ₃ -	ħul-ĝal ₂ -la tuš [?] (-)
(16)	-Ca; a	-ka; a ₂
(17)	nam -tar-; -še ₃	-bala-; -eš-am ₃
(18)	-še ₃	-ta
(19)	B: ki a-ne-di; -du ₁₁ -du ₁₁ , B: -še ₈ -še ₈	ki e-ne-de ₃ ; -ši-ši
(20)	B: li-bi	lib
(21)	-Ø-; -na; -zal-	-n-; -e-NE-eš-a; -zal-zal-
(22)	de ₂ -; -bi	de ₆ -; -ba
(23)	mu ₂ -; -bi	-e ₃ ; -a
(26)		different line variation?
(35)	mas-su	[ur]-dnamma
(37)	-dib [?]	-ĝa ₂ -ĝa ₂
(38)		different line variation?
(39)	-ke ₄	-Ø
(41)	Ø; -Ø	ni ₂ ; -ni
(42)	saĝ(-)-ku ₃ (-)[ĝa]l ₂ ; -na; -Ø	saĝ(-)gu ₂ (-)-ĝal ₂ ; -ni/-Ø; -a
(43)	eren ₂ -; gu ₂ ; -Ø-; -e	eri/e(-); ur ₃ ; -n-; -Ø
(45)	-ka; -Ø-	-Ø; -n-
(46)	tir; -gin ₇ ; -Ø-; -su ₃ ; me-dim ₂ -bi kur ₂	ĝeš [?] tir; -Ø; -n-; -sag ₃ ; a-ra ₂ kalam-ma suĥ ₃
(46a)		line addition ¹⁶⁵

¹⁶³ Other Nippur sources are noted if they differ from source A, or if source A is not present.

¹⁶⁴ Nippur line numbering.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. the commentary ad 46a, p. 167.

(47)	B: -gin ₇ ; -na; GIN ₂	-e; -ni; AGA
(48-50)		line omission
(51)	du ₁₁ -; -Ø; sa ₂ -du ₁₁ ; a-la; -na	sa ₂ du ₁₁ -; -a; sa ₂ -du; alan; -ni
(52)	-a; -tag; -e	-e; šu -tag; -Ø
(53)	-ni; im-; -n-; KA -ge ₄	-bi; nu-; -Ø-; šu nu -gid ₂
(54)	-Ø-; -gub; la-; -b-; -si; -Ø	-n-; -DU; nu-; -Ø-; -sud-; -e
(55)	-Ø	-a
(56)		line omission
(57)	-e-ne	-e
(58)	-gin ₇ ; a-ba-; -n-; -aš	-Ø; im-mi-; -Ø-; -e
(59)	-ši-ĝen	-šeĝ ₃ -ĝe ₂₆
(60)	šu gid ₂	šu dab ₃
(63)		different line variation?
(65-6)		line omission
(67)	-bi	-b a?
(68)	-Ø-; -tab; ĝeš saĝ-kul	-n-; -RU [?] ; ĝeš saĝ-ĝu ₁₀
(69)	-ĝar; -a; -Ø-; -DU	-TAR; -Ø; -n-; -TUŠ
(70)	-Ø; anše; ki tum ₂	-e; Ø; ĝiri ₃ ? [ki?] us ₂
(71)	Ø; anše; ki tum ₂	kaskal kur-ra-ke ₄ ; [...]; [...] us ₂
(72)		line omission
(73)	in-di ₃ ; su ₃ .g; -am ₃	ki-in-du; sud.r; -a
(74 75)	(-Ø-); -šu ₂	(-n-); -šub
(76a)		line addition
(78)	ug ₅ -ga	ba-ug ₅ -g[e(x)]-Γx ¹ -ta
(78a)		line addition
(79 80)	-n-	-Ø-
(81-3)		line omission
(84)	sipa zi; -n-	lu[gal]; -Ø-
(84a)		line addition
(85-6)		line omission
(87)	du ₇ ; du ₇ ; en-na; -lah ₅ ; -a	sa ₇ ; du-du; im-ma-; -lah ₄ ; -e
(88)	e ₂ -mar-uru ₅ ; ĝeš gag-pana; galam	a-ma-ru-bi [?] ; ĝeš [?] [ga]g(-)ti; gal
(89)	-ba	-ni
(90)	-ra	-ke ₄
(91)	-na; -b-	-ni; -n-
(92)	i-mi-tum	ĝeš mitum
(93)	kušE.IB ₂ .UR ₃ ; a ₂ nam-ur-saĝ-ĝa ₂	kušE.IB ₂ ; Ø(?)
(94)	[z]a-ḥa-da; -Ø	Γĝeš [?] za ⁷¹ -[x-d]a [?] ; -ke ₄
(95)	bil ₄ -	bil ₃ -
(96)	-na; -b-	-ni; -n-
(97)	-n-; -de ₂	-Ø-; -SAR

(98)		line omission
(101)	[-na]; [-b-]	-ni; -n-
(103)	ġidri ku ₃ -sig ₁₇ ; -Ø; -še ₃	ġeš-nu ₁₁ ġeš ^š ma-nu; -kam; -a
(103a)		line addition
(105)	-Ø, D: -ke ₄ ; -na; -b-	-ke ₄ ; -ni; -n-
(106)	si ₃ [?] /sig [?] -	sa ₇ -
(107)	-Ø	-ke ₄
(108)	-ra	-ke ₄
(109)	-na; -b-	-ni; -Ø. ¹⁶⁶
(110)	DUB; -ke ₄	dub-šen; -Ø
(111)	ku ₃ ; na ₄ za-gin ₃ ; Ø	Ø; za-gin ₃ ; imin [?]
(112)	-ra	-ke ₄
(113)	-na; -b-	-ni; -n-
(115)		line omission
(116)	(ur ₂) gunu ₃ -gunu ₃	gu ₂ nun [?]
(117)	-e	-a
(119)	-na; -b-	-ni; -n-
(120)		different line variation
(121)	tu-di-da; D: [tu-di-t]um	du-di-da
(122)	-e; za ₃ -ga-na; -de ₃ ; -b-	-Ø; a ₂ zi-da a ₂ [ga]bu ₃ ^{bu} ; -na; -n-
(122a)		line addition
(123)		line omission
(124)	-ke ₄	-kam
(125)	eš ₂ -gana ₂ [z]a-gin ₃ ; gi(-)DIŠ-nindan	[...] ġeš ^š gag; gi-nindan
(126)	Ø	nin ₉ lugal-la-ra
(127a)		line addition
(128)	-na; -b-	-ni; -Ø. ¹⁶⁷
(128a)		line addition
(130)		line omission [?]
(131)	-š[um ₂ [?] -m]u	-ku ₄ .r
(131a)		line addition
(132-3)		line omission
(134)	irigal-	irigal ₂ -
(135)		different line variation
(136)	-b-; -tuš-u ₃ -ne	-n-; -TUŠ-na
(137)	-ne	-Ø
(138)	-ka-ta	-ke ₄

¹⁶⁶ Cf. below ad (I), p. 149 (shortage of space).

¹⁶⁷ Cf. the preceding footnote.

(139)	eren ₂ ; en-na; -ug ₅ -; -a	lu ₂ ; in-na; -šub-; -e
(140)	en-na; -zu [?] -; -a	in-na; -mud-; -e
(141-2)		line omission
(143)	bil ₄ -	bil ₃ -
(144)	e-ne; -Ø; kur-ra	e-ne-ne ¹⁶⁸ ; -bi; Ø
(145)	imin; -Ø; -ba	ia ₂ -; -am ₃ ; -ta
(146 147)	-ġu ₁₀ ; -ke ₄ ; -b-; sa ₂ du ₁₁	-e; -Ø; -Ø-; si(-) du ₁₁
(148)	-ni	-na
(149)	-ni, D: -na; Ø; -n-; -ḥul ₂ -ḥul ₂ -	-Ø; ša ₃ -bi; -Ø-; -ḥul ₂ -
(150)	-n-; saġ AK	-Ø-; šu dul ₃ ra
(151)	-na; a-la; -n-, D: -Ø-	-ni; la-la-bi; -Ø-
(152)	-na, D: -Ø; -peš-; -ni	-na; -ŠA ₃ (peš _x ?). ŠA ₃ (peš _x ?) -; -na
(153)	di ₄ -di ₄ ; in-, D: n u-mu-; D: -buluġ ₃ - buluġ ₃ -; -Ø; -ni	tur x(-)tur; im-; -buluġ ₃ -; -bi; -na
(154)		line omission
(155)	niġ ₂ (-)me-ġar, D: Ø; -na	niġ ₂ (-)me-ġar; -ni
(156)	D: NE	ni ₂ ¹⁶⁹
(157)		corrupt text?
(158)	-a; pa e ₃ ; -a	-Ø; pa e ₃ AK; -NE
(159)		corrupt text?
(160)		line omission
(161)	niġ ₂ ; Ø; -sud.r	Ø; kur; -DU
(162)	-Ø-	-b [?] -
(184)	en-nu	en-nu-uġ ₃
(185)	-dab ₅ ; -Ø; mu-	-DI; -bi; nu-
(186)		line omission
(187)	za-am-za-am-ġu ₁₀ ; -a	za ₃ -za ₃ -mi ₂ (-); -Ø
(188)	-e; -n-	-Ø; -Ø-
(189)	-Ø-; -ġu ₁₀	-n-; -na
(191)	-ġu ₁₀	-na
(192)	-nu ₂ -; -da	-šub-; -na or different line variation?
(193)		different line variation?
(194-5)		line omission
(196)	saġ-kal; -ġa ₂ ; nu-; -n-; -til ₃	ki-sikil; -ba; mu-; -b-; si [...]
(197)	kur-kur-ra; enim gal-gal-še ₃ ; -n-	ḥur-saġ gal-gal; Ø; -Ø-
(199)		line omission
(200)	-ka; Ø	-Ø; ni ₂

¹⁶⁸ Cf., however, the commentary ad 144, p. 176.

¹⁶⁹ Source D and Susa have a different line variation with regard to source A.

(201)		line omission
(202)	-k]a, E: -ta; -n-; -n-; -[du ₈]	-Ø; -b-; -Ø-; -d[u]
(203-6)		line omission
(207)	-ke ₄ , E: -Ø; in-ŠE ₃ ; ga-; -dub ₂ ; -Ø	-Ø; in kur ₂ ; mu-; -AK-; -e
(208)		line omission
(209)	enim maḥ; enim-bi; a-ba; mu-; -n-	Ø; du ₁₁ -ga-a-ni; Ø; nu-; -Ø-
(210)		different line variation
(211)	ki; -Ø; -še ₃ , E: -Ø, F: -k]e ₄ ; -Ø	Ø; -a; -Ø-; -a
(212)	-ge ₄ ⁷¹ !-; -eš	-BU; -Ø
(213)	-ni, C: -na; ba-ra-, F: mu-; -ku ₄ - ku ₄ .d; -en	-a; la ⁷ (-)ba-; -ku ₄ .r; -e

The variations which the Susa texts display in comparison with the main Nippur version of the composition can be grouped into (I) variations on graphic-grammatical level encompassing a.) non-standard orthography, b.) interchange of postpositions, c.) omission or alteration of unstable elements, usually in final position, d.) preradical interchange of - n - and - Ø - , - b - and - Ø - , - n - and - b - , and (II) variations on text level, which include a.) omission of one to two lines within the narrative sequence, b.) omission of more than two lines, c.) line addition, d.) use of variant lines, e.) variation in narrative sequence or order of lines, and f.) use of synonymous or different words or phrases.

(I) a.) The version from Susa contains a relatively large amount of non-standard orthography, including phonetic non-standard spellings which are semantically non-conditioned as well as semantically conditioned spellings, and reinterpretations based on phonetic affinity. For a list of these spellings with references the reader is referred to II 3.2, pp. 24ff.

b.) A noticeably consistent pattern can be observed for locative - locative-terminative interchange. Where Nippur has the locative postposition, Susa uses the locative-terminative postposition: 47,¹⁷⁰ 51, 89, 91 || 96 || 101 || 105 || 109 || 113 || 119 || 128, 151, 155. In the three instances where Nippur uses the personal dative postposition - r a , Susa has - k e₄ : 90, 108, 112.

c.) Omission of unstable elements, mainly dropping of final - n , - š , and - m can be detected in quite a number of lines: perhaps 21, 53, perhaps 55, 57-58, 73, 137, 144, perhaps 211, and 213. It is much less often the case in the Nippur version of source A: examples are 45, 70 || 71.

d.) For preradical interchange of verbal prefixes - n - and -Ø - , - b - and - Ø - , - n - and - b - , before the stem no consistency for either the Nippur or the Susa texts can be observed, as expected,¹⁷¹ though the infix - b - is used more by the

¹⁷⁰ Nippur line numbering.

¹⁷¹ Gragg, *JAOS* 92 (1972) 209.

Nippur text (- b - vs - Ø - in lines 54, 146 || 147; for lines 109 and 128, cf. immediately below; perhaps - b - in the Susa text for line 162).

Some of these graphic variants result in different grammatical variants: difference in person may occur in line 202 and certainly in 189ff. and 207. *Marû* vs *hamtu* verbal forms can be found for lines 37, 43, 52, 54 and 57. The Nippur version tends to use subordinate conjugations more often than Susa: 17, 21, 23, 87, 139-140, 158 vs 41-42. Lines 117 and 136 may or may not be examples of - a = - a m₃ (likewise 55 and 211 under c.) above). Note also that Susa has - n a vs Nippur - ġ u₁₀ (189, 191 with change of person), - n a vs - n i (148[ff.], 152-153), - b a vs - b i (22, 67?). Pronominal - b i is much more often used in the Susa than the Nippur texts: note - b i vs - Ø in 88, 144, 151, 153, 185.

Dropping of postpositions occurs in lines 39, 146 || 147 (omission of ergative), 188 (omission of locative-terminative), 69, 197 (omission of locative), 200 (omission of locative(-terminative)), 202 (omission of ablative/locative). Completely different verbal prefix chains can be found in 58, 87, 153 (source D), 207, and 209. In view of occasional shortage of space where the corresponding line of the opposite column is written well over the edge, some verbal forms appear in shortened versions. The forms in question are ġ e š i m - m i - t a g - g e of line 82' (Nippur line 109) and ġ e š i m - ʾ m i ʾ - t a g of line 97' (Nippur line 128) for ġ e š i m - m i - i n - t a g - g e.

Idiosyncratic scribal errors to be especially noted are a hybrid form b a - a n - d a b₅ - b e₂ - N E - e š - a (line 21).¹⁷² Also, the Susa variant s a₂ m i - r i - i b₂ - d u "it has reached *you*" in line 51 makes no sense in context.¹⁷³ In fact some auditory errors of the scribe have resulted in whole lines that are unintelligible, i.e. that have been corrupted during the process of transmission: lines 157 and 159.

(II) A comparison with the main Nippur version of the composition on text level shows:

a.) Omission of one to two lines within the narrative sequence: 56, 65-66, 72,¹⁷⁴ 85-86, 98, 115, 123, 130?, 132-133, 141-142, 154, 160, 186, 194-195, 199, 201, 208. Omission of most of these lines can be said to have no fundamental alteration of the sense of the narrative sequence. With the omission of line 56 the contrast between loved acquaintances and strangers is lost. Omission of lines 65-66 results in a shortened boat episode. In lines 85-86 and 132-133 the somewhat superfluous summary statements that Urnamma offers sacrifices at the beginning and end of the list of offerings, is dropped. Lines 98, 115, and 123 omit items in the list of presents for the netherworld deities. Awkward, however, is the omission of lines 141, 160, and perhaps 194¹⁷⁵ because their preceding lines appear to have

¹⁷² Cf. the commentary ad 21, p. 165.

¹⁷³ Cf. the commentary ad 51, p. 168.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. the commentary ad 46a, p. 167.

¹⁷⁵ Unless line 193 with its unintelligible traces is the main clause on which the preceding lines in -na are dependent.

no logical, and syntactical conclusion. It also remains unclear how the narrative sequence in the passage in lines 199-202 is to be understood: one expects line 202, which may be Enlil's speech to Inana, after line 200 (Inana's gesture towards Enlil), which is the opposite case in Susa, and it is not readily apparent that Inana actually visits Enlil's Ekur - line 199 omitted in the Susa text - to hear the news about Urnamma's death.

b.) Omission of more than two lines: 48-50, 81-83, 203-206. Omission of lines 48-50 results in a shortened description of the dying Urnamma lying in his palace. The Susa version omits the banquet scene (lines 81-83) upon Urnamma's tumultuous welcome in the netherworld. Lines 204-206 either omit the content of Inana's insult against An, or a real destruction scene on part of Inana.¹⁷⁶ Between lines 162 and 184 an unknown number of lines is omitted, due to a break in the tablet. But from the approximately six missing lines at the end, it is clear that a relatively large part of Urnamma's lament concerning himself and the pitiable state of his wife has been left out in the Susa version.

c.) Line addition: Nippur lines 46a,¹⁷⁷ 76a, 78a, 103a, 122a, 127a, 128a, 131a. None of these added lines alter the sense of the narrative fundamentally. They can either be considered as poetic parallelisms of one of the previous or succeeding lines as probably 78a, with minor substitutions 103a (*š i b i r e š g i r i* for *ĝ e š - n u₁₁ , n a m - s i p a - d a* for *n a m - e n - n a - k a m*), 127a (parallel with 126), and 128a, or are the refrain line (*s i p a u r - d n a m m a - k e₄ e₂ - g a l - l a - a - n i ĝ e š i m - m i - i n - t a g - g e*) omitted by the Nippur version of the line in question, as 122a and 131a. Line 76a is very broken but could be an expansion of the previous line 76.

The following variations under d.) and e.) can be said to involve a real change of the sense of the line in question or the narrative passage as a whole:

d.) Use of variant lines: 26?, 38?, 63?, 120,¹⁷⁸ 135, 156, 192-193?, 210. The broken state of some of these lines makes it impossible to determine for sure if they actually should be compared with the Nippur line in question (lines 26?, 38?, 63?, 192-93?). Lines 135, 156, and 210 can be regarded as actual line variations and may thus follow a version of the composition other than the one represented by source A. They involve a real alteration of the sense of the line in question. Line 156 matches that of Nippur source D, and as the Susa text also displays the same line order as source D for lines 120-122, i.e. 121-120-122, as noted above, this could indicate that Susa may follow the Nippur version represented by sources D, C?, and F more closely than that of source A.

e.) Variation in narrative sequence or order of lines: 12-14, 20-21, 57-58, 70-71, 73-75, 116-117, 120-122a, 200-202. Lines 12-14 and 120-122 involve changes in the order of enumeration of deities: the passive retreat of the gods [Ninmah?] Nanna, Utu, Enki-Nudimmud and Ninsumun, rather than Ninmah, Enki-Nudimmud, Nanna, Utu and Ninsumun (12-14), and in the list of offerings to the

¹⁷⁶ Cf. the commentary ad 204-206, p. 180.

¹⁷⁷ Perhaps a variant line, cf. the commentary ad 46a, p. 167.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. below ad f.), p. 152.

gods of the netherworld, Dimpimekug is mentioned after, rather than before, Ġeštinana/Ninazimua (120-122a). Source D has Dimpimekug inserted between Dumuzi and Namtar. A major change is involved in lines 70-75: the burial scene with the donkeys - if this interpretation is indeed correct - is omitted in Susa. The boat scene (simile or actual boat trip to the netherworld?) is immediately followed by the troublesome journey on the road to the netherworld. Lines 120-121 change the order of objects presented to Dimpimekug; thus the toggle pin is listed before the lapis lazuli seal, as in Nippur source D. Inana's gesture towards Enlil in line 200 appears in Susa after and not, as in the Nippur texts, before her hearing of Urnamma having left her Eana (200-202). In lines 20-21, 57-58, and 116-117 no noticeable change of the sense of the narrative is involved.

f.) Use of lexical variants resulting in (partially) synonymous or different words or phrases¹⁷⁹: 15, 17, 19, 20, 23, 35, 37, 41, 43, 46-47, 51-54, 59-60, 68-71, 73-75, 84, 87-88, 97, 103, 106, 110, 122, 125, 131, 139-140, 145-147, 150, 153, 157-159, 161, 185, 192?, 196-197, 207, 212. The tables below present (partially) synonymous verbs, adjectives, nouns, and one phrase:

verbs:

line	Nippur (A)	Susa (Sb ₁ -Sb ₃)
(15)	ḥulu til ₃	ḥul-ġal ₂ -la tuš
(23)	mu ₂	e ₃
(37)	dib?	ġa ₂ -ġa ₂
(41)	te	ġen
(46)	su ₃ .g	sag ₃
(52)	tag	šu tag
(53)	KA ge ₄	šu nu -gid ₂
(54)	si	sud.r
(59)	-ši-ġen	šeġ ₃ -ġe ₂₆
(60)	šu gid ₂	šu dab ₅
(139)	ug ₅	šub
(207)	dub ₂	AK

Where nu - or la - ba - instead of mu - is involved, as in line 53, a different verb altogether must be assumed: nu - [...] for ġar (185), si [...] for nu - til₃ (196); line 157 la - ba - ġa₂ - ġa₂ for mu - ne - ġal₂ is probably corrupt.

adjectives:

(87)	du ₇	sa ₇
(88)	ġalam	gal

¹⁷⁹ Cf. also II 3.2, p. 25f.

nouns:

(73)	in-di ₃	ki-in-du
(88)	ġeš ₃ gag-pana	ġeš [?] [g]ag(-)ti
(122)	za ₃ .g	a ₂
(139)	eren ₂	lu ₂
(197)	kur-kur	ḥur-saġ gal-gal

phrase:

(46)	me-dim ₂ -bi kur ₂	a-ra ₂ kalam-ma suḥ ₃
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Some lexical variants are less apparent, such as *nam bala* for *nam tar* (17), *ur₅* for *gu₂* (43), *sud.r* for *su₃.g* (73), *šub* for *šu₂* (74 || 75), *sa₇.g* for *si₃.g[?] / sig[?]* (106), *ku₄* for *š[um₂[?]]* (131), and naturally in the cases where the exact meaning of one of the terms is not clear, as *RU[?]* for *tab* (68), *TAR* for *ġar* (69), *SAR* for *de₂* (97), *mud* for *zu[?]* (140), *šudul₃ra* for *saġ AK* (150), *DU* for *sud.r* (161), *DI* for *dab₅* (185), *BU* for *ge₄[?]!* (212). The lexical variants in lines 73 (*in-di₃ - ki-in-du*; *sud.r - su₃.g*) and 74 || 75 (*šub - šu₂*) may be due to phonetic affinity. Other lexical variants that can be explained as auditory errors resulting in semantically conditioned non-standard writings are *eri/e* for *eren₂* (43), *alan* for *a-la* (51), etc.¹⁸⁰ Some epithets are replaced by different ones, as *lu[gal]* for *sipa zi.d* (84) and *ki-sikil* for *saġ-kal* (196), and in one instance by the PN [*ur*]-*dnamma* for *mas-su* (35).

Some lines add words or terms that expand the sense, or are explanatory in nature: *za₃ - bi ku₃ - sig₁₇* "its (= the lapis lazuli seal) edge made of gold" (120), *a₂ zi-da a₂ [ga]bu₃^{bu}* "the right and left side", for simple *za₃.g* (122), *ġeš₃gag* "peg", along with "surveying tape" and "measuring rod" (125), *nin₉ lugal-la* "the king's sister" as an additional epithet of Ġeštinana/Ninazimua (126), and the obscure *ni₂* in the hapax *igi du₂ - du₂* (200).

In summary, the Susa texts can thus be characterized as the work of a less competent scribe than the one(s) responsible for the Nippur versions of the composition. One gets this impression from the many auditory errors resulting in non-standard orthography, the syntactically unexplainable omissions of lines, and the grammatically erroneous deviations. Also, the Susa texts seem to present a much shorter version of the composition, completely omitting both the peripety, in which Ningēšzida (?) decrees Urnamma's fate, and the praise of Ningēšzida in the doxology. The few very different line variations, the variation in narrative sequence

¹⁸⁰ Cf. II 3.2, p. 26.

or order of lines, and the omission of scenes like the one of the burial (?) and the banquet in the netherworld, add to the assumption that different versions of "Urnamma's Death" were current. The Susa texts may present a separate version altogether, or, more likely, follow a Nippur version other than that represented by source A.

Transliteration and Translation

		[9-10 lines not preserved]
1'		[...] 'x x x' [(x x)]
2'	13 ¹⁸¹	[...] 'x x x' saġ-ki-ni mi-ni-gid ₂
3'	14	[...] u ₄ -de ₃ i-si-iš im-la ₂
4'	12	[x x (x)] 'x x x itima ¹⁸² ma-ka! ba-an-ku ₄ ša ₃ (-)ka-tab(-)ba-nu ₂
5'	15	[ama] 'x ¹⁸² dumu-ni-še ₃ ħul-ġal ₂ -la 'tuš?-(x?)'
6'	16	ama lugal-la ku ₃ ^d nin-sumun ₂ -ka a ₂ ša ₃ -ġu ₁₀ 'im ¹ -me
7'	17	nam ur- ^d namma 'mu ¹ -un-bala-e-eš-am ₃
8'	18	mu sipa zi ba-'ra-ab ¹ -e ₃ -a-ta
9'	19	sila daġal ki e-ne-de ₃ ġal ₂ -la ¹ -ba ir ₂ gig 'mu ¹ -a-ši-ši
10'	21	i-lu sipa zi ba-an-dab ₅ -be ₂ -NE-eš-a 'u ₄ ¹ mi-n[i ² -i]b ₂ -zal-zal-e
11'	20	nam-lu ₂ -ulu ₃ lib ib ₂ -til-la-am ₃ u ₃ d[u ₁₀ x (x)] 'x(-x)' [x]-ku
12'	22	a-eštub i ₇ -da de ₆ - ¹ a ¹ -ba ku ₃ -ġal ₂ -[...]
13'	23	še gu-nu a-gar ₃ -re 'x ¹ -e ₃ -a z[i...]
14'	24	engar GANA ₂ zi-de ₃ 'gub ¹ -bu 'x ¹ [...]
15'	25	^d en-ki-im-du lugal eg ₂ p[a ₅ -...]
16'	26?	'x AB ¹ uġ ₃ daġal-bi 'ba ¹ -[...]
17'	27	'(x) x ¹ BU kalam-ma-kam! 'u ₂ ¹ -[...]
18'	28	[ed]in-edin-e u ₂ s[a ₆ ?-...]
19'	29	[(x) x] 'x ¹ ab ₂ dugud-d[a? ...]
		[Approximately 2-4 lines not preserved, one to two lines each at the end of the obv. and the beginning of the rev.]
20'	35	[ur]- ¹ dnamma ¹ ki-[...]
21'	36	[x]-ni dab ₅ -ba n[u-...] 'x ¹ [...]
22'	37	[ġi]ri ₃ -ni dib ₂ -ba [x x x (x)]-ġa ₂ -ġa ₂ [...]
23'	38?	za-pa-aġ ₂ 'A x ¹ [x x x (x)-b]a GAM-e US ₂ [...]
24'	39-40	sipa zi lug[al...ki-e]n-gi-ra ur- ^d namma [...]
25'	41	uri ₂ ki-ma?! ni ₂ 'ġen ¹ -na-ni ur- ^d namma e ₂ -[...]
26'	42-43	saġ(-)gu ₂ (-)ġal ₂ 'e ₂ ¹ -gal-la(-)NI(-)nu ₂ -a ur- ^d namma lu ₂ eri(e(-))[...]
27'	43-44	ur ₅ nu-un-da-an-zi igi(-)ġal ₂ kur-kur-ra i ₃ -nu ₂ ġeš-l[a ₂ ?-...]

¹⁸¹ This and the following numbers refer to the Nippur main text numbering. Question marks after these numbers indicate that Susa may have a different version to the corresponding Nippur line. Cf. also the list above ad "Variations" and II d.), p. 150.

¹⁸² Or simply a scratch.

- 1' [...]
- 2' [...] frowned [...].
- 3' [...] the days are full of sorrow.
- 4' [...] entered the bedchamber and lay down listlessly.
- 5' [The mother] *who sits?* in a wretched state because of her son,
- 6' The mother of the king, dazzling Ninsumun, says: "O my heart!"
- 7' They¹⁸³ have overturned Urnamma('s) destiny.
- 8' As it¹⁸⁴ made the faithful shepherd leave,
- 9' They¹⁸⁵ weep bitter tears in their broad squares where merriment had reigned.
- 10' (As) they¹⁸⁶ have snatched him away, they¹⁸⁷ spend (their) days in lamenting the faithful shepherd.
- 11' With (their) bliss(fulness) having come to an end, the people [do not] sleep soundly.
- 12' When the early flood had been carried into the canals, [...] (canal-)inspector [...].
- 13' *Mottled* barley *sprouted* in the arable tracts, 'the lif[e] ...'.
- 14' For the farmer standing on the cultivated field . . . [...].
- 15' Enkimdu, the lord of embankments and di[tches ...].
- 16' . . . its numerous people [...].
- 17' . . . of the land *dis[appeared?]*...].
- 18' On the steppes f[ine?] grass [...].
- 19' [...] . . . heavy cows . . . [...].
 [Approximately 2-4 lines not preserved]
- 20' [Ur]namma . . . [...].
- 21' [...] his [...] which had seized, [...] not [...].
- 22' His [fe]et which had tread, [...] set [...].
- 23' Tumult [...] . . .
- 24' The faithful shepherd, the ki[ng ...] of [Su]mer, Urnamma [...].
- 25' When Urnamma *himself* had arrived? at Ur and [...] House,
- 26' *The proud one* who lies in the palace, Urnamma whom the cities [...],
- 27' Was not able to raise himself any more. The one who oversees all (the foreign) lands is lying, deathly sile[nce ...].

183 i.e. the gods?

184 i.e. the evil (cf. lines 6-7 of the Nippur version).

185 i.e. the people.

186 i.e. the gods?

187 i.e. the people.

- 28' 45 teš₂ kalam-ma ba-da-an-šub ħur-saġ-gin₇ ba-g[ul[?] (x x x)?]
 29' 46 ġeš^{tir} ħa-šu-ur₂ 'ba-da^l-an-sag₃ a-ra₂ 'kalam-ma^l ba-e-suĥ₃
 30' 46a¹⁸⁸ ġeš^{eren}?¹⁸⁹ kalam-ma-'ke₄^l ba-da-bala a-'ra₂ kalam^l-ma ba-e-
 kur₂
 31' 47 ġeš^{taškarin}-e ki-tuš gir₁₇-zal-a-ni AGA 'mu^l-un-na-an-ġar-re-eš
 32' 51 u₄ 'sa₂^l du₁₁-^lga^l-ni-a sa₂ mi-ri-ib₂-du alan-a-ni ba-ra-e₃
 33' 52 'sizkur₂^l niġ₂ du₁₀-ge 'šu^l la-'ba^l-an-tag šu gig ba-da-an-gid₂
 34' 53 'kadra₂^la-bi da-nun-na-ke₄-e-ne šu nu-um-ma-gid₂-e
 35' 54 [(x)] 'muš₃^l-am₃ 'x^l [x] 'x^l la-'ba^l-ni-'in^l-DU u₄-bi nu-sud-e
 36' 55 [x] 'd^le[n[?]]-'x^l [x x (x)?] 'x^l-am₃ 'ur₅^l zi-zi la-ba-ġal₂-la
 37' 58 [x x (x)] 'x (x)^l [(x x) ur]-'d^lamma dug [g]az im-mi-ni-taka₄-e
 38' 57 [...-n]e mu-ni-bala-bala-e
 39' 59 [...-gi]n₇ gal-bi im-šeġ₃-ġe₂₆
 40' 60 [...] šu nu-dab₅-be₂ im-me
 41' 61 [...na]m-ġu₁₀
 [Approximately 5 lines not preserved]
 42' 63[?] [...]-'x-bi im-x^l-[...]
 43' 64 [...]-'x-a^l ir₂ 'im-x^l-[...]
 44' 67 [...-b]a[?] gu₂-guru₅ ba-'x-x^l-[(x)]
 45' 68 [...] 'x-an-RU^l ġeš^{saġ}-ġu₁₀(-)'x^l [...] ¹⁹⁰
 46' 69 [...]-'da^l-TAR saġar ses ba-da-an-'TUŠ-x^l¹⁹⁰
 47' 74 [...]-(.)'AN^l-šub ħar-ra-an im-suĥ₃ šu nu-um-ma-ni₁₀-ni₁₀
 48' 75 [...] 'x^l¹⁹¹-(.)AN-šub ħar-ra-an im-suĥ₃ šu nu-um-ma-ni₁₀-ni₁₀
 49' 73 [...] ki-in-'du^l su₃-ud-da
 50' 70 [...]-'x^l-ru-ne 'ġiri₃[?] x^l [(x x)] 'mu[?]-un^l-di-ni-ib-us₂
 51' 71[?] [...] kaskal kur-ra-ke₄ [...-u]n-di-ni-ib-us₂
 52' 76 [...] 'x^l-bi niġ₂(-)ba(-)'ab^l-[...]m]u[?]
 53' 76a¹⁹² [...] i₃-du₈ gal mu-ši-'x^l-[...] 'x^l
 54' 77 [...] ba-ug₅-g[e-x x x (x)] 'x^l
 55' 78 [...NIN-diġ]ir maš₂-e dab₅-'ba^l ba-ug₅-g[e-(x)]-'x^l-ta
 56' 78a¹⁹³ [...] 'x x-AG₂^l
 57' 79 [...]-'aġ₂^l bi₂-ġar

188 = line 72; cf. the commentary ad 46a, p. 167.

189 The sign does not look like a classic ERIN but rather a simplified form of *KWU* 896 (cf. *LAK* 668) = also (?) ERIN/ŠEŠ₄ (cf. Ferwerda, *TLB/SLB* V, p. 6).

190 -'x^l belongs perhaps to the line on the rev.

191 'x^l could be 'A^l; in that case read perhaps 'am₃^l-šub.

192 Om. in Nippur.

193 Cf. the preceding footnote.

- 28' The land's vigour is felled, like a mountain (mine) it is c[ut away?(...)].
- 29' A grove of ḥ a š u r-trees was felled, the state of the land is confused.
- 30' He¹⁹⁴ passed the cedar trees[?] of the land, the state of the land is altered.
- 31' (As) to a boxwood tree they set axes[?] against his delightful dwelling place.
- 32' . . . , he has lost his healthy appearance.
- 33' Pleasing sacrifices were no longer seized, (because) afflicted hands have been stretched out towards them.
- 34' (Therefore) the Anuna no longer stretched out (their) hands towards these gifts.
- 35' [...] did not . . . (his) *aḥulap*, he¹⁹⁵ does not remove that day.
- 36' [...] . . . , there was no getting up.
- 37' [...] they had abandoned [Ur]namma (as) a broken jar.
- 38' [...] turned over.
- 39' [...] precipitates in vast quantity like [...].
- 40' "[...] he does not grab any more [...]!" she[?] says.
- 41' "[... wh]at is it to me?"
[Approximately 5 lines not preserved]
- 42' [...] . . . [...]
- 43' [...] who [...] tears [...].
- 44' [...] strip[ped of ...].
- 45' [...] . . . bolt[?] [...].
- 46' [...] . . . was *found* bitter dust.
- 47' [...] fell, the roads became twisted and one could not hurry along on them (any more).
- 48' [...] fell, the roads became twisted and one could not hurry along on them (any more).
- 49' [...] is a long stretch of road.
- 50' [...] . . . they¹⁹⁶ made (their) way with him.
- 51' [...] they undertook with him the journey to the netherworld.
- 52' He [...] presents [...].
- 53' [...] the chief porter(s) [...].
- 54' [...] died,
- 55' When [... N I N d i ḡ] i r-priestesses who had been chosen by extispicy had died,
- 56' [...] . . .
- 57' [...], he¹⁹⁷ raised a [tumu]lt[?].

194 i.e. Urnamma.

195 i.e. An?

196 i.e. donkeys, Urnamma's entourage?

197 i.e. Urnamma.

- 58' 80 [...] ʿxʿ [x] ʿxʿ [...] ʿxʿ-aĝ₂ ʿbi₂-ĝar¹⁹⁸
 59' 84 lu[gal ĝar]za kur-ra-ke₄ ša₃-ga-ni ʿi₃-zu¹
 60' 84a¹⁹⁹ ur-^dnamma ĝarza kur-ra-ʿke₄ ša₃-ga-ni i₃-zu
 61' 87 gud sa₇ maš₂ du-du ʿuduʿ niga im-ma-ab-laḥ₄-e
 62' 88 ĝešmiddu₂ ĝešpana ʿgal aʿ-ma-ʿru-biʿ ĝeš²⁰⁰[g]ag(-)ti ĝiri₂?-zu₂
 gal
 63' 89 kušlu-ub₂ gunu₃-a [x]-ba ĝal₂-la-ni¹(IR)
 64' 90 dʿne₃-dʿeri₁₁-ʿgalʿ dʿenʿ-lil₂ kur-ra-ke₄
 65' 91 sipa ur-^dnamma-ke₄ e₂-ʿgalʿ-la-a-ni ĝeš im-mi-in-tag-ge
 66' 92 ĝešgid₂-da kušlu-ub₂ dag-si ʿxʿ ĝešmitum piriĝ an-na

 67' 93f. kušE.IB₂ ki ʿus₂-sa x ĝešʿzaʿ-[x-d]aʿ niĝ₂ ki-aĝ₂ ʿdʿereš-ki-gal-ke₄
 68' 95 dʿbil₃ʿ-ga-mes lugal kur-ra-ke₄
 69' 96 [s]ipa ur-^dnamma-ke₄ e₂-ʿgalʿ-a-ni ĝeš im-mi-in-tag-ge
 70' 97 [ĝe]š-k[eš₂?-x (x)] ʿxʿ i₃ ba-SAR-a b[ur]-šagan šu du₇-a

 71' 99 [...](-)lugal-la sig NIĜ₂.ŠU(.)PI me kur-ra
 72' 100 [(x)] ʿxʿ ereš-ki-gal ama [x x]-ʿaʿ-zu-[-...]
 73' 101 [s]ipa ur-^dnamma-ke₄ e₂-gal-la-ʿa-ni ĝeš¹ im-mi-i[n-tag-ge]
 74' 102 udu A.LUM udu z/sulu(m)ḥu/i_x(TUG₂.SUD) maš₂-gal kur-ra-ʿke₄¹
 75' 103 ĝeš-nu₁₁ ĝešma-nu nam-en-na-kam šu za-gin₃-na tum₂-m[a]
 76' 103a²⁰⁰ šibir(EN×GANA₂-t.) ešgiri(U.EN×GANA₂-t.) ĝešma-nu nam-sipa-da nam-en-na tum₂-ma
 77' 104 dʿdumu-zi dam ki-aĝ₂ dʿinana-ra
 78' 105 sipa ur-^dnamma-ke₄ e₂-gal-a-ni ĝeš im-mi-in-tag-ge
 79' 106 gi₁₆-sa šu du₇-a ḥar ku₃-sig₁₇ ma₂-gur₈(-)BI(./+) x sa₇-ga
 80' 107 na₄gug ʿsu/zu/ku₃ʿ? xʿ [(x)] ʿx diĝirʿ-re-e-ne-ke₄
 81' 108 dʿnam-tar lu₂ nam t[arʿ-...]-ke₄
 82' 109 sipa ur-^dnamma-ke₄ e₂-gal-a-ni ĝeš im-mi-tag-ge
 83' 110 dub-šen šu za-gin₃ niĝ₂-nam irigal₂gal-la

 84' 111 ĝeškirid za-gin₃ šu tag-ga ĝešga-rig₂ iminʿ nam-munus-a

 85' 112 dʿḥuš-bi-sa₆ ʿdamʿ nam-tar-ra-ke₄
 86' 113 sipa ur-^dnamma-ʿke₄ e₂-galʿ-[(la-)a-ni ĝeš im-m]i-in-tag-ge
 87' 114 [...] x ʿgunu₃ʿ-²⁰¹a
 88' 116 [...AN]ŠE.NITAʿ gu₂ nunʿ du₁₁-du₁₁

¹⁹⁸ It is uncertain if Sb 14083 1' is to be equated with Sb 14137 17; the only visible sign on the last line of Sb 14137 (= line 18) could be part of the -ʿzuʿ of Sb 14083 2'.

¹⁹⁹ Om. in Nippur.

²⁰⁰ Cf. the preceding footnote.

- 58' [...], he raised a [tumu]lt?
 59' The ki[ng] - his heart knew of the [cultic n]orms of the netherworld:
 60' Urnamma - his heart knew of the cultic norms of the netherworld:
 61' He brings magnificent bulls, perfect bucks and fattened sheep.
 62' A mace, a large bow with its⁷ quiver and arrows, a large . . . dagger,

 63' And his multicoloured leather-bag which he wears at [...]
 64' To Nergal, the Enlil of the netherworld,
 65' Shepherd Urnamma offers as a sacrifice in/for his palace.
 66' A spear, a leather-bag . . . saddle(-hook), a m i t u m-weapon (with) a celestial lion,
 67' A shield which is (firmly) pressed to the ground, . . ., and a ba[ttle-a]xe?², Ereškigal's favourite,
 68' To Gilgameš, king of the netherworld,
 69' Shepherd Urnamma offers as a sacrifice in/for his palace.
 70' A [con]ta[iner] in which oil has been poured, a š a g a n-bowl of perfect make,
 71' [...] royal . . ., the m e of the netherworld
 72' To Ereškigal, the mother of [Nin]azu,
 73' Shepherd Urnamma of[fers] as a sacrifice in/for her palace.
 74' A L U M-sheep, long-fleeced sheep, and mountain he-goats,

 75' A . . . made of m a n u-wood of e n-ship, worthy of a shining hand,
 76' Staff and nose-leash, (a staff) made of m a n u-wood of shepherdship, worthy of e n-ship,
 77' To Dumuzi, Inana's beloved husband,
 78' Shepherd Urnamma offers as a sacrifice in/for his palace.
 79' Perfectly wrought jewellery, a golden ring, a beautiful . . . cargo boat,
 80' And a . . . carnelian-stone [...] . . . of gods
 81' To Namtar who [...] the decreed fates
 82' Shepherd Urnamma offers as a sacrifice in/for his palace.
 83' A (treasure) chest with a lapis lazuli handle, (with) everything (concerning) the underworld,
 84' A *hair clasp* decorated with lapis lazuli, and seven² combs of womenly fashion
 85' To Ĥušbisag, Namtar's wife,
 86' Shepherd Urnamma offers as a sacrifice in/for her palace.
 87' [...] painted² with [...],
 88' [...] as]ses that bray loudly?,

- 89' 117 [...]da-ab-us₂-sa
 90' 118 [...d]nin-geš-zi-da-ra
 91' 119 [sipa ur-dⁿamma-ke₄] e₂-gal-a-ni geš im-mi-in-tag-ge
 92' 124 [...r]a niĝ₂(-)nam(-)dub¹-sar-kam
 93' 125 [...] geš gag gi-nindan KAD[?]-na
 94' 126 [...]x-mu₂⁷-a nin₉ lugal-la-ra
 95' 127 [...du]mu[?] a-ra-li-⁷ta⁷
 96' 127a²⁰¹ [dĝe]štin-an-na nin₉ lugal-la-⁷ra⁷
 97' 128 [s]ipa ur-dⁿamma-ke₄ e₂-gal-la-a-ni geš im-⁷mi⁷-tag
 98' 121 du-di-da ku₃-sig₁₇ ku₃-babbar ⁷saĝ⁷-bi alim-ma
 99' 120 [n]₄kišib za-gin₃ za₃-bi ku₃-sig₁₇ ⁷u₃ ba-da-ra⁷ ku₃ me-a
 100' 122 [dⁱ]m₃-⁷pi⁷-me-ku₃ a₂ zi-da ⁷a₂⁷ [ga]bu₃⁷bu gub⁷-bu-na / mu-un-
⁷na-an⁷-[x]-⁷x (x)⁷
 101' 122a²⁰² [sipa u]r-dⁿamma-ke₄ e₂-gal-⁷la-a⁷-n[i geš im-mi(-in)-tag-ge]
 102' 128a²⁰³ [gud sa₇ ma]š₂ d[u-du] udu niga i[m-ma-ab-la]h₄[?]-a[?]204
 103' 129 [gud sa₇] maš₂ du-du udu niga im-ma-ab-tuku-a
 104' 131 [d[?]a[?]-nun[?]-n]a ensi₂ gal kur-ra-ke₄ mu-un-na-da-ab-ku₄
 105' 131a²⁰⁵ [sipa u]r-dⁿamma-ke₄ e₂-gal-a-ni[?](IN) geš im-mi-in-tag-ge
 106' 134 [ensi₂[?]] gal irigal₂-⁷la⁷-ke₄-e-ne
 107' 135 [d^a]n-un-⁷na⁷ NI₃(inda₃/niĝ₂) šu tag-ga-ba
 108' 136 [ur]-dⁿamma para₁₀ ⁷gal⁷ kur-ra-ke₄ x ⁷im⁷-mi-in-TUŠ-na
 109' 137 [x-r]a[?] ki-tuš mu-un-na-ĝa₂-ĝa₂
 110' 138 ⁷enim⁷ du₁₁-ga dereš-ki-gal-la-ke₄
 111' 139 lu₂ geš tukul-la in-na ba-⁷šub⁷-e
 112' 140 lu₂ nam-da₆-ga in-na ba-mud-e
 113' 143 ⁷ses⁷ ki-aĝ₂-a-ni d^bil₃-ga-mes-ra
 114' 144 ⁷e-ne⁷-ne di kur-ra ku₅-de₃ ka-aš-bi ŠI(-)bar-re
 115' 145 u₄ ia₂-am₃ u₄ u-⁷am₃⁷ ba-zal-a-ta
 116' 146 lugal-e i-si-iš k[i]-en-gi-ra si(-)gu₇-mu-un-na-⁷du₁₁⁷
 117' 147 ⁷ur⁷-dⁿamma i-si-iš ki-en-gi-ra si(-)gu₇-mu-un-⁷na⁷-[d]u₁₁
 118' 148 [ba]d₃ uri₂^{ki}-ma nu-mu-un-til-li-na
 119' 149 ⁷e₂-gal-⁷gibi⁷ na-mu-un-du₃-a ša₃-bi nu-⁷hul₂-l[a[?]-x (x)]
 120' 150 [si]pa-[d]e₃[?] e₂-a-⁷ni⁷ šu dul₃ li-bi-ra-a(-)(x x)]

201 Om. in Nippur.

202 Om. in Nippur.

203 Cf. the preceding footnote.

204 After this line only a line after a break is visible, so maybe one line is not preserved. If this is not so and line 102' is the last line on tablet Sb₂, then line 103' could be the catchline to Sb₃ and line 102' must be restored accordingly i[m-ma-ab-tuku-a]. For the catchline phenomenon, cf. Heimpel, *JCS* 33 (1981) 71 ad (4) and Cooper, *Curse of Agade* 45.

205 Om. in Nippur.

- 89' [...] followed by [...],
 90' To [...] Ningēšzida
 91' [Shepherd Urnamma] offers as a sacrifice in/for his palace.
 92' [...] (with) everything (concerning) the scribe,²⁰⁶
 93' [...] a peg, a (n i n d a n) measuring rod . . .
 94' To [...(Nin)azi]mua, the king's sister,
 95' [... den]izen[?] from/in Arali,
 96' [Ĝe]štinana, the king's sister,
 97' Shepherd Urnamma offers as a sacrifice in/for her palace.
 98' A toggle pin made of gold and silver whose head (is) that of a bison,
 99' A lapis lazuli seal, its edge made of gold and the pin of pure silver
 100' He . . . to Dimpimekug who stands at the right and left side.
- 101' [Shepherd Ur]namma [offers (this) as a sacrifice] in/for her palace.
 102' [The magnificent bulls], the per[fect bu]cks and the fattened sheep [which have been brought[?]],
 103' [The magnificent bulls], the perfect bucks and the fattened sheep which have been obtained[?],
 104' Were ushered with him²⁰⁷ into the presence of the [Anun]a[?], the great e n s i ₂ of the netherworld.
 105' [Shepherd Ur]namma offers as a sacrifice in/for their palace.
 106' The great [e n s i ₂ [?]] of the underworld,
 107' The [A]nuna, after having seized the offerings
 108' And having . . . seated Urnamma on the great dais of the netherworld,
 109' Set up a dwelling place for him in the [...].
 110' At the command of Ereškigal
 111' Men of arms, so far as they have fallen,
 112' And sinners, so far as they have been produced,
 113' With[?] his beloved brother Gilgameš
 114' They pass the judgment of the netherworld and render its decisions.²⁰⁸
 115' After five days, ten days had passed,
 116' The wails of Sumer reached also the king,
 117' The wails of Sumer reached also Urnamma.
 118' Over the fact that he had not completed the ([ci]ty-)wall of Ur,
 119' That the New Palace's interior, which he indeed had built, had not delighted him,
 120' That the shepherd²⁰⁹ no longer put a protecting hand over his house(hold),

206 Or: "(...) which belongs to the scribal art".

207 i.e. Urnamma.

208 But cf. also the commentary ad 144, p. 176.

209 i.e. Urnamma.

- 121' 151 [d]am ʿur₂⁷-ra-ni la-la-bi ʿnu-ge₄⁷-a(-)[(x x)]
 122' 152 dumu-ni du₁₀-ba-na li-bi-in-ŠA₃(peš_x?).ŠA₃-ʿna⁷
 123' 153 nin₉ tur ʿx⁷(-)tur im-buluḡ₃-ḡe₂₆-NE(ne) ḥi-li-bi nu-mu-un-til-
 li-ʿna⁷
 124' 155 sipa ʿzi⁷ i-lu niḡ₂(-)me-ḡar ni₂-ta-a-ni mi-ni-ib-be₂
 125' 156 ʿḡe₂₆-e⁷ im-ma-zu-a ni₂ im-ma-an-zu-a
 126' 157 diḡir-ʿre⁷-e-ne mu-un-na-an-dim₂-me-eš ki-ur₃ la-ba-ḡa₂-ḡa₂
 127' 158 da-nun-na-ke₄-ne ḥe₂-ḡal₂ pa e₃ AK-NE
 128' 159 ḡeš gu-za za-gin₃ niḡ₂ ba-ra-ga-aš gi₁₆-sa ʿmu⁷(-x)-ni-ib₂⁷-ge-na
 129' 161 ʿx⁷[x-e]n ḡiškim sa₆-ga-ḡu₁₀ kur an-ʿgin₇⁷/ba x⁷²¹⁰-DU

 130' 162 [...] ʿx⁷ [...] ʿx x⁷ [...] ʿx⁷ [...] ʿib⁷-ti
 [Approximately 4-6 lines not preserved, two to three lines each at
 the end of the obv. and the beginning of the rev.]
 131' 183? Traces
 132' 184 [...] ʿx (x)⁷-ba en-nu-uḡ₃ lu₂(-)[...]
 133' 185 [...] mu-un-DI me-a lu₂-bi nu-ʿx⁷(-x)⁷-[...]
 134' 187 [...] a-da-ʿab⁷ gi-SU₃⁷²¹¹ za₃-za₃-mi₂(-)⁷ir₂ ba-ʿni-x⁷ ([...])

 135' 188 [...-d]i e₂ ʿx x(-)NE⁷ za₃ e₂-gar₈ ʿba⁷-ni⁷-us₂
 136' 189 [...] ʿx⁷ [...-l]i⁷?-ʿbi⁷ nu-mu-un-til-li-na
 137' 190 [...]m-mi-in-TUŠ-na
 138' 191 [...] ʿx x⁷ [...] nu-mu-un-til-li-na
 139' 192? [... -i]n⁷-šub-bu-na
 140' 193? [...] traces [...] ʿx-KU⁷
 141' 196 ʿki⁷-sikal dīnana nin ʿme₃-a x⁷ [x]-ʿa⁷-ba si mu-da-ʿab⁷-[...]
 142' 197 den-lil₂-le ḥur-saḡ gal-gal kiḡ₂-ge₄-ʿa⁷ bi₂-g[e]
 143' 198 ki-bi-ta igi-ni ḡar-ra-ni [(...)]²¹²
 144' 202 sipa zi e₂-an-na mi-ni-ib₂-e₃ igi nu-mu-ni-d[u(-x)]

 145' 200 saḡ-ki ḥuš den-ʿlil₂⁷ ni₂ igi dub₂-dub₂-be₂
 146' 207 an lugal diḡir-re-e-ne in kur₂ mu-un-AK-e
 147' 209 an lugal du₁₁-ga-a-ni du₁₁-ga-a-ni nu-ʿkur₂-x⁷
 148' 210 ur-dnamma DA⁷-mu-de₃ ib₂-la₂ ʿu₄⁷ [...]
 149' 211 u₄ e₃-a diḡir-re-e-ne [x (x)](-)ʿga⁷ nu-ḡal₂-[l]a
 150' 212 ḡi₆-par₄ ku₃ ʿeš₃ e₂⁷-an-na⁷-[x x x (x)]-da-an-BU
 151' 213 ʿx⁷-li-a ʿe₂⁷(-)[...](-)ʿla⁷(-)ba-ni-in-ku₄-re
 ʿim⁷ gid₂-da *pir-ḥu-um* ʿu₄⁷ x x x x x⁷²¹³

²¹⁰ ʿx⁷ ≠ su₃; perhaps read {m}u⁷-DU.

²¹¹ Read perhaps -BU.

²¹² After -ni the tablet surface is broken off but probably no more signs follow.

²¹³ Followed by single ruling above and below the line.

- 121' That he no longer brought pleasure to (his) wife on/with his lap,
 122' That he no longer *raised*? his children on his knees,
 123' That he no longer brought the attractiveness of the young, growing up sisters to maturity,
 124' The faithful shepherd utters a silence-imposing lament concerning himself:
 125' "(For) me who has experienced, who has experienced fear,
 126' . . .²¹⁴
 127' *Reveal* . . . abundance to the Anuna,
 128' . . .²¹⁵
 129' I [am] . . . , anything that could have been a portent favourable to me was . . . as? the netherworld and heaven.
 130' [...] *obtained* [...] ?/!
 [Approximately 6 lines not preserved]
- 131' [...]
 132' [...] . . . they/[these] people [...] a guard.
 133' [...] . . . these people were not [*able*? *to*] *sile[nce*? ...].
 134' [...] and a d a b-instruments, *my* . . . flutes and z a m z a m-instruments were [...] tears.
 135' The [...] were propped *against*? the wall . . . [...].
 136' Over the fact that [...] whose . . . he had not exhausted,
 137' That one made him *squat* [...].
 138' That [...] he had not exhausted,
 139' That [...] he had fallen,
 140' [...] . . .
 141' The young woman, Inana, the lady (who was) in battle, . . . [...].
 142' Enlil sent a message *to*? all the big mountain ranges.
 143' Having set her²¹⁶ gaze from there,²¹⁷
 144' (")One made the faithful shepherd leave the Eana, I? have not seen him (since)(").²¹⁸
 145' She . . . *at*? Enlil's fierce forehead.
 146' She *gravely* insulted An, the lord of the gods:
 147' "What king An has uttered, what he has uttered, *should*? *not be changed*!
 148' Urnamma . . . [...]
 149' Where daylight breaks *for* the gods *its* [...] does not exist (any more).
 150' The precious ḡ i p a r, the sanctuary Eana [...] *has been uprooted*.
 151' . . . he did not let me enter."

214 Corrupt text?

215 Corrupt text?

216 i.e. Inana.

217 "There" refers to all the big mountain ranges (in line 142') where Inana received the news.

218 Maybe direct speech of Enlil, or the content of his sent message.

1.4 Philological Commentary

1 Compare the same imagery in Curse of Agade 149 and Attinger's commentary on *kalam teš₂-a ġar* "to place evenly on the land" in *RA* 78 (1984) 115 ad 149. Instead of *ġar*, restore perhaps *ri* (/r a) and compare Ur Lament 388 *E* (/ x) *u₄-NE u₄-de₃ kalam teš₂-a mi* (/ i) - *ni-i b* (₂) *ri* (/ r a) "... the storm raged over the whole land" (also Lugale 490). Perhaps the agent(s) of lines 1ff. is the storm (cf. Sumer and Ur Lament 2), or the evil in lines 6f. (cf. also the commentary ad 6-7 below).

5 Restore at the beginning perhaps [*ki*] or [*edi n*]. According to Wilcke, *UT* 85 there is not enough space for a restoration [*kalam*] (cf. Sulgi Pa 12). For *ni ġ₂-da ġal-ba* denoting geographical and cosmological terms, cf. Klein, *TAPS* 71/7 (1981) 38 ad 12.

For the reading *iri/eri/ere* "city" for *URU*, cf. Edzard, *Studies Civil = AulOr.* 9 (1991) 77ff., with reservation W.G. Lambert, *AulOr.* 10 (1992) 257 (also / *uru* /), and Sassmannshausen, *BaM* 26 (1995) 97, fn. 84 (/ *iri* / not assured). Compare also the commentary to Susa's *eri/e* in line 43 as reinterpretation of *eren₂* "troops" in source A.

6-7 The translation "it made the faithful shepherd (Urnamma) leave it" is preferred over "it did not let the faithful shepherd (Urnamma) escape" in view of Nippur Lament 77, 111, and 114 (cited in IV 3.3, p. 88) and the general theme in lamentation literature of the gods abandoning their cities and retreating to the steppe (cf. also *ibid.*, p. 91), with which Urnamma leaving his city and setting up his dwelling in Arali can be compared.

There is no substantial evidence that *hul-ġal₂* "evil" in line 6 is a metaphor for the Gutis and that Urnamma was killed in military action against them, as Wilcke surmises in *UT* 85 and *CRRAI* 19 (1970) 84 (cf. also I 1., p. 7 and IV 3.3, p. 87).

8-9 *eni m ku₃ (- ġ a)* "precious pronouncement" and *nam (-) tar (- r a)* "decreed fate" allude to Urnamma's destiny.

For *ša₃ us an x* (AN. US AN) "evening midst", i.e. "midst of the evening" (if the reading is correct!), cf. Nungal 3, Temple Hymns 93, and Iddin-dagān D 35 (= Gurney, Kramer, *OECT* 5 [1976] 20, no. 8). But what exactly the expression means here, is unclear.

10-16 These lines describe the gods' reaction to the change of An and Enlil's decision. Whereas in the city laments the gods actively withdraw their divine support from a city following An and Enlil's decision and the abandonment by its city-god (references in Cooper, *Curse of Agade* 21f.; add perhaps Sulgi D 243-249), the gods in this passage passively retreat or moan in the face of calamity.

12 Cf. Cooper, *Curse of Agade* 253 ad 209 for other references of this topos.

13 The reading of the first half of the line as *e n i m* 「*k u*₃ ? !」 *a n - n a -* 「*k a* ?」 "An's precious pronouncement" (referring to line 8) is very uncertain.

14 - e₃ - e may stand here for { E₃ + e d }.

16 The absence of the ergative might be due to the preservation of rhythm (a ma d u m u n i š h u l (u) t i l a ' e (9) l a m a l u g (a) l a k u n i n s u m (u) n a). Other instances are lines 70-71 (broken), 74-75 (broken) 81-82, 85-86, 132-133 (broken), and 146-147 (cf. also the remarks in V 1.1, p. 94).

For the reading and etymology of the DN $\text{d n i n - s u m u n}_2 \text{ (- n ā - k)}$, cf. Cavigneaux, *RA* 87 (1993) 109f., and fns. 17f.; idem, Al-Rawi, *Iraq* 55 (1993) 93.

17 Despite the absence of the dative (or genitive) postposition after *ur-d na m ma*, and *mu ... -a-še₃* "because" in line 18 (instead of simply *-a-še₃* as in this line), *na m* probably means here "fate", and connotatively "essence", i.e. Urnamma's essence or being that has been "cut off" (in the Susa version "overturned").

20 For l i . b *ḥadû, rāšu* "to be happy" and *rīšātu, ḥidiātu* "happiness", cf. Krecher, *Kulturyik* 96 ad I 20-21, S. Cohen, *ELA* 285 ad 478, Klein, *Studies Artzi* (1990) 128 ad 76, and Wu Yuhong, *N.A.B.U.* 1990/107. In view of the missing - b after l i b in the Susa version, the writing l i b is probably due to a re-interpretation under dictation of l i - b i i b₂ - and due to the context u₃ k u - k u . The exact meaning of l i b (cf. Ludwig, *Išme-Dagan* 56, fn. 140 and 58f., fn. 149 "Traumbild, Illusion, Benommenheit, Phantasie o.ä", with literature) is not clear, but it might carry both a positive (especially Ur Lament 100) as well as a negative connotation (cf. perhaps i g i l i b *diliptu* "sleeplessness").

21 b a - a n - d a b₅ - b e₂ - N E - e š - a in the Susa version seems to be a hybrid form, 3rd person plural *h*. (- n - ... - e š) + *m*. (- n e).

22-23 In Babylonia the spring floods come too late in the growing season and have to be controlled, lest the crops be ruined.

24 g u b must be parallel to the Susa version's g u b - b u, as *g u b - b a (?) - n i does not seem to exist. The exact sense of t u r depends naturally on the broken 「x (-) n i」.

27 The reading *s u d* (in source *B s u d*₄) and the translation "splendid food has been withdrawn" is preferable over a non-standard reading *s u*₃ (source *B s u*₁₃) and the translation "splendid grass has been submerged", as in line 23 source A has *s u* "to be inundated" and in this line *S U D* is written. The author plays here with different expressions, as *u*₂ *n i r - ġ a l*₂ rhymes with *u*₂ *a - n i r* "mourning grass" of the following line.

28 For the restoration $u_2 \text{ s } [a_6? - g a] \text{ "ff[ine?] grass"}$, cf. the Susa version and especially Curse of Agade 268 (II 277).

33-34 For the reading *k a m u d - ġ a l*₂ which means something like "advocate" (especially Sulgi X 51 in connection with the *u n k e n* "assembly"), cf. Michalowski, *Sachs Memorial Vol.* (1988) 272 ad 3.

The epithet *m-e-t-e-u-n-k-e-n-na* "the adornment of the assembly" (if correctly restored) appears e.g. in *Two Elegies* 7 (said of *I-d-n-a-n-n-a-a*) and in

Iddindagān A (= Inana and Iddindagān) 218 with the variant *m e - t e e d i n - n a* "the adornment of the steppe" (said of Inana).

For this line as an indication of the political structure of the Ur III state under Urnamma and his successors, in which the king takes actively part in the *u n k e n* "assembly", cf. Wilcke, *CRAI* 19 (1974) 182f.

35 The structure of this and the following lines with initial epithets followed by repetitive *i n - n u₂ d u r₁₁ - r a - a m₃* "he lies suffering" recalls Two Elegies 3-9 where the same device is employed with repetitive *d u r₁₁ - r a g a b a b a (- a n) - r i* "he faced illness".

37 For *ĝ i r i₃ d i b₂* which could mean "to tread with the feet, to pass", compare *ĝ i r i₃ d i b* which has been analysed by v. Dijk, *JCS* 19 (1965) 24 ad 225.

39 Wilcke, *UT* 64 reads *d i m g a l* "great mast", but references in Ludwig, *Išme-Dagan* 120-22 ("(Halte)pflöck"), Römer, *AOAT* 232 (1993) 390 and George, *OLA* 40 (1992) 244f. ("pole by which it [i.e. the boat] is moored") and 266f. ("bond"), are mostly to temples and cities. Read therefore perhaps *U L₄ - g a l*, lexically equated with *šarĥu*, *šitrāĥu* "proud, magnificent" in *CAD* Š/2 61 s.v. *šarĥu* and *AHW* 1252 s.v. *šitrāĥu*. The term appears in personal names of the type *d D N - / a m a - / a - / l u g a l -*, etc. - *U L₄ / Ĝ I R₂ - g a l* from ED times onwards, cf. Biggs, *OIP* 99 (1974) 69f. ad 8, Di Vito, *StPohl SM* 16 (1993) 23, 25, 29, 33, 41, 63, 302, and fn. 10, and Selz, *FAOS* 15/2 (1993) 290. It is probably to be connected with *ĝ e š U L₄ - g a l*, a type of tree, cf. Klein, *Studies Sjöberg* (1989) 292, fn. 23 (also in line 218? Cf. p. 139, fn. 152).

39-40 A causative, reflexive translation is given here in view of the difficult ergative (despite the absence of e.g. *n i₂ - t e - a - n i*).

e₂ - s u m u r - r a and *e₂ - z u₂ - r a - a ĥ* (note the assonance) may be rooms in the palace complex (line 42) where the residents were brought to die or to be laid out (in state). In connection with the latter name note perhaps also *ĝ e š z u₂ - r a - a ĥ kalbānātu* and *mekû*, a siege instrument, discussed in Steinkeller, *N.A.B.U.* 1987/27.

42-43 *s a ĝ (-) k u₃ (-) ĝ a l₂ šarĥu* "proud, noble", normally a divine epithet, is discussed in Wiggermann, *ZA* 78 (1988) 226, and fn. 3. The epithet occurs perhaps also in Uruk Lament 2.13', said of the city, and perhaps as a non-standard spelling in Luzag. 1, 3:35-36 *s i p a s a ĝ (-) g u₄ (-) ĝ a l₂ l d a - r i₂ ĥ e₂ - m e* "May I (= Lugalzagesi) always be a *noble* shepherd!". *s a ĝ (-) g u₂ (-) ĝ a l₂* in the Susa version is either another writing of *s a ĝ (-) k u₃ (-) ĝ a l₂*, or a synonym of *s a ĝ (-) g u₂ (-) t u k u*, also lexically equated with *šarĥu* "proud" (cf. *CAD* Š/2 61 s.v. *šarĥu* and *AHW* 1186 s.v. *šarĥu*).

Compare the two lines with the refrain in Death of Gilgameš A 62ff. (partially restored) (...) *b a - n u₂ u r₅ n u - m u - e - d a - a n - z i - z i* "(...) lay down, was not able to raise himself any more", the *incipit* of the Meturan version of the composition *a m g a l - e b a - n u₂ u r₅ n u - m u - u n - d a - a n - z i - z i* "The great bull lay down, was not able to raise itself any more" (cf. Cavigneaux, Al-Rawi, *Iraq* 55 [1993] 93), and M. Cohen, *Eršemma* no. 60, p.

91:16 || 17 a m - e a - g i n₇ n u₂ - d e₃ - e n "How you, the bull, lie down", referring to Dumuzi. A reading g u₂ n u - m u - u n - d a - z i - z i[!] instead of - z i - g e in line 43, source A, is excluded after collation.

An alternative reading and translation of l u₂ e r e n₂ - e k i - a ĝ₂ - ĝ a₂ "the beloved of troops" is l u₂ e r e n₂ - e k i - a ĝ₂ - ĝ e₂₆ "who loves the troops". Susa's e r i / e "cities" is a reinterpretation under dictation of e r e n₂ "troops" (cf. also II 3.2, p. 26) and bolsters the reading e r i / i r i for U R U (cf. the commentary ad 5).

44 ĝ e š - l a₂ - b i D U "to settle in (said of) deathly silence" has been studied by Heimpel in *JCS* 33 (1981) 117 ad 176; - b i belongs to the expression and might be in all cases a possessive pronoun 3rd person impersonal in an objective sense, referring in general to the situation or matter. Besides ĝ e š - l a₂ *qultu* "silence" (so in Enl.sudr. 64, Ur Lament 102 and Nanše Hymn 176) there are references of ĝ e š - l a₂ in a military connection (cf. Römer, *BiOr.* 45 [1988] 38f.).

45 - C a = C a m (also in lines 210 and 215).

For t e š₂ k a l ā m - m a "the land's vigour" as a royal epithet, cf. Loding, *AOAT* 203 (1979) 36. For the image underlining g u l "to cut away" here, cf. Curse of Agade 109-110 where mountains are said to be either mined (b a - a l) or cut up (k u d).

46 For s u₃ . g u r r ū "to cut clear, to strip" in tree imagery, cf. Wilcke, *Lugalbandaepos* 168ff. ad 124. The "grove of ĥ a š u r-trees" could be an allusion to the ĥ a š u r-Mountain (with a possible pun on s u d "to withdraw, to absent oneself") where access to the netherworld was thought to be. This is where Utu, the sun-god and great judge, rises, cf. Enki and the World Order 374 (Benito, *ENEWO* 107, line 373) (said of Utu) u r - s a ĝ g u d ĥ a - š u - u r₂ - t a e₃ - a g u₃ ĥ u š d e₂ - d e₂ (- a) "Warrior, bull who appears from the ĥ a š u r-trees, who roars frightfully". Compare also the commentary ad 58 and 211 for the k i d u t u / u₄ e₃ (- a).

With the Susa variants, compare Curse of Agade 122 ĝ e š - K A₂ - n a - b i b a - r a - a n - s i - i g t e š₂ k a l a m - m a b a - k u r₂ "He (= Narāmsu'en) tore out its (= the Ekur's) door frames, the land's vigour was altered" (cf. also IV 3.3, p. 89f.).

46a This Susa line seems to correspond roughly to line 72 of source A (omitted in the Susa version of that line). As the end of the second sign in source A of line 72 does not fit e r e n and the narrative sequence in the Susa version would be strange, line 46a may be only contaminated by line 72, and rather a variant of line 48 (cf. ĝ e š e r e n and b a l a), omitted in the Susa version. Perhaps the line involves an allusion to the crossing through of the cedar forest in Gilgameš and Ĥuwawa.

47 The felling of a building like a tree is nicely illustrated in Curse of Agade 112-117.

The alternation G I N₂ / A G A (Susa) argues for a reading / a g a /, not / g i ĝ / (for G I N₂ = g i ĝ₄ "axe", cf. Krecher, *Studies Matouš* II 38). But

/ a g a / does not normally denominate an "axe" (cf. also Waetzoldt, *OA* 29 [1990] 24f. and Attinger, *Eléments* 518, § 440).

Note the *hamtu* - *marû* sequence in lines 47-48. Subject is probably the enemy (cf. also I 1., p. 7, fn. 62f.).

48 References for (ġ e š) e r e n d u r u₅ "sappy cedar tree" (|| (ġ e š) ħ a - š u - u r₂) are Gudea, Cyl. A 22:3; Sulgi P a 5; Sulgi D 35; cult song of Damu *TCL* 15 8 // (= Römer, *BiOr.* 49 [1992] 647f.) B 29 (|| C 10'), A 140; Incantation to Utu 18-19, and similarly in NBC 7915 (= Kutscher, *AOAT* 25 [1976] 307) obv. 10.

The restoration in source B is my guess (cf. line 42), but is probably more likely than Kramer's: "(...) e₂ - g a l - [a - n a k i] - n u₂ - a (...)" in *Studies Mikasa* 200:48, in view of the space.

- b - in source A, instead of - n - in source B, referring to Urnamma, is a result of contamination by the syntagm in - g i n₇.

50 s e s "brother" is used here perhaps for "sweetheart, darling", as it can be in love poetry, cf. Alster, *ASJ* 14 (1992) 29 ad 133, and idem, *Studies Hallo* (1993) 17, and fns. 16ff.

51 The content is comparable with Sumer and Ur Lament 173-174 in which the "day" u₄ (i.e. of her death) has "reached" (s a₂ d u₁₁ . g) the goddess Ba'u, and with Death of Gilgameš A 40 in which the "dark day" (u₄ k u k k u₂ . g) has "reached" (s a₂ d u₁₁ . g) Gilgameš (cf. Klein, *ASJ* 12 [1990] 64, fn. 15).

Susa's s a₂ m i - r i - i b₂ - d u "it has reached you" may be contaminated by Death of Gilgameš A 40 (s a₂ m i - r i - i b - d u₁₁). The locative (u₄ ...-a) seems to be an inexplicable reinterpretation.

a l a n lānu "figure, appearance" in the Susa version is a semantically conditioned non-standard spelling based on phonetic affinity with a - l a - n a in sources A and B (cf. also II 3.2, p. 26).

52-53 Sacrifices and gifts are not acceptable to the gods because the divination (š u g i d₂) is tainted (cf. g i g) and Urnamma's fatal fate has already been decided. For a possible allusion to Narāmsu'en's futile attempt to change Enlil's words by extispicy in Curse of Agade 94-101, cf. IV 3.3, p. 90.

For K A (e n i m) g e₄ "to reject" which normally takes the locative postposition, cf. e.g. Behrens, Steible, *FAOS* 6 (1983) 176 with previous literature, Farber, *Babybeschwörungen* 99f., and Steible, *FAOS* 9/2 (1991) 6, 7 and 8.

In the verbal chain of the Susa version in line 53 - e equals - e š, or is a collective construction whereby an animate noun in the plural is taken up by a plural affix in the verbal chain (cf. Attinger, *Eléments* 161ff., § 102ff., no. 7). Other examples of final consonant dropping in the Susa version are lines 57-58 (cf. also V 1.3 ad I c.), p. 148).

54 The first part of the sentence might be an allusion to m u š₂ /₃ - a m₃ d u₁₁ . g "to utter *aḫulap*", associated with An in Ur Lament 381 and Inninšagura 258.

55 Compare u r₅ z i - z i . g "to raise oneself" perhaps with the lines in Death of Gilgameš given in the commentary above, ad 42-43.

57 The opposite term $lu_2 - zu (-u_3) - ne$ "acquaintances" is found in Nungal 54, Curse of Agade 215, and Lugalbanda I 33-34 $lu_2 (-) ulu_3$ $z u^1 - ne na - an - ni - pa_3 - de_3$ $ses DIŠ ses - a - ne ġišk im na - a [n] - ġa_2 - ġa_2$ (cf. Attinger, *Eléments* 549, § 493) "The acquaintances cannot find themselves at all there, a brother cannot recognize his brother!".

58 $a - g i n_7$ is translated here "thus" to avoid the syntactical problem of having otherwise two similes in the same line in source A, namely $a - g i n_7$ "like water" and $d u g g a z - g i n_7$ "like a broken jar". But $a - g i n_7$ here is certainly also a play on the common topos $a - g i n_7 k i - l u l - l a$ (references in *PSD* A/1 2 s.v. a A 1.2).

Incantation to Utu 117-119 seems to suggest that $k i - l u l - l a$ "Place of Treachery" could be the dwelling place of a $g e d i m$ "spirit" (of a dead person) associated with evil (also Incantation to Utu 161) and whose case has not yet been decided by Utu, for which see also Sinšamuḥ to Enki (= Hallo, *JAOS* 88 [1968] 85) iii 11-15. No food and water libations and no name invocation (Incantation to Utu passim) takes place. Instead there is "muddy water" $a l u_3 - a$ (Gilgameš and the Netherworld, Ur version, rev. 11) to drink and "bitter dust" $s a ḥ a r ses$ to eat (Nanše Hymn 221 || Lugalbanda I 165 [cf. Wilcke, *Lugalbandaepos* 79:162]; cf. also line 69 of our composition). Ninurta and the Turtle 37-38 (cf. Alster, *JCS* 24 [1972] 120-25; Kramer, *AulOr.* 2 [1984] 231-37) associate the $k i - l u l - l a$ near the "Abzu Gate" where Enki punishes Ninurta. Temple entryways were known to be places where fates were determined ($k i n a m t a r - r a (/ - r e)$, cf. Urnamma EF 21-22 (said of the $d u b - l a_2 - m a ḥ$ of the Ekišnuḡal complex from which one had access to the ziggurat), and also Green, *JCS* 30 (1978) 148 ad 2.16 with other references. Such a place was also the $k i d u t u / u_4 e_3 (- a)$ "place where the sun rises/the daylight breaks", at the entry to the netherworld, for which see the commentary below ad 211 and Urnamma EF 10. Once judged the $g e d i m$ is received by the door-keeper of the netherworld (Incantation to Utu 237-241).

59 *IM . UD sir₂ - da* "cumulated clouds" is also attested in Curse of Agade 175 and might be a variant for $d u n g u s i r_2 - da / r a$ "heavy/cumulated cloud(s)".

$i m - š e ġ_3 - ġe_2$ "it precipitates" in the Susa version is a reinterpretation based on phonetic affinity with $i m - š i - ġe n$ "it went there" of source A, or a semantically conditioned non-standard spelling, probably attracted by *IM . UD sir₂ - da* (cf. also II 3.2, p. 26).

60 Wilcke's interpretation of the signs $- a ni ġ_2 š a_3 - ge$ as a $n i n d a ? š a_3 - ge$ "water and bread for the heart/inside" is also possible, for $š u g i d_2$ "to reach out" in association with food is not rare (e.g. Enki and Ninmaḥ 97); $š a_3 - ge$, however, is difficult.

62 In Izi C iii 10-15 (*MSL* 13 [1971] 177f.:10-15) $k i (-) s a ġ - k i$ and its synonymes (?) $k i - g u l - l a$ and $k i - s a ġ - ġ a l_2 - l a$ (cf. Ur Lament 236 and Nippur Lament 209) are associated with tears (Izi C iii 14) and trouble (?) (Izi C iii 13: *samû*, differently Tinney, *Nippur Lament* 165 ad 209), but also with rites (Izi C iii 12: *sakkû*). In view of the equation $s a ġ - k i = s a k k û$, the syntagm $k i (-)$

s a ḡ - k i is probably k i + s a ḡ - k i ("forehead"?). Maybe k i (-) s a ḡ - k i which is also attested in Lugalbanda I 153 (cf. Wilcke, *Lugalbandaepos* 79:150 with a corrected reading k i (-) - s a ḡ - k i - k a in *UT* 110) and possibly in Incantation to Utu 241 (?) is the place where the g e d i m are gathered after entering the netherworld (cf. *PSD* A/1 138 s.v. a-ra-li 7. "gathering place", perhaps with the lexical text Sag B [*MSL* SS 1 29] 38 s a ḡ - k i = *pu-uh₂-rum* in mind).

64-75 The exact sense of this passage is elusive. According to Kramer, *Studies Mikasa* 195, this passage describes how Urnamma (as a g e d i m ?) embarks on a hazardous boat journey to the netherworld followed by his journey on a chariot in lines 70-75 until he reaches the gates through which he is admitted into Arali, the abode of the dead. But we only have texts describing boat trips to the netherworld by gods (cf. Kuwabara, *The Netherworld in Sumeru-Akkadian Literature*, Ph.D. Thesis Univ. of California, Berkeley [1991] 116f.; for the netherworld journeys in general, cf. now Selz, *AOF* 22 [1995] 205ff. with previous literature). Another difficulty with this interpretation is the notion that Urnamma's ship should sink on its trip to Arali. But on the other hand waters that lead to the netherworld are known to be both torrential and destructive (e.g. Cohen, *Eršemma* no. 97, p. 80:114 || 115). Still, it is more likely that lines 65-69 are a retrospective of Urnamma and his destiny which is perhaps put in the mouth of the soldiers. Understood in this way, Urnamma is thus metaphorically likened to a boat in a storm (cf. lines 182 and 215, Lugalnisaḡ to a King 1 [= Ali, *Letters* 86, no. 7] 11, Kramer, *Studies Kraus* [1982] 139:25, and K. 890 in Strong, *BA* 2 [1894] 634 [= Wilcke, *UT* 51f.]), with the subsequent burial scene in lines 70-71 (also Civil, *AulOr.* 1 [1983] 51f.). The burial scene can be compared with Death of Gilgameš B 1-7 where Gilgameš' family and retinue lie with him in the tomb (?) (cf. also Cavigneaux, Al-Rawi, *Iraq* 55 [1993] 93). Also, we have textual and archaeological evidence of ED burials from several sites in which equids or bovids and remains of chariots were discovered (cf. McGinnis, *SAA I/1* [1987] 10, and fns. 41-44 with literature). Another, but less likely possibility, is to read with Wilcke, *UT* 65 in lines 70-71 instead of a n š e k i t u m ₂, ḡ i r i ₃ k i g u b "to set the foot on the ground", thus marking the point of departure to the netherworld. The corresponding line from Susa (with the final verbal root u s ₂) which could in fact substantiate this interpretation of the signs is too damaged for comparison. As to exactly where the kings of Ur III were buried, Moorey in *Iraq* 46 (1984) 1-18 argued that they must have been buried in their palace (cf. also Sallaberger, *Kalender* vol. I 63, fn. 273, and 147, fn. 698), as is known for later times (cf. also McGinnis, *SAA I/1* [1987] 8, and fns. 8-14 with literature).

64-65 i r ₂ u s ₂ is a hapax with a literal meaning "to let tears draw near, to let tears touch something", i.e. "to shed tears (?)", cf. perhaps *AHw* 967 s.v. *redû* Š 4. said of liquids, and D 8. said of tears.

The sinking of a ship from Dilmun (in the reed marshes) might have in later texts proverbial character, cf. Krecher, *Kultlyrik* 217 ad VIII 48*-49*. A reference to Dilmun (Bahrein) as a possible burial place is unlikely, cf. Michalowski's justified

caution for interpreting Dilmun as a burial place, in Weiss (ed.), *The Origins of Cities in Dry-Farming Syria and Mesopotamia* (1986) 133f.

For *kur ki nu-zu* "(foreign) land, an unknown place", cf. also Sulgi E 214 in which Sulgi's troops "like a single person (?) in a (foreign) land unknown to him/them, [...]". Instead of *kur*, the *edin* "steppe" is *ki nu-zu* "an unknown place" in Lugalbanda I 166 *ĝešRU-gin₇ edin ki nu-zu-ĝa₂ nam-ba-e(-de₃)-šub-bu-de₃(-en)* (cf. Wilcke, *Lugalbanda-epos* 79:163) "I do not want to be thrown (away) like a stick in the steppe unknown to me"; Ur Lament 285 *sul-ĝu₁₀ edin ki nu-zu-na^tu₂mu(-un)-sir₂ ħa-ba-an-AK/DU* "My young man has verily donned mourning garb in the steppe unknown to him"; Sumer and Ur Lament 332 *ab₂ u₂munzer-e edin ki nu-zu-bi ĝiri₃ kur₂ ba-ra-andab₅-be₂-eš* "The liquorice-fed cows took an unfamiliar trail, in a steppe unknown to them". *kur* in our line may allude to the netherworld.

66-69 References to boat accessories are found in Römer, *AOAT* 232 (1993) 390ff.

68 Susa's *ĝešsaĝ-ĝu₁₀* may be a phonetic non-standard spelling of *ĝešsaĝ-kul* "bolt".

70-71 In view of the ending *-ru-ne* in Susa, *dur₂-ru* represents /*du ru(n)*/ with dropping of final /*n*/ (e.g. Ur Lament 362).

72 Compare line 46a (Susa) and also IV 3.3, p. 89f.

74-75 The restoration at the beginning is uncertain. Wilcke, *UT* 65 restores *lugal-[e]*, thus having the king covering the chariot but *ĝešgigir-ra(-na/n_i)* or *ĝešgigir-(r)e* is expected. For *ĝešgigir šu₂* "to cover the chariot" and its implications (i.e. unfit for service), cf. Cooper, *Curse of Agade* 244 ad 89. Maybe there is also a pun here on *šu₂ rabû* "to set, to go down" (said of the sun/day; cf. also *du₂-šu₂-a* as a possible entrance to the netherworld).

76 According to Inana's Descent 78 (et passim) and Incantation to Utu 239f. *dbi₂-ti* is "the chief porter of the netherworld" (*i₃-du₈ gal kur-ra*) who is in charge of the "seven gates of the netherworld" (*abulla kur-ra inim-bi*) (Inana's Descent 119 et passim). This line seems to be a contamination of that version, or another tradition.

77-78 Farber-Flügge, *StPohl* 10 (1973) 104 gives references for similar enumerations of priests who are generally chosen by exta for different functions (add also Puzursulgi to Ibbīsu'en [cf. Wilcke, *ZA* 60 59, and fn. 16] 21-22). Note especially the more elaborate list of dead priests and priestesses in Death of Gilgameš B 23-25, preceded by that of the deities that receive offerings from Gilgameš. The *e n*-priest is missing in our text (maybe because Urnamma himself was next to being *lugal* "king" also an *e n*-priest).

For the possibility that *NIN* is to be read /*eriš*/ in *NIN-diĝir* "*NIN di ĝi r/entu*-priestess", cf. Fleming, *HSS* 42 (1992) 80f. with previous literature, and Sjöberg, *ZA* 83 (1993) 16.

References for *maš₂-a/e dab₅* "to choose by extispicy" (instead of the more common *maš₂-e pa₃. d*) are Hendersaĝa Hymn 75, Incantation to Utu

46, and an anonymous year name formula (D-60) in Gelb, Kienast, *FAOS* 7 (1990) 60.

81-82 The absence of a postposition after a PN as here in *l u g a l - x l l u r - d n a m m a* and elsewhere is frequent in this composition for reasons of rhythm, cf. the commentary above ad 16.

84 This line probably introduces the following lines: Urnamma knows what sacrifices to perform (summarised in lines 132-133) and what presents to hand out to the netherworld deities. It is less likely that the line goes with the preceding line, suggesting that Urnamma knew how disgusting the food was in the netherworld and therefore offered a banquet.

85-86 After the presentation of food offerings and animal sacrifices to the gods of the netherworld in general (lines 85-87, probably summarised again in lines 128a-131a), Urnamma hands out to each one of the gods presents specifically associated with that particular deity (88-128). The list has been compared by Wilcke in *CRRAI* 17 (1970) 82f. fn. 5 with the similar enumeration of gods which receive offerings from Gilgameš in *Death of Gilgameš* B 9-22. Note also that some items Urnamma presents to the particular deities match those worn by Inana in *Inana's Descent* 17-25 and passim, and which are subsequently removed by her before entering the netherworld (also Katz, *ZA* 85 [1995] 223). Other allusions to Inana's Descent are found in lines 97 and 151-152 (cf. also the commentary to these lines), which make it likely that the author of Urnamma A knew of the composition *Inana's Descent*.

87 For *e n - n a* "as many as", cf. Attinger, *Eléments* 305, § 199 b).

88 Waetzoldt, *OA* 29 (1990) 13 gives a translation "Messer oder Dolchmesser" for *ĝ i r i₂ - z u₂*.

Note *g a l a m* instead of expected *g a l a m - m a* (cf. e.g. *ĝ e š t u k u l g a l a m - m a* in *Angim* 150 and *t i g a l a m - m a* in *Sulgi* B 82).

a (= e₄) - m a - r u may be a semantically conditioned non-standard spelling for *e₂ - m a r - u r u₅* "quiver", but cf. II 3.2, p. 25, fn. 80 for the possibility that the term may itself mean "quiver".

89 In view of an absolute construction with *ĝ e š t a g* "to sacrifice, to offer as a sacrifice" in this and subsequent passages (except lines 110 and 124), *- b a* should perhaps literally be understood as "of those that are worn on the hip" (vs *k u š l u - u b₂ d a g - s i* *A K - a* in line 92).

For *k u š l u - u b₂ luppu* "leather-bag" as container of basic provisions and as standard equipment of soldiers (also in line 92), cf. Civil, *AOAT* 25 (1976) 91 and fn. 32.

90 *d n e₃ - e r i₁₁ - g a l* is a conventional reading. For the problems involved, cf. W.G. Lambert, *ZA* 80 (1990) 40-52, Steinkeller, *ZA* 77 (1987) 161-68 and *ZA* 80 (1990) 53-59, and Conti *M.A.R.I.* 7 (1993) 346f.

92 The meaning "spear" for *ĝ e š g i d₂ - d a* (with Bauer in *AfO* 36/37 [1989/90] 90 vs *ĝ e š - g i d₂ - d a*; cf. *u r u d a g i d₂ - d a* in Foster, *Umma* 38 ad 4.) is disputed. Civil in *RA* 81 (1987) 187f. gives the meaning "lance" (equated

with Akk. *maraddu*). For a most recent discussion without definite conclusions, cf. Römer, *Afo* 40/41 (1993/94) 24-28.

For *d a g - s i dakšiu* "saddle(-hook)" as part of a donkey's harness for transportation of leather-bags, cf. Civil, *Studies Reiner* (1987) 47.

With *i - m i - t u m* (CAD I/J 126 s.v. *imittu* E; a weapon that might have been hung from the shoulder) compare perhaps the entry *ṽ⁷mi-it-tum* in the section concerned with lances, from a lexical list found at Emar (cf. Arnaud, *Emar* 6/2 540 and *Emar* 6/2 730) mentioned by Civil in *RA* 81 (1987) 187ff.

p i r i ḡ a n - n a "celestial lion" is either part of the *i m i t u m*-weapon (e.g. Gudea, Cyl. B 13:23 *m i - t u m t u k u l Z A . N I M s a ḡ p i r i ḡ* where a weapon has a lion-headed . . .) or perhaps an epithet. It is also an epithet of Iškur (Sjöberg, *Mondgott* 42, fn. 5) and Inana (Isin *30 3, Ninegala 2, cf. Bruschweiler, *Inanna* 106). For *a n - n a* "celestial", cf. also Angim 131 and 140.

93 For a discussion of *k u ṣ E . I B₂ . U R₃* "shield", cf. Eichler, *JAOS* 103 (1983) 99 and 100, fn. 36 who argues for a translation "siege-shield". Civil in *AulOr.* 5 (1987) 22, fn. 12 reads *k u ṣ e I B₂ u r₃* because of the occurrence of *e - u r₃* (cf. also Selz, *FAOS* 15/1 [1989] 508 ad 1:2 and Bauer, *Afo* 36/37 [1989/90] 90 "eine alte, defektive syllabische Schreibung, die später durch das Silbenzeichen *i b₂* verdeutlicht wurde"). For references, cf. also Römer, *Afo* 40/41 (1993/94) 33-35 and 37, fn. 130.

For *a₂ n a m - u r - s a ḡ - ḡ a₂* "valorous arm" (references in *PSD* A/2 87-89 s.v. *a₂ nam-ur-saḡ-ḡa₂*), cf. Cooper's commentary in *AnOr* 52 (1978) 116f. ad 90f.

97 *ḡ e ṣ - k e ṣ₂ - d a* is otherwise known as "dam" (Bauer, *WO* 7 [1973-74] 9 "Staubecken") and appears exclusively in context with canals. One expects some kind of jar, or it may determine the *ṣ a ḡ a n*-bowl. *b u r - ṣ a ḡ a n* "ṣ a ḡ a n-bowl" is probably an allusion to the well known topos in Inana's Descent 230-233 ll (note also Ereškigal's title "mother of Ninazu" *a m a d n i n - a - z u* in line 100 below). The oil is used for anointing the body after a cleaning ritual and before putting on the garment mentioned in the following line.

Susa's *b a - S A R - a* may represent *b a - n i s s a - a* which may have resulted from hearing *b a - n i - i n - d e₂ - a* of source A as /*b a n i d a (' a)*/ (spirantisation of the /*d*/ between two vowels).

98 For the reading /*z / s u l u (m) ḡ u / i /* for *S I G₂ . S U D (/ B U)* "long-fleeced", cf. CAD S 371 s.v. *sulumḡu*, lex. sect. and CAD I/J 299 s.v. *itqu*, lex. sect. (also Steinkeller, *BSA* 8 [1995] 52/66, fns. 55 and 58 reads *s u l u ḡ u*). This type of garment is part of the regalia of kings, e.g. Sulgi X 60.

The objects that Ereškigal receives are items that occur in parallel texts to customary ablutions and toilet, for which see Gurney and Kramer, *OECT* 5 (1976) 42f. Add to these references Uruamairabi 19:64-72, said of Inana before going to Dumuzi, and cult song of Damu *TCL* 15 8 ll (= Römer, *BiOr.* 49 [1992] 645) A 88-91. These texts involve people a.) descending to the netherworld, b.) wandering into the *e d i n* "steppe" and c.) getting ready to receive their lover as in Dumuzi-Inana C 3-7, Dumuzi-Inana C₁ obv. ii 13-19, Iddindagān A 180-184, and Dumuzi-

Inana P obv. i 27-30. Freshly washed and robed people descending to the nether-world are thus visibly contrasted to the dead spirits.

99 Susa's NIĜ₂.ŠU(.)PI is obscure. PI may be tal₂ "broad", conditioned by dlla of source A, or, less likely, a phonetic writing of dlla (tal₂-la expected). Another reading is ġeštug, referring to a piece of jewelry ("earring"). NIĜ₂.ŠU is difficult. Neither niġ₂-šu "goods", nor niġ₂-šuk "chariot" are satisfactory meanings in this context.

102 For the udu A.LUM (aslum_x), a "long-fleeced sheep" (udu / sulum) ħu/i_x breed, cf. Steinkeller, *BSA* 8 (1995) 52.

103 ġeš-nu₁₁ "light" (?) in the Susa version may be a reinterpretation based on phonetic affinity with ġidri/ū "sceptre" (cf. also II 3.2, p. 26).

110 In view of the Susa variant dub-šen "treasure chest" (cf. Michalowski, *Lamentation* 103 ad 442 with references), DUB must be a similar object which was fitted with a handle. Compare perhaps Steinkeller's comment on dub in *OA* 23 (1984) 41 "dub could conceivably mean box or cabinet. This hypothetical sense of dub is possibly preserved in the logogram DUB.NAGAR, standing for tībira, a craftsman working in metal and wood (thus "cabinet-maker"?). A reading kišib "seal" (cf. Kramer, *Studies Mikasa* [1991] 204) for DUB is unlikely in view of the following šuza-gin₃ and of ⁿa₄kišib za-gin₃ in line 120. The easy solution of simply reading dub<-šen> in source A cannot be entirely excluded.

An alternative reading nam-irigal cannot be dismissed but the meaning "function/state of the tomb" does not seem to make sense here. Compare also the structurally identical line 124: both take the locative-terminative postposition with ġeštāg "to sacrifice, to offer as a sacrifice" that is otherwise constructed with the absolute postposition in the preceding and following lines. For niġ₂-nam = *mimma šumšu* in this context, cf. McGinnis, *SAA I/I* (1987) 2 (= K. 7856 + K. 6323) i 13f. u₂-nu-ut KU₃.SIG₁₇ KU₃.BABBAR | *mim-ma tar-si-it* KI.MAH "utensils of gold and silver, all furnishings for the tomb".

111 For ġeškirid "hair clasp", cf. Michalowski, *Correspondence* 166 ad 4 and W. Farber, *Studies Reiner* (1987) 96-99 (*kirissu* "Gewandnadel" [?]).

115 The compound ANŠE.PIRIĜ is probably to be read anše_niskum and translated as "a choice quality (= thoroughbred) donkey" (cf. *CAD* N/2 272 s.v. *nisqu*, lex. sect.). It turns up as a variant in Sulgi B 22 and Curse of Agade 247 for syllabic anše_n-iskum. For a general discussion of the *nisku*-ass, cf. Cooper's commentary in *Curse of Agade* 255 ad 247.

116 Susa's gu₂nun (with gu₂ as non-standard spelling for gu₃) seems to be a reinterpretation of (ur₂)gunu₃-gunu₃ of source A (cf. also II 3.2, p. 26).

117 The reading of mu₆-sub₃ for PA.USAN "herdsman" is uncertain, cf. Bauer, *Afo* 36/37 (1989/90) 84 ad 53 v 2 and Gelb, Steinkeller, Whiting, *OIP* 104 (1991) 99 ad i 4, iii 1, v 11, and rev. ii 8.

For Ningēšzida's connection with shepherding, cf. W.G. Lambert, *Studies Moran* (1990) 296ff., especially 300.

120 The exact sense of *patarru* / b a - d a - r a is still in dispute, cf. Hallo, *JCS* 37 (1985) 124, Steinkeller, *JNES* 46 (1987) 58 and most recently Sjöberg, *ZA* 86 (1996) 225, and fn. 4. It is often preceded by $\hat{g} i r i_2$ and the lexical equations *quppû* and *šibārum* (in *AHW* translated as "spitzer Stift") make it likely that we are dealing with some sort of stiletto. Here it seems to denote a pin (a synonym to b u l g ?) by which the cylinder seal as part of a necklace or a bracelet was hung from. Hallo in *JCS* 37 (1985) 124 thinks that this passage may be "an instance of wearing one's seal suspended from one's dagger".

In the Susa version the reading m e in k u₃ m e - a "pure silver" is assured by source H of Creation of the Hoe 13 (= VS 10 207 i 11') [. . .] n i k u₃ m a K U₃ . S I G₁₇ - g a.

121 t u - d i - t u m (vars. t / d u - d i - d a) "toggle pin", used to secure garments, has been extensively discussed by H. Klein, *ZA* 73 (1983) 255-84, cf. also most recently Sjöberg, *ZA* 86 (1996) 224f.

122 Another possibility with Wilcke, *UT* 116 is to have Dimpimekug in the agentive and the dative infix in m u - n a - referring to Ningēšzida: "He gives to him so that Dimpimekug lets him stand at his (= Ningēšzida's) side". The Nippur versions (in contrast to Susa in line 122a) lack the repetitive syntagm "shepherd Urnamma offers as a sacrifice in her palace". In view of the $\hat{g} e \check{s}$ t a g in line 122a, a restoration [š u m₂] "to give" for Susa line 122 remains uncertain (compare lines 131-131a).

In source D d i m₃ - p i (- m e) - k u₃ . g (for this deity, cf. also H. Klein, *ZA* 73 [1983] 274, fn. 110 and Katz, *ZA* 85 [1995] 223, fn. 10 ["still enigmatic"]) is mentioned after Dumuzi and before Namtar and in Death of Gilgameš B 10-11 immediately after Namtar, and succeeded by d b i₂ - t i and Ningēšzida. Perhaps one may connect her name therefore with d G A N - d i m₃ (- m e) - k u₃ . g, a daughter of Namtar for which see Litke, *An-Anum* v 221 and also W.G. Lambert, *RIA* 4 (1972-75) 244 s.v. Hedimmeku. The Susa version places her after Ĝeštinana/Ninazimua, Ningēšzida's wife.

124 z a₃ (-) b a r - r a remains obscure. A connection with z a₃ - b a r "cuttings, chippings" (cf. Durand, *M.A.R.I.* 7 [1993] 378f. concerning *qirrêtum*) seems unlikely. Kramer takes z a₃ - b a r - r a as a syllabic writing for z a b a r "bronze".

For the alternative reading n i \hat{g}_2 n a m - d u b - s a r - r a - k e₄ and translation "which belongs to the scribal art", cf. the commentary ad 110.

125 e š₂ - g a n a₂ and g i (-) D I Š - n i n d a n are the classical instruments for field surveying, e.g. Dialogue 3 (= Römer, *UF* 20 [1988] 237) obv. ii 22 a - š a₃ s i - g e - d e₃ $\hat{g} e n - n a$ e š₂ - g a n a₂ g i (-) D I Š - n i n d a n n u - m u - d a - ḥ a - z a "Having gone to peg out the field, you will not be able to hold the surveying tape and measuring rod of one n i n d a n". In Inana's Descent 25 they are attributed to Inana, in Lipiteštar B 23 and Enki and the World Order 413-414 (Benito, *ENEO* 110, lines 412-413) to Nisaba.

126-127a According to Steible, *FAOS* 9/2 (1991) 73ff. the identification of Ĝeštinana with (Nin)azimua, which the Susa version makes, goes back to Gudea of

Lagaš. In the local pantheon of Lagaš of that time Ġeštinana appears as the wife of Ningēšzida (cf. Gudea 16:1-2; Stat. M 1:1-4 = N 1:1-4 = O 1: 1-4; Urba'u 1 6:5-6). W.G. Lambert, *Studies Moran* (1990) 298 speaks of Azimua as second name of Ningēšzida's wife Ġeštinana. For Ġeštinana's title "(chief) scribe (of Arali)" d u b - s a r (m a ḥ (a - r a - l i)), cf. the references given by Alster, *Dumuzi's Dream* 89 (add Cohen, *Studies Sjöberg* [1989] 80:9-10) and PSD A/1 137f. s.v. a-ra-li 5., and for the title "sister of the king" n i n , l u g a l - l a (in the Susa version), cf. IV 3.3, p. 86.

136 Note that Urnamma is treated here as inanimate or impersonal (m u - n i - i b - t u ṣ - u ₃ - n e) because he is dead. For the few other instances in which a dead person is treated as being inanimate or impersonal, cf. Attinger, *Eléments* 561, ex. 295, and Death of Gilgameš B 9ff.

139-140 For i n - n a with a non-nominalised verbal form, cf. Attinger, *Eléments* 304, and fn. 906.

144 For Susa's Š I (-) b a r - r e read either š i - b a r - r e or i g i b a r - r e.

Also possible is that e - n e - n e is an error for e - n e <<N E >>, in which case the same translation as for the Nippur version applies.

146-147 Susa's s i (-) g u ₇ - m u - stands for s i (non-standard spelling of s a ₂) i n - g a - m u - = /i n g u m u/, with Sandhi-writing /s i (n) g u m u/. Compare i n - g u ₂ - m u - ṣ u m ₂ - m [u - . . .] in Sulgi O 83.

148 The "(city-)wall of Ur" is mentioned in Urnamma's year name "11" and Urnamma 9, 2:3-4, and Urnamma C 92 may possibly refer to the same wall that fell into ruin (cf. also III 1., p. 36).

149 e ₂ - g a l - g i b i l is the name of Urnamma's palace (cf. Michalowski, *Lamentation* 81 ad 106).

150 The meaning of s a ḡ A K is obscure, cf. Attinger, *Eléments* 179, § 116a and 654, § 722, "parachever (?)".

r a in Susa's š u d u l ₃ r a "to put a protecting hand over somebody/something" is presumably a non-standard spelling for A K (= r a ₆).

151/3 For a - l a (- b i) g e ₄ ḥ i - l i (- b i) t i l, cf. especially Ninmešara 88 (said of a temple).

A variation of the topos of having intercourse with one's spouse (line 151) and raising children on one's knees (line 152) can be found in Inana's Descent 303-304 (ll 364-366).

153 The variant n u - in source D may be contaminated by the verbal forms in n u - ...-verb- a - n i of this and the previous lines.

154 Here again the verbal form in source D i m - s i - a - n i is probably contaminated by the forms in - a - n i of the preceding lines.

155 n i ḡ ₂ (-) m e - ḡ a r is used attributively in this line.

Here begins the long lament of Urnamma in the netherworld ending probably in line 196 where he states that Inana did not realise what had happened to him and was not present at his judgment. Yet another possibility is that his lament only ends in 215 and the poet has Urnamma narrate Inana's direct speech. A similar

introduction to a lament is Ur Lament 87 *i-lu e₂ si-ga di₄-di₄-bi ni₂-te-na mi-ni-i b-b e₂* "She (= Ningal) utters in a very low voice for herself a lament over the silenced house".

156 This line is a summary statement of the following lines. Although Ur-amma has served the gods well (lines 157-159; 162-163), they have abandoned him (lines 160-161) to a life in the netherworld (lines 164-165).

156-160 The syntax of this passage is complex: verb- a-*ĝu₁₀* | verb(- a) - a m₃ verb | verb- a | verb- a-*ĝu₁₀* | main clause with *ki-ĝa₂* referring semantically to the two -*ĝu₁₀* which frame the subordinate clauses.

159 The precise meaning of *u₂ za-gin₃* has not been established, but *za-gin₃* probably denotes the colour (green) and therefore the freshness of the "herbs", hence the translation "fresh herbs" (cf. *u₂ za-gin₃ duru₅^ru* in Dumuzi-Inana T 40-41).

162-163 *u₄/du^dtu-da gub(-ba)* and *ĝi₆-da gub* belong semantically together (cf. Sumer and Ur Lament 237-238), with a literal translation "present/occupied with the day || night", "assigned to (work during) the day || night" (cf. *a-da gub-ba* "occupied with water" in *PSD A/1 10 s.v. a A 2.3.10*). The alternation *gub-ba / gub*, however, is difficult. Maybe *u₄^r-da gub-ba* in line 162 is a locative dependent on *sa₂* "to be zealous", literally "by my zealousness concerning service by day (...)" and "by my service by night and my sleeplessness (...)".

164 Compare Ur Lament 409 *u₄-bi im an-ta šeĝ₃-ĝa₂-gin₇ ki-tuš-bi nam-ba-gur-ru* where the comparison is more explicit. Just as rain has fallen on the ground (and cannot return to heaven) so Urnamma has "fallen" and cannot return to Ur. Wilcke, *UT* 38f. suggests that in this line Urnamma is likened to the vegetation that sprouts from the earth when rain has fallen (cf. also the commentary below ad 213-215, especially 214).

For the reading *im* "rain" (instead of *šeĝ₇*), cf. Cavigneaux, *ZA* 85 (1995) 188ff., fn. 11.

167 The translation "bitter wailing and lamentation" is conventional.

168 Compare perhaps Sumer and Ur Lament 295 *usu-bi ni₂-bi-a nu-ĝa₁₂ ne₃-bi ba-ra-an-T[UR?]* (var. (...) [...])(-)an-B A) "Their (= the inhabitants of Ur's) strength spontaneously dissolved, their vigour dim[inished?]. *ni₂-ba* "spontaneously" in this line could argue for a non-violent death of Urnamma, unless the whole line refers to his pitiable state in the netherworld (as do the following lines), rather than on earth.

170-173 The animal similes in these lines (except for line 172) are similar to those said of his wife in lines 183-185 and similarly appear in the curse passage of Gudea, Stat. B 9:6-9, to describe a cursed person.

176-177 References to the guardian spirits *du^dug* and *d^dlam ma* following a person on either side are e.g. Gudea, Cyl. A 3:20-21; B 2:9-10; Sulgi D 221 || 337 (negative); Lugalbanda II 330-331 (negative), *CT* 16 4:153 *u^dug sig₅-ga d^dlam ma sig₅-ga da-ĝu₁₀ he₂-gub* and Geller, *UHF* 22:46-47.

For a discussion of $s a \hat{g} (-\hat{g} a_2) \quad \check{h} a - z a$ "to take care of somebody, to be at the disposal of", cf. Wilcke, *Figurative Language* (1987) 83 and Jagersma, *N.A.B.U.* 1990/105.

179 For the possibility that the reading of $A \check{S}$ in $A \check{S} - i m_2 /_4 - b a b b a r$ is $/dili/$, cf. Cavigneaux, Al-Rawi, *MHEO* 2 (1994) 76 ad 8 with previous literature.

In view of the absence of the ergative here (and in line 235 below), $n u - u n - r i$ is probably intransitive. Wilcke, *UT* 121, following Falkenstein, apud Castellino, *ZA* 52 (1957) 55 interprets $\check{s} u - t a \quad r i$ transitively as "to lead by the hand". S. Cohen's translation in *ELA* 242 ad 290 "to cast from the hand" does not apply here.

181 $P E \check{S} . P E \check{S}$ is obscure as is the sense of the line in general (cf. also Römer, *BiOr.* 49 [1992] 324 and fn. 46 with a translation "Dreimal (?) schwieg sie (?) ...").

182 For a person metaphorically likened to a boat in a storm, cf. the references in the commentary above ad 64-75, especially Lugalnisa \hat{g} to a King 1 (= Ali, *Letters* 86, no. 7) 11. Compare line 215 below where on the contrary Urnamma is likened to a river-boat holding firmly in the calm harbour (probably with sexual connotation).

183 If the imagery follows that of line 184 $P U_2$ is the "pit" in which the wild ass falls. References are Sulgi D 169 and Sulgi B 91, and those cited by Sjöberg, *ZA* 65 (1975) 215-16 ad 26. The translation "waterhole" cannot be ruled out. From OB onwards, the two readings $p u_2$ and $t u l_2$ are attested for the sign $L A G A B \times U$.

184 $e n - n u (-u \hat{g}_3) \quad d u_3$ "to set up a guard" is rare (Gudea, Cyl. B 12:20 and Curse of Agade 166). More common is $e n - n u (-u \hat{g}_3) \quad A K$.

186 Possible restorations at the beginning are $^d u t u \quad d i \quad k [u_5 - r] u$ or perhaps $^d u t u \quad d i \quad k [u_5 - D] U$ "Utu who renders verdicts".

$\check{g} e \check{s} \quad l a_2$ could be understood in the sense of "to pay heed, to pay attention", derived from "to become silent" (cf. the bilingual texts in the lex. sect. of *CAD* Q 72 s.v. *qālu*). This sense fits also passages like Enki and the World Order 100 or Dialogue 4 31-32 (*SEM* 59:2-3 //; cf. Heimpel, *Tierbilder* 157f.) and 68 (cf. Gragg, *AOATS* 5 [1973] 77 ad D4. 68 "to listen").

187-188 For the same imagery in Ur Lament 359-360, cf. IV 3.3, p. 90. Note that $k u_4$ in line 187 and in the Ur Lament passage is intransitive ($- a n - k u_4 = \{n i \text{ (loc.)} + K U_4\}$). For the instruments listed, cf. Krispijn, *Akkadica* 70 (1990) passim and for secondary literature, Attinger, *Éléments* 416, § 225 ($a - d a - a b$), 516, § 436 ($g i - S U_3 / S U_{13}$), 730, § 877 ($t i g i_2$), 753, § 927 ($z a - a m - z a - a m$) and 531, and fn. 1470 ($\check{g} e \check{s} - g u_3 - d i / \check{g} e \check{s} g u_3 - d i$). After a preceding description of her destructive force, Inana is responsible for setting up wails instead of musical entertainment in Enki and the World Order 447-448 (Benito, *ENEWO* 113, lines 442-443) $\check{s} e m_3 \quad a - n i r - r a - d a \quad t u g_2 \quad \check{h} e_2 - e m - m i - s i - i g (/ \check{h} e_2 - e m - d e_3 - s i) \quad | k i - s i k i l \quad d i n a n a \quad t i g i_2 \quad a - d a - a b \quad e_2 - b a \quad \check{h} e_2 - e m - m i - g e_4$ "You have indeed removed the cloth

from the lamentation drum, young woman Inana, you have indeed returned t i g i - and a d a b-instruments to their (storage) rooms".

z a₃ e - g a r₈ - e u s₂ "to prop against the wall", is according to Edzard apud Alster, *Mesopotamia* 3 (1975) 142 ad 161 a sign of inactivity (accepted by Wilcke, ZA 68 [1978] 222).

189-192 The syntagma in - ĝ u₁₀ are considered here as pendens with an ablative meaning "far from", i.e. "instead of", but locative-terminative is also possible, i.e. "(over the fact) that they make me squat in the dust of a pit on my throne, whose luxuriance I had not exhausted, (...)". / n / before the verbal roots in lines 190 and 192 probably stands for the 1st person absolute suffix ({e n}) in a *marû* transitive form, or for the 3rd person animate, referring to Urnamma's wife (cf. Wilcke, *UT* 51).

Note that Susa has verbal forms ending in - n a, apparently replacing - d a (line 192) and - ĝ u₁₀ (lines 189 and 191) of the Nippur version represented by source A, cf. also V 1.3 (I), p. 149.

189-190 Compare these lines thematically with Gudea, Stat. B 9:10-11 ĝ e š d u r₂ - ĝ a r l u₂ m u - n a - D U - a - n i l s a ħ a r - r a ħ e₂ - e m - t a - t u š and Steible's commentary to these lines in *FAOS* 9/2 (1991) 36 ad 113 in which he favours an ablative meaning, i.e. "from his seat (...)". Note that Steible restores Urnamma 47, 4:5-6 accordingly. For other thematic parallels, cf. also IV 3.3, p. 90f.

For P U₂ - s a ĝ š a t p u "pit, water hole", cf. Selz, *FAOS* 15/2 (1993) 175f. and Michalowski, *Lamentation* 98 ad 351.

194 - ĝ a₂ in n i ĝ₂ d u₁₁ - g a - ĝ a₂ is understood as a genitive, rather than locative, - n a - in the verbal chain in a distributive sense ("before each one of them").

196 This line introduces the shift from Urnamma's terrestrial wife who is powerless, to his heavenly wife Inana who is not mentioned in lines 8-16 because she is absent in other lands when Urnamma's fate is changed. Urnamma hopes that Inana will use her right of veto and intercede for him in front of Enlil. Wilcke in *Studies L. Vajda = Münchner Beiträge zur Völkerkunde* 1 (1988) 247, fn. 9 thinks this is a case of mute consent of a person present at a judicial ruling.

n i n m e₃ - a "the lady (who was) in battle" may be a playful reference to Inana's well known epithet n i n m e₃ (- k) "lady of battle".

199 Possible restorations are m u - u n - [š i - k u₄] or m u - u n - [g u r / D U]. Cf. IV 3.3, p. 86f., for cult songs that centre on Inana's attempted rescue of Dumuzi from the netherworld including the motif of her humble appearance before Enlil.

200 i g i d u b₂ - d u b₂ is a hapax (Wilcke, *UT* 81 translates "mit den Augen rollen?", Kramer, *Studies Mikasa* 209 "to cast a shattering look"). It may be a gesture of despair and sadness, or of anger, as this line appears in the Susa version after the statement that Urnamma has left Eana (line 202) and before Inana insults Enlil (line 207).

204-206 These lines could allude to a real destruction or they might simply be the content of the insult itself in the following line (because of - Š E₃ in i n - Š E₃, cf. Attinger, *Éléments* 566f., § 548, and fn. 1579).

204 For u₄ ḥ u š "fierce storm" as epithet of gods, temples and kings, cf. Sjöberg, *TCS* 3 (1969) 99f.

205 a m a š t a b "to devastate the sheepfold" has been treated by Michalowski, *Lamentation* 71 ad 6. For t a b *sapānu*, cf. also Civil, *N.A.B.U.* 1987/49.

208 The implications of this line are not clear. Has Enlil raised his head before Inana as a gesture of promise, or has he raised Urnamma's head (s a ḡ (- ḡ a₂) - n i expected), i.e. elevated Urnamma to kingship and thus to be Inana's spouse?

210 I have assumed two independent syntagma with - C a = - C a m (cf. also line 215).

s a ḡ u s₂ "to support, to supply", i.e. "to observe" is translated by Alster, *JCS* 24 (1972) 123 with "to be persistent". Charpin, *CRRAI* 35 (1992) 17 ad 9' notes that this verb is "... possibly an artificial copy of the Akk. *qaqqadam ummudum*". It can be connected with s a ḡ u s₂ g u b "to stand by constantly".

211 k i (/k u r) u₄ (/d u t u) e₃ (-a) "place (/mountain) where daylight breaks/the sun rises" is connected with the entrance to the netherworld and determining of the fates (for the dead?). For a general discussion, cf. Bruschweiler, *Inanna* 45-47 and also Selz, *AOF* 22 (1995) 206, fn. 44 with previous literature. Note the difficult text in Zimmern, *Sumerische Kultlieder* no. 44 rev. 2-7 (quoted by Kramer, *PAPS* 124 [1980] 311f.) where abundance (food, water, house(hold), sheepfold) at "the place where the sun rises" has come to an end because of the death of Inana's husband.

212-213 Sources A and E diverge from C and F in lines 212-213. The - g i n₇ in line 212, source A e₂ - a n - n a - g i n₇ ? appears to be misplaced.

213 The line probably refers to rituals with Urnamma as e n-priest, and Inana. Compare Urnamma C 73-75 where Urnamma, clad in a linen garment in the ḡ i p a r (in Uruk), lies on the flowered bed, and is able to feed the people with good food. For the connection of entering the ḡ i p a r with sexual intention, cf. also Išmedagān AB (= Volk, *FAOS* 18 49, fn. 19) 56 a m a - n a m - d a₆ k i - s i k i l ḡ i₆ - p a r₃ - z u ḥ i - l i m u - e - š i - i n - t i - a "Amanamda, the young woman who brought (her) sexual charm near/to your ḡ i p a r", and Dumuzi-Inana T 29-30.

213-215 These lines were compared by Wilcke (bibliographical references in IV 3.3, p. 85f.) with texts belonging to the Dumuzi/Damu/Ningēšzida-circle which mention a person (mother, sister or wife) lamenting the absence of a partner (son, brother or husband). Although no direct influence can be found it is quite certain that the composer of Urnamma A knew of such compositions having the distant god or king as theme, cf. also the list of Ur III and Isin kings, headed by Urnamma, that represent the god Damu in cult song of Damu *TCL* 15 8 // (= Römer, *BiOr.* 49 [1992] 652) A 198ff.

214 Inana expresses the desire that like vegetation shooting forth each year, Urnamma may appear annually. Herbs in the steppe are a sign of abundance (cf. Sulgi F 53; Sulgi P b 10; Enki and the World Order 361) and may be associated with Dumuzi the shepherd as producer of abundance and fertility. This line may therefore have a secondary sexual connotation. In Dumuzi-Inana H rev. 19' || 21' e d i n - n a u₂ - š i m - z u k u₇ - k u₇ - d a m "Your herbs in the steppe are very sweet", Dumuzi is praised by Inana for his abundance (lines 18' || 20') in form of herbs in the steppe (cf. also Enki and the World Order 358-367).

215 The harbour and boat may sexually refer to Inana and Urnamma.

216 The exact meaning of k u r - k u (- k u) is difficult to ascertain. In Inana and Ebiḫ 50 (|| 109) k u r - r e i n - d i₃ - ḡ u₁₀ ḫ e₂ - k u r - k u "That the mountain may . . . my conduct" it appears in context of praise (line 51) but in view of Lugale 571 (also with i n - d i₃ "way, conduct" as direct object) which is followed by a malediction, it may mean something like "to observe attentively, to characterize", rather than "to praise (oneself)" (cf. Sjöberg, AS 16 [1965] 69 ad 2 f., with addendum).

221 About six signs are damaged at the beginning. In UT 70 Wilcke's restoration [l u g a l - ḡ u₁₀ u r - d n a m m a] - r a is preferable over Kramer's [d i n a n a - k e₄? u r - d n a m m a] - r a in *Studies Mikasa* 210. With Wilcke, UT 129 it is most probably Ningēšzida who decrees the fate of Urnamma, not Inana, because the doxology is in praise of Ningēšzida (line 240; cf. also line 217 where the reading is, however, not certain).

222 The following lines are a reflection on Urnamma's posthumous fame, cf. Wilcke, *CRRAI* 17 (1970) 91f. and in general in "Zum Geschichtsbewusstsein im alten Mesopotamien", *Archäologie und Geschichtsbewusstsein*, Kolloquien zur allgemeinen und vergleichenden Archäologie 3 (1982) 43ff.

The formula m u p a₃ . d "to call the name, to invoke the name" here could be connected specifically with Urnamma's funerary cult (cf. Steible, *FAOS* 9/2 [1991] 64 ad 15 for Gudea's funerary cult). In context of the funerary cult the expression is found in Incantation to Utu 133 et passim; SP Coll. 1.38 (cf. *PSD* A/1 14 s.v. a A 3.3.2); YBC 5641:6-7 u₂ ḫ e₂ - t u k u m u - z u b a - e - n i - p a₃ a ḫ e₂ - t u k u m u - z u b a - e - n i - p a₃ "May you have food, your name is invoked there, may you have drink, your name is invoked there" (cf. *PSD* A/1 18 s.v. a A 8.1.1), and Geller, *UHF* 141 (= Ni. 630) 61'-63'.

223 Does - n a - in the verbal chain refer to Urnamma's successor Sulgi taking over kingship from his father?

227 Note the drainage of a swamp in Urnamma 27, 1:9-2:2.

235-236 Compare lines 179-180, referring to Urnamma's wife. Lines 235f. presumably refer to Urnamma. One expects, however, a positive sense.

237-238 It is unclear if sources A and G represent the same version in lines 237-238. Therefore no attempt at reconstructing an eclectic text has been made.

238ff. I take the epithets in lines 238-240 to refer to Urnamma.

For d i ḡ i r - Š E₃ d u₂ - d a "born to be a god" in line 238, cf. Urnamma C 70 u r - d n a m m a d i ḡ i r - Š E₃ d u₂ - ḡ d a ḡ k u₃? - g e - e š

「x」[...], Išmedagān A 239 (*TCL* 15 9 rev. ii 47) *d i š - m e - d d a g a n*
d i ḡ i r - Š E₃ d u₂ - d a š a₃ - g e p a₃ - d a "Išmedagān, born to be a god,
 chosen in the heart", and Kramer, *Studies Sjöberg* (1989) 305 (= BM 100042) obv.
 ii 41 「u r」- [s a ḡ] *n a m - d i ḡ i r - Š E₃ 「d u₂」- d a m e - t e n a m -*
l u g a l - l a "Warrior, born to be a god, adornment of kingship" (a Šūsu'en-
 Hymn).

241-242 For the two last lines, cf. above ad 1.1, p. 93f.

2. URNAMMA B

2.1 Introduction

Previous studies¹

Urnamma B, a *tigi* of Enlil,² has been discussed by several scholars since A. Falkenstein presented a translation and a short summary of it in *SAHG* (1953) 87-90 (no. 17), subsequently reviewed by S.N. Kramer in *BiOr.* 11 (1954) 173f., fn. 27. The text has come down to us in a generally well preserved state, and for the last third of the composition we have an interesting duplicate with non-standard orthography, source B, first identified, edited, and discussed by Å.W. Sjöberg, *OrSuec* 10 (1961) 3-12, followed by M. Civil's few comments on some lines in *Or.* 54 (1985) 35f. (lines 52-53 and 66-68) together with a copy of source D (p. 34) and a transliteration of source C (pp. 36f.). More recently A. Cavigneaux published his own copy of source B and made some valuable suggestions for a few readings in *ASJ* 9 (1987) 49-51 ad no. 6.³

In 1959 G. Castellino edited Urnamma B on the basis of source A, *SRT* 11, in *ZA* 53 (1959) 106-18, using S.N. Kramer's collations published in *ZA* 52 (1957) 81f. In the same year in which G. Castellino presented his edition Kramer's translation and short comments appeared in *ANET*³ 583f. The most recent and comprehensive treatment was presented by J. Klein in *ASJ* 11 (1989) 44-56 and 61f. (footnotes) as part of his comparative study on building and dedication hymns in Sumerian literature.⁴ In his revised edition he used all hitherto identified duplicates (including source E) and offered copies on p. 66 of sources C₁ and C₂.

Structural Analysis⁵

Urnamma B falls into a *sagida* and *sağara* section as do all *tigi* compositions. The opening *sagida* section of *tigi* hymns usually extols the deity in whose honour the hymn is composed, and the short, concluding

¹ Cf. also II 2., p. 19.

² Cf. also II 1., p. 14.

³ For a discussion of non-standard orthography in the Urnamma hymns, cf. II 3.2, pp. 23ff.

⁴ Cf. also IV 3.1, pp. 69ff.

⁵ Cf. also IV *ibid.*

s a ġ a r a section is usually in praise of the king.⁶ Whereas the first part of the composition (I 1-38), the s a ġ i d a section, has a thematic structure consisting of several narrative elements (1-5),⁷ the s a ġ a r a section can be divided into three parts (II-IV), of which the first two parts (II 40-51, and III 52-65) clearly exhibit strict formal and at the same time thematic patterns. Lines 40-43 || 46-49 (II 1) are somewhat summary lines that link the second part thematically to the first one (I) and lines 44-45 || 50-51 (II 2) introduce a theme (Urnamma's reward and fame) which is expounded in detail in the following part (III). The hymn concludes with a fourth part (IV 66-71) which has, like the first part (I), a thematic structure devoid of any formal patterns. Parts two and three (II-III) which show patterns of repetition are thus framed by a beginning and ending part (I and IV) of a narrative nature. This can be diagrammed as follows:

I. Narrative

II. Hymnic

III. Hymnic

IV. Narrative

The opening s a ġ i d a section (I) begins with Enlil's introduction and relates his selection of Urnamma from among his innumerable people (1-6), a topos that can be traced back to Pre-Sargonic Lagaš and to Gudea.⁸ For Enlil has Ekur's restoration in mind and thus commissions Urnamma to give Ekur and its m e their former beauty back (7-10). Urnamma knows how to act and accordingly starts preparations by preparing the brickmould (11-13), while Enlil ensures the necessary infra-structure by putting the rebellious lands in order (for the supply of raw material) and thus making Sumer sufficiently prosperous to start building (14-16). The next lines recount the actual restoration work (17-19), followed by a detailed architectural description of the temple complex Ekur (20-32). The building work results in admiration for Ekur's regained beauty (20-21): the gates are lavishly decorated, the ziggurat and its ġ i ġ u n a rise from its midst and Enlil and Ninlil are happily installed in the Ġaġeššua (22-32). A big feast marks Ekur's inauguration (33-35) and is followed by divine approval and a blessing: Enlil grants Urnamma enormous power (36-38). The thematic sequence of divine preference (34 "mentioned by name"), meal supplies (34-35), and the resulting happiness for the temple and its inhabitants (35-36) prompting the gods to decree a positive fate (37-38) is common and apparent in other literary texts.⁹

Part two (II) introduces the s a ġ a r a section of the hymn and is transitional in nature, linking part one (I) with part three (III). Because Urnamma has restored Ekur so beautifully (40-43 || 46-49) his fame will be far reaching (44-45 || 50-51). This section exhibits strict formal units of parallelism. Lines 40-45 || 46-51 cor-

⁶ Cf. Hallo, *BiOr.* 23 (1966) 242.

⁷ Cf. also IV 3.1, pp. 69ff., for a comparison with other compositions which contain elements that articulate the building or creative narrative.

⁸ Cf. IV 1.2, p. 48f.

⁹ Cf. IV 3.1, p. 71.

respond to C. Wilcke's R-3 type of parallelism¹⁰ in which a sequence of lines is repeated, but a term in the first line is substituted by another one, often a synonymous name. Thus "Nunamnir" in line 40 is substituted with "Great Mountain, father Enlil" in line 46.

Part three (III) elucidates in hymnic detail Urnamma's reward: with Enlil's help Urnamma achieves military successes (52-57), he destroys evil, sweeps away the great oppression (58-61), and his storm delivers the evil person (62-65), themes that are recurrent in other hymns such as Urnamma C and EF. Again, this section is characterized by a balanced poetic structure of parallelisms: lines 52-65 can be termed as a' b' c' d' e' f' g' f' g'. The general term of lines a' (52), b' (54), d' (58), and f' (62), i.e. "my lord", "him", "he", and "his", is substituted with "shepherd Urnamma" in lines a' (53), b' (56), d' (60) and f' (64).

The last part (IV) has no distinctive strophic structure and concludes the hymn with a narrative sequence that tells of the erection of Urnamma's dais in Ur, presented to him in front of and by Enlil, thus symbolizing Urnamma's establishment of kingship in Ur through Enlil (66-69) which results in prosperity for Ur (70-71).

In summary, Urnamma B is made up of the following sequences:

I. Ekur's restoration (1-38)

1. Divine selection of Urnamma and commission to restore Ekur (1-10)
 - a. Enlil selects Urnamma as shepherd (1-6)
 - b. He commissions him to restore Ekur and its m e to former beauty (7-10)
2. Preparations for and realization of Ekur's restoration (11-19)
 - a. Urnamma understands and acts accordingly by preparing the brickmould (11-13)
 - b. Enlil puts the rebellious lands in order for him, whereby Sumer experiences sufficient prosperity and happiness (14-16)
 - c. The actual restoration work (17-19)
3. Detailed description of Ekur's parts (20-32)
 - a. The Ekur as object of admiration (20-21)
 - b. Description of Ekur's various parts (22-32): gates (22-26), the ziggurat and its g i g u n a (29-30), the Ġaġeššua (31-32)
4. The dedication (33-35)
5. Urnamma's reward: divine approval and blessing (36-38)

II. Praise for Urnamma (40-51)

1. Reason for praise: Urnamma has restored Ekur to its former beauty (40-43 || 46-49)
2. Urnamma's reward: fame (44-45 || 50-51)

¹⁰ Wilcke, AS 20 (1975) 214 ad R-3.

III. Urnamma's reward and fame (52-65)

1. Military fame with the help of Enlil (52-57)
2. Urnamma destroys evil and sweeps away oppression (58-61)
3. His fame is frightful and his storm delivers the evil person to him (62-65)

IV. Conclusion: the establishment of kingship in Ur (66-71)

1. Erection of Urnamma's dais of kingship in Ur, presented to him by Enlil (66-69)
2. By decision of Enlil it brings delight and abundance to Ur (70-71)

Manuscripts

The whole composition of Urnamma B is preserved on source A, an Old Babylonian one-column tablet from Nippur, of which only the beginning lines are partially broken. All other duplicates are in a fragmentary condition, but some exhibit interesting features. Sources C and E are both Old Babylonian one-column fragments from Nippur and Babylon respectively, whereas source B is late Old Babylonian and of unknown provenance. It adds to the version in standard orthography (lines 52 to the end of the composition) the parallel version written exclusively in non-standard or "syllabic" writing.¹¹ The tablet is pillow- or lens-shaped. This wide *i m g i d₂ - d a*¹² type is used at Nippur and Ur only beginning with the Kassite period, for, according to P. Michalowski, most Old Babylonian *i m g i d a* type tablets from Nippur and Ur are vertical.¹³ Old Babylonian pillow-shaped tablets are known from Uruk.

The most significant features of source D are its possible Ur III date¹⁴ and its short-line format, very likely reflecting its nature as a scribal exercise. Judging from its carelessly written and omitted signs, it probably presents an early attempt at copying in the course of scribal training. It is also line-ruled, very likely for the purpose of guiding the script.¹⁵ The short-line format of source D uses e.g. three lines for one line in source A (line 53), written in normal-line format, whereas the scribe of source B in long-line format has written two lines of A on one line.¹⁶ The first preserved line of the obverse of source D does not match any of the lines of our hymn which might either indicate that the scribe of source D based his copy on a slightly different (Ur III?) version of the hymn, or that the tablet contained two excerpts of different compositions.¹⁷

¹¹ Cf. II 3.2, p. 26f.

¹² The native Sumerian terminology given to the one-column exercise tablets.

¹³ Michalowski, *Annali di Napoli* 41 (1981) 386.

¹⁴ Civil, *Or.* 54 (1985) 33f.

¹⁵ Cf. Tinney, *OLZ* 90 (1995) 11.

¹⁶ The terms "Normalzeile", "Langzeile" and "Kurzzeile" were coined by Wilcke, *AS* 20 (1975) 221ff.

¹⁷ Civil, *Or.* 54 (1985) 34.

Sources

Nippur:

A

Ni. 2430

obv. 1-33 = **1-33**rev. 1-39 = **34-72**copy: E. Chiera, *SRT* 11.

collations: S.N. Kramer, *ZA* 52 (1957) 81f. J. Klein's readings from a photo in *ASJ* 11 (1989) 45-50 are marked with * in the transliteration.

C (C₁(+)C₃(+)C₂) CBS 15168 (+) N 7926 (+) N 6876C₁ obv. 1'-10' = **3-12**C₂ obv. 0'-8' = **13²-21**C₃ obv. 1'-6' = **21-26**

copies of C₁ and C₂: J. Klein, *ASJ* 11 (1989) 66. C₃ could not be located according to J. Klein, *ibid.* 61, fn. 59.

transliteration of C: M. Civil, *Or.* 54 (1985) 36f.

Reconstruction of lines 20ff. is problematical.

D

6N - T 288 (= IM 61500)

obv. 2'-6' = **52-53**copy: M. Civil, *Or.* 54 (1985) 34.

date: Ur III?

Babylon:

E

VAT 17417

obv. 1'- edge 12' = **28-38**rev. 1-5 = **39-43**copy: J.J.A. van Dijk, *VS* 24 42.

measurements: 3 × 4,5 × 2,5 cm.

Unknown:

B

AO 6316

obv. 1'-14' = **52-68**rev. 1-3 = **69-71**

copies: H. de Genouillac, *TCL* 15 38; A. Cavigneaux, *ASJ* 9 (1987) 60, cf. *ibid.* 49-51.

photos made available by B. André-Salvini, cf. pls. 14-15.

collation: E. Flückiger-Hawker.

measurements: 123 × 97 × 24,5 cm.

2.2 Transliteration and Translation

1 ${}^d\text{en-lil}_2$ maḥ [...] / UB[?] [...]

A obv. 1 ${}^d\text{en-lil}_2$ maḥ [...] / UB[?] [...]

2 en nam-nun ḡaḏ x x [x] ḡx x¹ [x x x]

A obv. 2 en nam-nun ḡaḏ *x *x [x] ḡ*x *x¹ [x x x]

3 ${}^d\text{nu-nam-nir}$ an-ki lugal [...]

A obv. 3 ${}^d\text{nu-nam-nir}$ an-ki lugal [...]

C₁ obv. 1' [...] ḡx lugal x¹ [...]

4 $u\hat{g}_3-\hat{g}a_2$ igi mi-ni-in-il₂ sipa zi ur- ${}^d\text{n}$ [amma]

A obv. 4 $u\hat{g}_3-\hat{g}a_2$ igi mi-ni-in-il₂ sipa *z[i ...]

C₁ obv. 2' [...] si]pa zi ur- ${}^d\text{n}$ [amma]

5 kur-gal ${}^d\text{en-lil}_2$ -le $u\hat{g}_3$ šar₂-ra-ni-a im-ma-ni-in-ḡpa₃¹⁷

A obv. 5 kur-gal ${}^d\text{en-lil}_2$ -le * $u\hat{g}_3$ šar₂-ra-ni-a im-ma-ni-[...]

C₁ obv. 3' [...]]-ḡa¹ im-ma-ni-in-ḡpa₃¹⁷

6 sipa ḡe₂-a ${}^d\text{nu-nam-nir-ra-ka}$ ni₂ ḡuš mu-un-da-ri

A obv. 6 sipa ḡe₂-a ${}^d\text{nu-nam-nir-ra-ka}$ n i₂ ḡuš¹⁸ im-ḡx¹-[...]

C₁ obv. 4' [...] -k]am ni₂ ḡuš mu-un-da-ri

1 Enlil, the magnificent [...] . . . [...],

2 Lord, [...] great nobility [...],

3 Nunamnir, lord of heaven and earth [...],

4 Looked at the people, the faithful shepherd Urnamma

5 Great Mountain Enlil chose[?] from among his innumerable people:

6 "Let him¹⁹ be(come) a shepherd - that of Nunamnir - (for) he is laden with a terrible splendour!"

¹⁸ Read possibly ḡuš₂.

¹⁹ i.e. Urnamma.

7 šeg₁₂ e₂-kur-ra-ke₄ me am₃-hur

A obv. 7 *šeg₁₂ *e₂-kur-ra-ke₄ me am₃-^Γ*hur^Γ
 C₁ obv. 5' [... m]e am₃- hur

8 kur-gal den-lil₂-le e₂-kur eš₃ m[a]h-a-na u₄-gin₇ kar₂-kar₂-[d]e₃?

A obv. 8 kur-gal den-lil₂-le e₂-kur eš₃ m[a]h-a-na u₄-gin₇ ^Γ*kar₂-*kar₂^Γ-*[d]e₃?
 C₁ obv. 6' [... ma]h-^Γa^Γ-na u₄-gin₇ kar₂- kar₂- da

9 ša₃ KA(enim) ḡal₂ ku₃ zi-de₃ si-a-ni nam-DU

A obv. 9 ša₃ KA(enim) ḡal₂ ku₃ *zi-de₃ *si-a-ni nam-DU!
 C₁ obv. 7' [... -d]e₃? ^Γsi^Γ-a-ni nam-DU

10 sipa dur-^dnamma-^Γda e₂^Γ-kur-ra saḡ an-še₃ il₂-i-da a₂-bi mu-^Γu₈^Γ-da-aḡ₂

A obv. 10 sipa dur-^dnamma-^Γ*da *e₂^Γ-kur-ra saḡ an-še₃ il₂-i-da a₂-bi mu-^Γ*u₈^Γ-da-aḡ₂
 C₁ obv. 8' [... e₂-k]ur-ra saḡ an-še₃ il₂-i-de₃ a₂-bi ^Γmu- da-aḡ₂^Γ

11 lugal-e kalam-[ma...] ḡe₂-ni-in-maḡ uḡ₃-ḡa₂ saḡ ḡe₂-ni-in-il₂

A obv. 11 lugal-e kalam-[ma...] *ḡe₂-ni-in-maḡ uḡ₃-ḡa₂ saḡ ḡe₂-ni-in-il₂
 C₁ obv. 9' [... -i]n^Γ-maḡ uḡ₃-ḡa₂ saḡ mi-ni-[...]

12 sipa zi <^dur-[^dnamma...] ^dnu-nam-nir-da u₄ sud-ra₂-še₃ nir ḡal₂-la

A obv. 12 sipa zi <^dur-[^dnamma...] ^dnu-nam- nir-da u₄ sud-ra₂-še₃ nir ḡal₂-la
 C₁ obv. 10' [... ^dnu-nam]-^Γnir-da u₄^Γ s[ud-...]

7 The m e are traced out for Ekur's brickwork.

8 To make them shine forth like daylight for Ekur, his magnificent shrine, Great Mountain Enlil -

9 His heart, filled with splendid and proper *notions* was moved to (do so) -

10 Commissioned shepherd Urnamma to make Ekur lift its head heavenward.

11 The king indeed made eminent [... in] the land, raised his²⁰ head among the people.

12 Faithful shepherd Ur[namma ...] who has put (his) trust in Nunamnir for all time,

20 i.e. Urnamma.

13 di zu en ġeš[tu₂ daġal]-la-kam ġeš_{u₃}-šub-ba si am₃-mi-in-sa₂

A obv. 13 di zu en ġeš[tu₂ daġal]-la-kam ġeš_{u₃}-šub-ba si am₃-mi-in-sa₂
C₂ obv. 0' [...] ²¹

14 den-lil₂-le ʿsipa d_{ur}¹-d_{namma}-ra ki-bala NE.RU-ġal₂-la-ni si mu-na-an-sa₂

A obv. 14 den-lil₂-le ʿsipa d_{ur}¹-d_{namma}-ra ki-bala NE. RU-ġal₂-la-ni si mu-na-an-sa₂
C₂ obv. 1'-2' [den-l]il₂-ʿle¹⁷ [...]] | [ki]-bala gu₂ NE.ʿRU¹-ġ[al₂-...]

15 ki-en-gi-re u₄ nam-ĥe₂-a AK

A obv. 15 ki-en-*gi-re u₄ nam-ĥe₂-a AK
C₂ obv. 3' [k]i-en-gi-ra u₄ nam-ĥe₂-a [...]

16 asila₃ gu₂ mu-un-di-ni-ib-mar-re

A obv. 16 asila₃ gu₂ mu-un-di-ni-ib-mar-re²²

17 uš₈ mu-un-dug₃-eš temen ku₃ mi-ni-in-sig₉-eš

A obv. 17 uš₈ mu-un-dug₃-eš temen ku₃ mi-ni-in-sig₉-eš
C₂ obv. 4' [u]š mu-un-dug₃-eš [...]]

18 enkum ninkum-e me-teš₂ am₃-i-i-ne

A obv. 18 enkum ninkum-e me-teš₂ am₃-i-i-ne
C₂ obv. 5' enkum n[inkum...]

13 The one who knows judgment, the lord of [broad und]erstanding, prepared (there) the brickmold.

14 Enlil put for shepherd Urnamma his hostile and rebellious land(s) in order.

15 He made Sumer *thrive?* in prosperous times and

16 in joy with/because of him.

17 They made the foundations well and drove in the sparkling foundation pegs.

18 The e n k u m and n i n k u m duly praise (it).

²¹ The reconstruction of C₂ is very doubtful and therefore only provisional. For the beginning of line 14 there does not seem to be enough space at the end of line 1' nor at the beginning of line 2'.

²² C₂ either omits this line (cf. Civil, *Or.* 54 [1985] 36) or it is part of the preceding line 3' (cf. Klein, *ASJ* 11 [1989] 54 ad 15-16) for which there is, however, hardly any space.

19 nam-ġeš-šub galam-ma-na den-ki-ke₂ e₂-e ul ba-ni-in-sa₇-ga

A obv. 19 nam-ġeš-šub galam-ma-na den-ki-ke₂ *e₂-e ul ba-ni-in-sa₇-ga
 C₂ obv. 6' nam- šub galam-ma-na [den-ki-...]

20 sipa dur-dnamma-ke₄ e₂-kur maḥ dur-an-ki-a-ka an-še₃ mi-ni-in-mu₂

A obv. 20 sipa dur-dnamma-ke₄ e₂-kur maḥ *dur-an-ki-a-ka an-še₃ mi-ni-in-mu₂
 C₂ obv. 7' [sipa] dur-d[namma-...]

21 u₆ di-bi-še₃ uġ₃ šar₂-šar₂-ra-ba ši-im-ma-gub

A obv. 21 u₆ di-bi-še₃ uġ₃ šar₂-šar₂-ra-ba ši-im-ma-gub
 C₂ obv. 8' [x di-bi]-[...]
 C₃ obv. 1' [...] uġ₃ šar₂-šar₂-ra-ba [...]²³

22 KA₂-maḥ KA₂(.)GAL KA₂-silim-ma ḥur-saġ-galam-ma KA₂(-)še-nu-ku₅-da

A obv. 22 KA₂-maḥ KA₂(.)GAL KA₂-silim-ma ḥur-saġ-galam-ma KA₂(-)še-nu-ku₅-da
 C₃ obv. 2' [...] KA₂-silim-ma ḥur-saġ-[...]

23 sud-ra₂-aġ₂ ku₃ me-a ugur₂-igi-ba še-er-ka-an mu-ni-in-du₁₁

A obv. 23 sud-ra₂-aġ₂ ku₃ me-a ugur₂-igi-ba še-er-ka-an mu-ni-in-du₁₁
 C₃ obv. 3' [... k]u₃ me ugur₂-igi-ba še-er-[...]

24 anzu^{mušen}-de₃ du₁₀ am₃-ma-ni-in-bad

A obv. 24 anzu^{mušen}-de₃ *du₁₀ am₃-ma-ni-in-bad
 C₃ obv. 4' [...]-de₃ am₃-m[a-...]

19 Enki having made the temple(-building) flourish with his cunning spell,

20 Shepherd Urnamma made magnificent Ekur grow heavenward in Duranki.

21 He placed it among that endless multitude of people²⁴ so that they might admire it.

22 The lintels of the August Gate, the Great Gate,²⁵ the Gate of Salvation,²⁶ the one (leading to) the Ḥursaġgalama, the Gate That Does Not Hold Off Grain,

23 He²⁷ decorated with *electrum* and pure silver.

24 The Anzû-bird has spread its talons there,

²³ The transliteration of C₃ follows Civil, *Or.* 54 (1985) 36f. who counts line C₃ obv. 1' as line 22, whereas Klein, *ASJ* 11 (1989) 48 has it as indented line, counting it as line 21.

²⁴ Or: "its (= Duranki's) endless multitude of people".

²⁵ Or possibly read *abulla* "the (city-)gate", cf. also the commentary ad 22, p. 201.

²⁶ Or: "the Gate of 'Salvation!'".

²⁷ i.e. Urnamma.

25 ħu-ri-in-ba lu₂ NE.RU AŠ mu-un-dab₅

A obv. 25 ħu-ri-in-ba lu₂ NE.RU AŠ mu-un-dab₅
C₃ obv. 5' [...] lu₂ NE.RU AŠ [...]

26 ġeš ig-bi maḥ-am₃ ul-la mi-ni-in-sig₉

A obv. 26 ġeš ig-bi maḥ-am₃ ul-la mi-ni-in-sig₉
C₃ obv. 6' [...]-am₃ ul- [...]

27 e₂ maḥ-am₃ su-zi am₃-da-ġal₂

A obv. 27 e₂ maḥ-am₃ su-*zi am₃-da-ġal₂

28 daġal am₃-tag ni₂-bi gal ši-ri

A obv. 28 daġal am₃-tag ni₂-bi gal ši-ri
E obv. 1' [...]

29 ħur-saġ-galam-ma gi-gun₄-na ki-tuš ku₃ kur-gal-la-ra

A obv. 29 ħur-saġ-galam-ma gi-gun₄-na ki-tuš ku₃ kur-gal-la-ra
E obv. 2' [... g]i-gun₄-na ki-tuš ku₃ kur-ga[l-...]

30 u₁₈-ru maḥ-gin₇ [š]a₃-bi-a ki am₃-ma-ni-in-us₂

A obv. 30 u₁₈-ru maḥ-gin₇ [*š]a₃-bi-a ki am₃-ma-ni-in-us₂
E obv. 3' [... -b]i-a ki am₃-ma-ni-i[n-...]

25 *In their*²⁸ (*capacity*) *as eagles* they have caught the malefactor alone.

26 Their²⁹ doors are magnificent, he³⁰ inlayed them with blossoms.

27 The temple is magnificent, it is imbued with dread.

28 It stretches out wide, it grandly inspires its awe.

29 The Ĥursaġgalama and the g i g u n a, the precious dwelling of Great Mountain,

30 He³¹ made touch the ground in its³² midst like a huge *tornado*.

28 i.e. the gates.

29 i.e. the gates.

30 i.e. Urnamma.

31 i.e. Urnamma.

32 i.e. the temple Ekur.

31 $\hat{g}a_2\text{-}\hat{g}e\check{s}\text{-}\check{s}u_2\text{-}a$ ${}^{\text{r}}e_2^{\text{r}}$ -gal maḥ di gal ku₅-ru-da-ni

A obv. 31 $\hat{g}a_2\text{-}\hat{g}e\check{s}\text{-}\check{s}u_2\text{-}a$ ${}^{\text{r}}e_2^{\text{r}}$ -gal maḥ di gal ku₅-ru-da-ni
E obv. 4' [...] m]aḥ di gal ku₅-ru-[...]

32 [am]a gal ${}^{\text{d}}nin\text{-}lil_2\text{-}ra$ ul mu-ni-in-DU

A obv. 32 [am]a gal ${}^{\text{d}}nin\text{-}lil_2\text{-}ra$ ul mu- ni-in-DU
E obv. 5' [...] ul mu-na-ni-i[n-...]

33 ${}^{\text{d}}en\text{-}lil_2$ ${}^{\text{d}}nin\text{-}lil_2\text{-}bi$ du₁₀ mi-ni-in- $\hat{g}al_2\text{-}le\text{-}e\check{s}$

A obv. 33 ${}^{\text{d}}en\text{-}lil_2$ ${}^{\text{d}}nin\text{-}lil_2\text{-}bi$ du₁₀ mi-ni-in- $\hat{g}al_2\text{-}le\text{-}e\check{s}$
E obv. 6' [...] ${}^{\text{d}}nin\text{-}li$]l₂-bi du₁₀ mi-ni-i[n-...]

34 unu₂ gal-ba sul zi mu pa₃-da ${}^{\text{d}}nu\text{-}nam\text{-}nir\text{-}ra\text{-}ka$

A rev. 1 unu₂ gal-ba sul zi mu pa₃-da ${}^{\text{d}}nu\text{-}nam\text{-}nir\text{-}ra\text{-}ka$
E obv. 7' [...] su]] zi mu pa₃-da ${}^{\text{d}}nu\text{-}[nam\text{-}nir\text{-}...]$
zi-kir šu-mi

35 NI₃(ninda/ni \hat{g}_2) maḥ am₃-mi-NI(i₃)-du₁₀ e₂-kur ḥul₂-la-am₃

A rev. 2 NI₃(ninda/ni \hat{g}_2) maḥ am₃-mi-NI(i₃)-du₁₀³³ e₂-kur ḥul₂-la-am₃
E obv. 8' [...] -n]i-in-du₁₀ e₂-kur ḥul₂-[...]

36 igi zi mu-un-ši-in-bar-re-eš sipa ${}^{\text{d}}ur\text{-}{}^{\text{d}}namma\text{-}ra$

A rev. 3 igi zi mu-un-ši-in-bar-re-eš sipa ${}^{\text{d}}ur\text{-}{}^{\text{d}}namma\text{-}ra$
E edge 9' [...] -i]n-bar-re-eš sipa ${}^{\text{d}}ur\text{-}{}^{\text{r}}{}^{\text{d}}n$]namma...]

31 The $\hat{G}a\hat{g}e\check{s}\check{s}ua$, the magnificent palace where she renders important verdicts,

32 He *decorated* for great [moth]er Ninlil.

33 Enlil and Ninlil relaxed therein.

34 In its³⁴ large dining hall the faithful young man, mentioned by name by Nu-namnir,

35 Had huge quantities of food tastily prepared, the Ekur was joyful.

36 They³⁵ looked at shepherd Urnamma approvingly.

³³ Or read NI₃ maḥ-am₃ mi-ni-du₁₀.

³⁴ i.e. the Ekur.

³⁵ i.e. Enlil and Ninlil.

37 kur-gal-e sipa ^dur-^dnamma-ra nam gal u₄ sud-ra₂-še₃ mu-ni-in-tar

A rev. 4 kur-gal-e sipa ^dur-^dnamma-ra nam gal u₄ sud-ra₂-še₃ mu-ni-in-tar
E edge 10'-11' [...] sipa ^dur-^dn[amma-...] | [...] -t]a₂-še₃ mu-ni-in-t[ar]

38 saĝ gi₆-ga-na a₂ mi-ni-in-maḥ

A rev. 5 saĝ gi₆-ga-na a₂ mi-ni-in-maḥ
E edge 12' [...] a₂ mi-ni-in-[...]

39 sa-gid₂-da-am₃

A rev. 6 sa-gid₂-da-am₃
E rev. 1 sa-gid₂-da-^ram₃⁷

40 ^dnu-nam-nir du₁₁-ga eš-bar zi niĝ₂ nu-kur₂-ru ĝa₂-me-en

A rev. 7 ^dnu-nam-nir du₁₁-ga eš-bar zi niĝ₂ nu-kur₂-ru ĝa₂-me-en
E rev. 2 [...] -ga eš-bar zi niĝ₂ nu-k[ur₂-...]]

41 e₂-kur maḥ-ĝu₁₀ dalla mu-e-a-e₃

A rev. 8 e₂-kur maḥ-ĝu₁₀ dalla mu-e-a-e₃
E rev. 3 [...] dalla ^rmu[?]-x[?][-...]

42 suḥ₁₀ kar₂-kar₂-ka-da an-še₃ gu₂ ḥe₂-ni-in-us₂

A rev. 9 suḥ₁₀ kar₂-kar₂-ka-da an-*š₃e₃ gu₂ ḥe₂-ni-in-*us₂
E rev. 4 [...] an-^rš₃e₃⁷ [...]]

43 sul zi kalam-ma dalla ḥu-mu-ni-in-e₃

A rev. 10 sul zi kalam-ma dalla ḥu-mu-ni-in-e₃
E rev. 5 [...] dal[la...]

37 Great Mountain decreed a great fate for shepherd Urnamma for all time,

38 Granted him enormous power over his Black-Headed.

39 (It is the s a g i d a)

40 "I am Nunamnir whose proper utterance and decision are immutable:

41 My magnificent Ekur is resplendent!"

42 (In =) With a radiant crown he³⁶ has raised its neck heavenward.

43 The faithful young man has made it resplendent in the land.³⁷

³⁶ i.e. Urnamma.

³⁷ Or translate lines 42-43: "(...) it (= Ekur) has lifted its neck heavenward and made the faithful young man become famous in the land".

44 $\text{dur-dnamma en uru}_{16} \text{ nam-lugal-la gu}_2 \text{ an-ta-bi he}_2\text{-em}$

A rev. 11 $\text{dur-dnamma en uru}_{16} \text{ nam-lugal-la gu}_2 \text{ an-ta-bi he}_2\text{-*em}$

45 $\text{mu-zu an-za}_3\text{-še}_3 \text{ kur-ur}_2\text{-še}_3 \text{ he}_2\text{-gal}_2$

A rev. 12 $\text{mu-zu an-za}_3\text{-še}_3 \text{ kur-ur}_2\text{-še}_3 \text{ he}_2\text{-gal}_2$

46 $\text{kur-gal a-a den-lil}_2 \text{ du}_{11}\text{-ga eš-bar zi niĝ}_2 \text{ nu-kur}_2\text{-ru ga}_2\text{-me-en}$

A rev. 13 $\text{kur-gal a-a den-lil}_2 \text{ du}_{11}\text{-ga eš-bar zi niĝ}_2 \text{ nu-kur}_2\text{-ru ga}_2\text{-me-en}$

47 $\text{e}_2\text{-kur mah-ĝu}_{10} \text{ dalla mu-e-a-e}_3$

A rev. 14 $\text{e}_2\text{-kur mah-ĝu}_{10} \text{ dalla mu-e-a-e}_3$

48 $\text{suĥ}_{10} \text{ kar}_2\text{-kar}_2\text{-ka-da an-še}_3 \text{ gu}_2 \text{ he}_2\text{-ni-in-us}_2$

A rev. 15 $\text{suĥ}_{10} \text{ kar}_2\text{-kar}_2\text{-ka-da an-še}_3 \text{ gu}_2 \text{ he}_2\text{-ni-in-us}_2$

49 $\text{sul zi kalam-ma dalla ĥu-mu-ni-in-e}_3$

A rev. 16 $\text{sul zi kalam-ma dalla ĥu-mu-ni-in-e}_3$

50 $\text{dur-dnamma en uru}_{16} \text{ nam-lugal-la gu}_2 \text{ an-ta-bi he}_2\text{-em}$

A rev. 17 $\text{dur-dnamma en uru}_{16} \text{ nam-lugal-la gu}_2 \text{ an-ta-bi he}_2\text{-em}$

51 $\text{mu-zu an-za}_3\text{-še}_3 \text{ kur-ur}_2\text{-še}_3 \text{ he}_2\text{-gal}_2$

A rev. 18 $\text{mu-zu an-za}_3\text{-*še}_3 \text{ kur-ur}_2\text{-še}_3 \text{ he}_2\text{-gal}_2$

44 May Urnamma, the unswerving lord, be the . . . of kingship!

45 May your name reach (as far as) the horizon and the foot of the mountains!

46 "I am Great Mountain, father Enlil, whose proper utterance and decision are immutable:

47 My magnificent Ekur is resplendent!"

48 With a radiant crown he has raised its neck heavenward.

49 The faithful young man has made it resplendent in the land.

50 May Urnamma, the unswerving lord, be the . . . of kingship!

51 May your name reach (as far as) the horizon and the foot of the mountains!

52 lugal-ĝu₁₀ utug₂ maḥ kur erim₂-ĝal₂-la ʿsaĝ⁷ saḥar-re-eš dub-bu ki-bala-a AK-AK

A rev. 19 lugal- ĝu₁₀ utug₂ maḥ kur erim₂- ĝal₂-la ʿ*saĝ⁷
 D obv. 2'-3' [lu]gal- ĝ u₁₀ utug₂^{tu}g₂ ([...]) | [...g]u₂ A.NE.RU-ĝ al₂-la [...]
 B obv. 1' [lu(₂)-ga-a]l-ĝu₁₀ u₂-tu-ug ma-ḥe k[ur] ʿi⁷-[ri-im-ma<-ĝ a₂-la> si-im
 A saḥar- re-eš dub-bu ki-bala-a AK-AK
 B sa-ḥa] /-ar-ʿe⁷-[...]
 D obv. 4' [saḥa]r- eš tu-bu ki-bala / ša- ša³⁸

53 sipa ʿdur-ḏamma-ke₄ utug₂ maḥ kur erim₂-ĝal₂-la saĝ sa[h]ar-re-[eš] dub-bu ki-bala-a AK-AK

A rev. 20 sipa ʿdur-ḏamma- ke₄ utug₂ maḥ kur erim₂- ĝ al₂-la
 D obv. 5' [...] ʿ(xʔ-)-x⁷ utug₂^{tu}g₂ ʿmaḥ⁷ gu₂ [...]]
 B obv. 2' [s]i-pa ur-ḏna-na-ma-ke u₂-tu-ug ma-ḥe kur ʿi-ri⁷-im-m[a(-ĝ a₂-la)...]
 A *saĝ sa[h]ar-ʿre-[eš] dub-bu ki-bala-a AK-AK
 D obv. 6' [sa]ĝ¹⁷ saḥar- eš tu<-bu> ki-bala [...]]
 B obv. 3' si-im sa-ḥa-ar-e (-)ed³⁹-bu ki-ʿib⁷-la-aš¹ ša²-š[a²ʔ]

54 e-ne-er mu-na-an-šum₂ en ʿnu-nam-nir-re

A rev. 21 e-ne-er mu-na-an-šum₂ en ʿnu-nam-nir-re
 B obv. 4' i-ni-ir mu-na-an-š u(-) nu-na-am-ni-ra

55 kur am₃-tu₁₁-be₂ ĝiri₃-saga₁₁ am₃-me

A rev. 22 kur am₃-tu₁₁-be₂ ĝiri₃- saga₁₁ am₃-me
 B kur ʿan⁷- tu- be₂ mi-ri-ʿe⁷-[zi] /-ka ʿap⁷-[pe]

56 sipa ʿdur-ḏamma-ke₄ mu-na-an-šum₂ en ʿnu-nam-nir-re

A rev. 23 sipa ʿdur-ḏamma- ke₄ mu-na-an-šum₂ en ʿnu-nam-nir-re
 B obv. 5' si-pa ur-ḏna-na-ma-ke mu-na-an-š u(-) nu-na-am-ni-ra

- 52 To my lord - the huge u t u g-weapon which piles up heads as sand dunes in enemy lands and which *rages* in the rebellious lands -,
 53 To shepherd Urnamma - the huge u t u g-weapon which piles up heads as sand dunes in enemy lands and which *rages* in the rebellious lands -,
 54 To him lord Nunamnir gave it.
 55 (And so) he heaps up the foreign land, tramples on it.
 56 To shepherd Urnamma lord Nunamnir gave it.

38 D obv. 1' has ʿx⁷ niĝ in-dam. P. Attinger suggests ʿsu²?⁷-niĝ in-dam "to complete" (excerpt) (?) but the -dam is awkward.

39 A reading da- cannot be ruled out (cf. also Cavigneaux, *ASJ* 9 [1987] 49).

57 kur am₃-tu₁₁-be₂ ġiri₃-saga₁₁ am₃-me

A rev. 24 kur am₃-tu₁₁-be₂ ġiri₃- saga₁₁ am₃-me
B obv. 5'-6' ʾkur an^l-[...] l mi-ri-e-zi-ka ʾap^l-p[e]

58 ħul-ġal₂-la uru₂ am₃-mi-in-gul-gul

A rev. 25 ħul- ġ al₂-la uru₂ am₃-mi-in-gul- gul
B obv. 7' [ħ]u-ur-ġa₂-la u₂-ru am-mi- gu₄-ul-gu₄-ul

59 nam-gu₂ maḥ-am₃ lil₂ am₃-mi-in-su-ub

A rev. 26 nam-gu₂ maḥ-am₃ lil₂ am₃-mi-in-su-ub
B na-gu₄-u₈ ma-ḥ a / la- la- mi- du

60 sipa ʿur-ʿnamma-ke₄ ħul-ġal₂-la uru₂ am₃-mi-in-gul-gul

A rev. 27 sipa ʿur-ʿnamma- ke₄ ħul- ġ al₂-la uru₂ am₃-mi-in-gul- gul
B obv. 8' [si]-pa ur-ʿna-na-ma-ke ħu-ur-ġ a₂-la u₂-ru am-mi- gu₄-ul-gu₄-u[l]

61 nam-gu₂ maḥ-am₃ lil₂ am₃-mi-NI(i₃)-in-su-ub

A rev. 28 nam-gu₂ maḥ-am₃ lil₂ am₃-mi-NI(i₃)-in-su-ub
B obv. 9' [na]⁴⁰-gu₄-u₈ ma-ḥ a la- la- mi- du

62 ar₂-a-ni ħuš-am₃ e₂ ki-bala

A rev. 29 ar₂-a-ni ħuš-am₃ e₂ ki-bala
B obv. 10' ʾa^l-ri-ni ħu-š a^l e ki-ib-la

63 u₁₈-lu-ne₂ lu₂ erim₂-ġal₂ mu-ni-ib₂-DU

A rev. 30 u₁₈-lu-ne₂ lu₂ erim₂-ġ al₂ mu- ni- ib₂-DU
B u₂-ru-ne₂ lu i-ri- ġ a₂-al mu-[ni] /-ib-ša-a[š]⁴¹

57 (And so) he heaps up the foreign land, tramples on it.

58 He made the storm completely destroy evil.

59 He made the wind sweep away the great oppression.

60 Shepherd Urnamma made the storm completely destroy evil.

61 He made the wind sweep away the great oppression.

62 His fame is frightful, *dynasties* of rebellious lands!

63 His storm has delivered the evil person to him.⁴²

40 Genouillac's copy shows na-.

41 Genouillac's copy shows mu-ni/-ib-š a-aš.

42 Or translate lines 62-63: "His frightful fame has delivered to him *dynasties* of rebellious lands and his storm the evil person".

64 sipa ^dur-^dnamma-ke₄ ar₂-a-ni ħuš-am₃ e₂ ki-bala

A rev. 31 sipa ^dur- ^dnamma- ke₄ ar₂-a-ni ħuš-am₃ e₂ ki-bala
B obv. 11' ʾsiʾ-pa u[ʾr]-ʾnaʾ-na<-ma>-ke a-ri- ni ħu-ša e ki-ib-la

65 u₁₈-lu-ne₂ lu₂ erim₂-ġal₂ mu-ni-ib₂-DU

A rev. 32 u₁₈-lu-ne₂ lu₂ erim₂-ġal₂ mu-ni-ib₂-DU
B obv. 11'-12' u₂-ru-ne₂ | [l]u i-ri- ʾġa₂ʾ-al mu-ni-ib- ša-aš

66 para₁₀ nam-lugal-la-ke₄ ki-a mu-ni-in-us₂

A rev. 33 para₁₀ nam-lugal- la-ke₄ ki-a mu-ni-in-us₂
B obv. 13' [p]a-ra na- lu-ga-ʾla-kaʾ ki (-)am-mu- us₂
D rev. 1' [... -u]s₂

67 uri₂^{ki}-ma pa e₃ mu-ni-ib-AK

A rev. 34 uri₂^{ki}-ma [*p]a e₃ mu-ni-ib-AK
D rev. 2'-3' [ur]i₂^{ki}-ma pa e₃ | [ħ]u-mu-ni-ib₂-AK
B u₄-ri- ma pe-e / mu-ni-ib-ʾšaʾ-aš

68 sipa ^dur-^dnamma-ke₄ ni₂ bi₂-in-guru₃^{ru} / saġ ħe₂-ni-in-il₂ lugal kalam-
ma-[kam/ke₄]

A rev. 35 sipa ^dur-^dnamma- ke₄ ni₂ bi₂-in-guru₃^{ru} / saġ ħe₂-ni-in-il₂
D rev. 4' [si]pa ur-^dnamma- ke₄
B obv. 14' ʾsiʾ-pa ur-^dna-na-ma-ke ni(-)ip-pi-ig-ru saġ bi-ni(-)
A lugal kalam- ma-[kam/ke₄]
B obv. 15' ʾlu₂^ʔ-gaʾ ka-ʾnaʾ-ma-ka mu-ni-ib-ʾšaʾ-aš

69 ki lugal-a-ni ^den-lil₂-la₂-ka saġ-e-eš ħe₂-[...]

A rev. 36 ki lugal-a-ni ^den-lil₂-la₂- ka saġ-e-eš ħe₂-[...]
B rev. 1 [...]ʾxʾ [...] ^den-lil₂-a-ak-ka sa-gi-ʾiš mu-niʾ-[...]

64 Shepherd Urnamma - his fame is frightful, *dynasties* of rebellious lands!

65 His storm has delivered the evil person to him.

66 He firmly founded the dais of kingship.

67 It shone forth in Ur.⁴³

68 Shepherd Urnamma imbued it⁴⁴ with awe, indeed he raised it high⁴⁵ - he who is king of the land.⁴⁶

69 In the presence of his lord Enlil it was [presented] to him.

⁴³ Source D: "In Ur it verily shone".

⁴⁴ i.e. either the dais of kingship or Ur.

⁴⁵ Or: "indeed he raised his head".

⁴⁶ Source B: "He indeed raised his head towards it (= the dais), it was brought to the king of the land".

70 nam am₃-tar-re šu zi a[m₃-mi(-in)-ĝal₂]

A rev. 37 nam am₃-tar-re šu zi a[m₃-mi(-in)-ĝal₂]

B rev. 2 [...] ^rx x x-a¹-ĝa₂-al

71 [gi]_{r₁₇}-zal uri₂^{ki}-ma ^dur-d[namma...]

A rev. 38 [gi]_{r₁₇}-zal uri₂^{ki}-ma ^dur-d[namma...]

B rev. 2-3 gi-ir- za-[...] | [...](-)ur nam-ĥi-i-a(-)[...] ⁴⁷

72 [sa]-ĝar-ra-am₃ tigi₂ den-[lil₂-la₂-kam]

A rev. 39 [sa]-ĝar-ra-am₃ tigi₂ ^den-[lil₂-la₂-kam]

70 He⁴⁸ decrees the fate, be[stowed] it upon him:

71 Delight in/of Ur [...] Ur[namma ...] in/of abundance [...].

72 (It is the s a ĝ a r a , a t i g i of En[lil])

⁴⁷ Genouillac's copy shows gi-ir-za-^rx¹(-)[...].

⁴⁸ i.e. Enlil.

2.3 Philological Commentary

4 i g i i l₂ means here "to look at somebody/something (with intent, desire)" in order to find and select somebody. References are found in Klein, *TAPS* 71/7 (1981) 38f. ad 12-14. Add *RIME* 4.1.6.2 ii 18'-20' (with incorrect u ġ₃ d a ġ a l š a r₂ - r a - ʾ d a ʾ). For this topos of selection and designation, cf. IV 1.2, pp. 48ff.

6 The possibility that ħ e₂ - a here is a variant of the frozen form ħ e₂ - a m₃ (cf. Michalowski, *Sachs Memorial Vol.* [1988] 273 ad 36 "let it be" in the meaning of "favorable verdict"), and therefore to be translated "the shepherd, (the 'let it be' of Nunamnir ≈) the chosen one of Nunamnir, is laden with a terrible splendour!", cannot be dismissed despite the lack of other references in which ħ e₂ - a is used attributively and the fact that the text predominantly writes - a m₃.

7 m e ħ u r "to trace the m e" recalls the more common and semantically similar ġ e š - ħ u r ħ u r (- ħ u r), cf. Farber-Flügge, *StPohl* 10 (1973) 187 and Sumerian Poem 4 (= Alster, *OLP* 21 [1990] 15) 1.

8-10 k u r - g a l d e n - l i l₂ - l e is agent of line 10. Line 9 seems to be made up of two idioms, namely the obscure š a₃ K A (e n i m ?) ġ a l₂ and š a₃ (- g e / g a) D U, and expanded by s i "to fill" in the sense of "to be occupied with".

14-16 Line 14 probably refers to the pacification of foreign lands that will supply raw materials (cf. Gudea, Cyl. A 15:6ff.; perhaps *RIME* 4.2.9.6:17-20 [Šiniddinam]) and labourers to work on the temple (cf. Gudea, Cyl. A 18:27f.; *RIME* 4.2.9.6:29-34; *RIME* 4.2.14.15:37-39 [Rīmsīn], work on the canal), whereby Sumer rejoices (cf. Gudea, Cyl. A 19:1f.).

u₄ A K (respectively n a m - ħ e₂ - a A K) in line 15 is a hapax (Steible, *FAOS* 1 [1975] 23 translates "to experience days of abundance"), perhaps literally "days which bring? prosperity", i.e. "prosperous times". The syntax is difficult, too, but maybe it goes with the locative? in the next line (a s i l a₃) although a s i l a₃ - a is expected (cf. next paragraph ad Urnamma G 9 n a m - ħ e₂ - a).

For the elusive g u₂ m a r (- m a r) in line 16, cf. Klein's discussion in *Studies Artzi* (1990) 124 ad 60. The verb probably expresses a confident, happy, and thriving attitude, said of people: Urnamma G 9, Isin *30 (= Falkenstein, ZA 52 59) obv. 19 ġ e š - n u₂ g e₄ - r i n ħ i - l i s i - a - z a g u₂ ħ u - m u - u n - d i - ʾ m a r ʾ - r e "On your flowered bed, filled with luxuriance, may you (= Inana) thrive? with him (= king Urninurta)!", and possibly Kramer, *Studies Birot* (1986) 126 (= BM 86535) rev. iv 251 and 266; said of animals: Sulgi D 3; of boats: Sulgi R 60, Enki and the World Order 110, and Lugale 676 (in all three passages in context with a₂ s u d "to sail swiftly"). It may thus be formally and semantically related to s a ġ i l₂ which also appears in contexts of abundance and happiness. Note that our line 16 has a nearly identical parallel in Urnamma G 9

^du r - ^dn a m m a u ^ĝ₃ - e n a m - ^he₂ - a ^ʾg u₂ ^ʾh u - m u - u₈ - d i - n i - i b - m a r - r e "Urnamma, may he (= Enlil) make the people *thrive*? in abundance with you!".

19 n a m - ^ĝeš - š u b alternates with n a m - š u b also in Enki's Journey to Nippur 125 (cf. Attinger, *Eléments* 625, § 673 "scribal error or pun" on ^ĝeš - š u b (- b a) "fate, allotment").

u l i n u l s a₇ . g probably has the original meaning "bud, blossom", associated with p a - p a - a l and g u r u n i n g u r u n i l₂ || u l g u r u₃ (r u) (cf. Falkenstein, *ZA* 56 [1964] 122 and Alster, *Dumuzi's Dream* 87f. ad 15-16 with comments by M. Cohen, *Eršemma* 155f. ad no. 79 [1]). u l s a₇ . g might therefore take a literal meaning "to be sap-green", in the causative "to make flourish, to burgeon, to make mature, to ripen" and would fit well with m u₂ "to grow" of the following line 20. See further the commentary ad 26 and 32.

22 The non-standard writing k a - a ^ĝ₂ - k a (- a n) in Manchester Tammuz 19 and 21 (// Dumuzi-Inana H rev. 4' and 6') for K A₂ "gate" may show an original reduplicated form {k a₂ + k a₂} and make a reading k a₂ uncertain (cf. Attinger, *ZA* 85 [1995] 135, fn. 33, and the discussion in I 2., p. 8f., with regard to {n a m m a + n a m m a}).

The gates mentioned in line 22 appear in roughly the same topographical sequence in Hymn to the Ekur obv. 6ff. (and in M. Cohen, *Lamentations* 1 97:22ff. || 349:19ff.), cf. also Jacobsen, *EI* 20 (1989) 82*f. = *OIP* 98 (1991) 64-66, and *EI* 21 (1990) 40*-46*. K A₂ . G A L could be either the K A₂ - g a l - d i / k i ? - k u₃ of Hymn to the Ekur obv. 10, or with a reading a b u l l a (cf. Kutscher, *YNER* 6 [1975] 110f.), refer to the K A₂ - m a ^h which presumably led from the city into the Ekur compound. The K A₂ - s i l i m - m a is the gate leading through Enlil's courtyard (Hymn to the Ekur obv. 8) to the ziggurat Ħursaĝĝalama.

25 For the difficult - b a i n ^hu - r i - i n - b a , I follow Jacobsen's interpretation (locative) in *Studies Hallo* (1993) 121 ad 4, "in its (capacity) of eagle (...)". - b i , however, refers to the gates.

26 u l - l a s i g₉ means "to inlay with blossoms, to decorate with blossoms" and may refer to rosette decorations on doors. This fits well with the silver and gold u l on temple doors in CBS 342 obv. 6, an unpublished piece of the pseudoepigraphic Lugalbanemundu inscription (courtesy of J.S. Cooper), and the silver u l for the doors of Ningirsu's Eninnu in Gudea, Stat. B 5:48 (cf. Steible, *FAOS* 9/2 [1991] 20 ad 51). Likewise, chariots were decorated with ornamental buds, cf. e.g. Gudea, Cyl. B 16:15 and Sallaberger, *Kalender* 242 ad g., as were boats, e.g. Sallaberger, *ibid.* 242 ad k., and shoes, cf. Wilcke, *CRRAI* 35 (1988) 317ff. (buds [Wilcke, *ibid.* 318 leaf?] of less than 1/4 gr. gold).

29-30 - r a i n k u r - g a l - l a - r a is perhaps with Wilcke, *Lugalbanda-epos* 142, fn. 390, an "isolating postposition". Or it might have been intended as a dative postposition (cf. line 32 "for Ninlil") which got syntactically jumbled because of the genitive.

u₁₈ - r u , for which a translation "giant" and perhaps "tornado" is conceivable, has been discussed most recently by Ludwig, *Išme-Dagan* 107-13. For u₁₈ - r u -

g i n₇ k i u s₂ "to touch the ground like a *tornado*", cf. now also the Sulgi hymn fragment N 3130 + N 3131 (= Klein, *Studies Hallo* [1993] 125) i 2' and Klein's commentary on p. 126 ad 2'.

32 u l D U (cf. the commentary ad 19 and 26) could perhaps mean "to bring to maturity, to blossom, i. e. to decorate". Compare Enki's Journey to Nippur 6-10 e₂-a-ni k u₃ n a₄z a-g i n₃-n a t e š₂-b i b a-n i-i n-d u₃ l k u₃ n a₄z a-g i n₃-b i u₄ k a r₂-k a r₂(-a)-k a l e š₃-e a b z u-a u l i m-m a-n i-i n-D U (6×; 3× var. -d u₃) l s u ḥ₍₁₀₎ g a l a m d u₁₁-g a a b z u-t a e₃-a l e n ḏ n u-d i m₂-m u d-r a m u-u n-n a-s u₈-s u₈-g e-e š "He (= Enki) built his house all with silver and lapis lazuli - with silver and lapis lazuli, a shining light. He *decorated* the shrine Abzu - with a crown artfully decorated, coming out from the Abzu. They (= the gods) stood before lord Nudimmud." (conjectural translation).

33 The usual translation of "to go swiftly, to hurry up" for d u₁₀. b ḡ a l₂ (cf. Wilcke, *Lugalbandaepos* 36, and fn. 67, Heimpel, *Tierbilder* 80 and 109) certainly does not suggest itself here. Here d u₁₀. b (= *birku*, not d u₁₀. g) ḡ a l₂ + locative(-terminative) means "to relax" and is used to describe the relaxed intimacy of gods as in *RIME* 4.2.13.16:20-21 and maybe in a sexual sense in v. Dijk apud Owen, *ZA* 71 (1981) 42 (= *VS* 17 12) 2. For d u₁₀. b ḡ a r / ḡ a₂ / ḡ a l₂ in the sense "to relax" (especially said of animals), cf. Civil, *Le débat sumérien entre la houe et l'araire* (unpub.), Paris (1965) 134 (with references).

41 For the verbal chain b a / m u-e-a- before roots beginning with a vowel, cf. Attinger, *Eléments* 218, fn. 496 (-a- has no morphological function).

42 The form k a r₂-k a r₂-k a-d a can hardly stand for k a r₂-k a r₂-k a r₂-d a (Klein, *ASJ* 11 [1989] 55 ad 42 and v. Dijk, *HSAO* 1 [1967] 257) because of the variant k a r₂-k a r₂-a-k a (e.g. Enki's Journey to Nippur 7). More likely -k a is for A K (cf. v. Dijk, *SGL* 2 11, fn. 2 and S. Cohen, *ELA* 277f. ad 442) and we therefore perhaps have to analyse {k a r₂-k a r₂+A K+e d+a (locative)} with /e d a/ > /a d a/ assimilation, for a comitative in this context is very unlikely (cf. Sulgi D 388 n i₂ m e-l i m_x-m a g u₂ ḥ u-m u-n i-u s₂). For (k a r₂-)k a r₂-k a, cf. now also Krecher, *Studies v. Soden = AOAT* 240 (1995) 158-60 who claims this is a *marû* form. This analysis of (k a r₂-)k a r₂-k a applies well to conjugated forms (cf. Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta 442) but does not explain forms like the above mentioned k a r₂-k a r₂-a-k a nor k a r₂-k a r₂-r e-d e₃ in Kramer, *JANES* 5 (1973) 245:5.

44 For a recent discussion of u r u₁₆. n / u r u n /, which originally might mean "massive, unshakeable", cf. Civil, *Studies Sjöberg* (1989) 55 ad 2.

ḥ e₂-e m is {ḥ e+a m₃}, cf. also Yoshikawa, *ASJ* 11 (1989) 294. Compare Išmedagān F_B (= Isin *13b) (= *TCL* 15 18 obv. ii 11'-12') 9-10 ḏ i š-m e-d d a-g a n d u m u ḏ e n-l i l₂-l a₂ u b-d a l i m m u₂-b a¹ u l-l i₂-š e₃ k a l a m-m a g u₂ ḥ e₂-n i-i n-z i e-n e ṽ ḏ i ḡ i r-b i¹

ḥe₂ - e m "Išmedagān, the son of Enlil, he of the four corners, may he raise his neck forever in the land, may he be its god!".

52 The writing gu₂ A . N E . R U - ḡa l₂ - l a in source D is discussed by Attinger, *Éléments* 630, fn. 1813.

54/56 Note the virtual disappearance of e n "lord" in source B because of Sandhi-writing before n u - n a - a m - n i - r a.

58 In view of the syntactical parallelism in line 59, u r u₂ could be u₁₈ - r u *abūbu*, with possibly a pun on the common ES u r u₂ g u l - g u l "to destroy cities". For u r u₂ = u₁₈ - r u, cf. e.g. Al-Fouadi, *Enki's Journey to Nippur* 129 ad 56, Alster, Vanstiphout, *ASJ* 9 (1987) 37 ad 134 and 137, and Išmedagān V_B 7. Problematical is ḥ u l - ḡa l₂ - l a for ḥ u l - ḡa l₂ - a m₃, succeeded by n a m - g u₂ m a ḥ - a m₃ in line 59. However, the - a / - a m₃ alternation is not uncommon.

66 The verbal form in source B might be a reinterpretation of original k i - a m₃ m i - n i - i n - u s₂.

68 The verbal form in source B b i - n i / b i n i (l) / is Sandhi-writing before l u₂ - g a l.

70 š u z i ḡa l₂ is presumably a synonym of š u z i ḡa r *šutlumu* "to bestow", cf. Tinney, *Nippur Lament* 172 ad 238 and Michalowski, *Correspondence* 181f. ad 4.

3. URNAMMA C

3.1 Introduction

Previous studies¹

G. Castellino published the first complete edition of this self-laudatory hymn with a transliteration, translation, and a philological commentary in ZA 53 (1959) 118-31. Previously M. Lambert had transliterated and translated the hymnal prologue concerning Ur and the Ekišnuḡal (lines 1-12) in *Sumer* 6 (1950) 162f. In 1960 a treatment of lines 1-16 appeared in Å.W. Sjöberg's dissertation (*Mondgott* 119-22). Within the framework of his dissertation in 1981 on historical correlations of the Sumerian royal hymns D.R. Frayne, on the basis of G. Castellino's text edition, translated and discussed many lines and attempted to correlate events narrated in them with those found in other records of Urnamma's reign.

Structural Analysis²

Urnamma C is divided into two main sections (I-II) ending in a $z a_3 - m i_2$ doxology. The first part (I) of the composition consists of a hymnic prologue in praise of the Ekišnuḡal (1-12) and introduces Urnamma in the 3rd person (13-19). The second part (II) is marked by a shift of person and contains Urnamma's self-praise (20-114)³. As in e.g. Sulgi O, the hymnic praise at the beginning includes the city as a whole (1-5), its main shrine, the Ekišnuḡal, and describes the shrine's various parts before it introduces the king (13-19). This second section (II) contains features which can be termed autobiographical, but do not necessarily follow a chronological order as D.R. Frayne assumed.⁴ It focuses to a large extent on royal legitimization: Urnamma's divine predestination, his designation and his achievements as king of Ur, and of Sumer and Akkad. Urnamma is specially favoured and endowed by the gods (20-30). Given judicial authority by Utu and strength by Ningublaga (27-30), Urnamma is well equipped to enforce law and order in Sumer and Akkad (31-40). This pleases Nanna-Su'en who has favoured Urnamma even be-

¹ Cf. also II 2., p. 20.

² Cf. also IV 3.1, p. 73.

³ Note that lines 103-106 seem to be in the 3rd person.

⁴ Frayne, *Correlations* 79ff., cf. in more detail, III 2., pp. 37ff.

fore birth (43-45). The text continues with Urnamma's divine predestination and lineage (46-49). The following lines describe Urnamma's propitious fate: as leader of Sumer he is the source of happiness, political stability, and prosperity (50-84), and has established and consolidated Ur's control by expulsion of the Gutí and restoration of the wall (85⁷-92). After a short description of the journey to Enlil in Nippur with offerings⁵ (103-106) the section ends with a final self-acknowledgment and legitimation (107-114).

It is difficult to see any formal structure in this hymn except that it is made up of descriptive passages that focus on individual features or situations, some doubtless with historical allusions (cf. the Gutí). Furthermore, the beginning and end concentrate both on Urnamma's cultic relationship with Ur, i.e. the Ekišnuḡal which he extensively rebuilt, and on his relationship with Nanna, Ur's main god, whereas the middle section contains legitimation phraseology and a description of his individual achievements.

In summary, the composition is made up of the following sequences:

- I. Prologue (1-19) 3rd person
 1. Sanctuary Ur, the Ekišnuḡal (1-12)
 2. Urnamma (13-19)
- II. Self-praise (20-114) 1st person
 1. Divine approval and endowments (20-30) from:
 - a. An (20-21)
 - b. Enlil (22)
 - c. Enki (23)
 - d. Nintur (24-25/6)
 - e. Utu (27-28)
 - f. Ningublaga (29-30)
 2. Description of judicial activities as king and guardian-spirit of Ur (31-39/40)
 3. Transition: Nanna receiving offerings in the Ekišnuḡal (41-42)
 4. Divine predestination and designation (43-49)
 - a. favoured by Nanna-Su'en before birth (43-45)
 - b. favoured by Enlil (46)
 - c. favoured by Nintur (47)
 - d. divine parentage (48-49)
 5. Description of Sumer and Akkad's well-being thanks to Urnamma, their guardian-spirit (50-56)
 6. Designation as leader of Sumer by Enlil (57-61)
 7. Self-description (62-69, partially broken)
 8. Political stability (70-72)
 9. Cultic function as e n-priest (in the ḡ i p a r of Uruk) (73-75)
 10. Resulting agricultural abundance (76-80)

⁵ Cf. in more detail, III *ibid.*, p. 39f., and the philological commentary ad 104-105, p. 226f.

11. Well-being of Sumer (81-84)
12. Establishing and consolidating Ur's control with expulsion of the Gutí and restoration of the wall (85?-92)
13. Abundance for Ur (?) (mostly broken) (93-102)
14. Urnamma's (?) journey to Nippur with (first-fruit) offerings for Enlil (103-106) 3rd person⁶
15. Final self-acknowledgment and legitimation: Nanna's creature, part of the divine Uruk family, kingship passed on (107-114)

III. z a ₃ - m i ₂ - ġ u ₁₀ doxology (115)

Source

Nippur:

AO 5378

i 1-26 = **1-26**

ii 1-25 = **27-51**

iii 1-33 = **52-84**

iv 1-31 = **85-115**

copy: H. de Genouillac, *TCL* 15 12.

photo of obv.: B. André-Leicknam, C. Ziegler, alii (eds.),

Naissance de l'écriture [...], Paris (1982) 221; photos of obv. and rev. made available by B. André-Salvini, cf. pls. 16-20.

collations: J.-M. Durand (unpub.); E. Flückiger-Hawker.

measurements: 130 × 104 × 36 cm.

⁶ Less likely Nanna-Su'en's journey to Nippur with a request for (long) life (107).

3.2 Transliteration and Translation

- 1 i 1 iri me du₁₀-du₁₀-ga para₁₀ maḥ nam-lugal-la
- 2 i 2 eš₃ uri₅^{ki} gu₂-gal ʾkiʾ-en-gi-ra ki ku₃-ga du₃-a
- 3 i 3 iri bad₃ gal ki ḡar-ra-ba abzu-ta mu₂-a
- 4 i 4 iri an-gin₇ sa₇-ga ḥi-li guru₃^{ru} ki-gal-la gunu₃-gunu₃
- 5 i 5 eš₃ uri₅^{ki} ḡi₆-par₄ ki ḡar-ra ki-tuš an ʾden-lil₂-la₂
- 6 i 6 e₂-gal maḥ-ba e₂-kiš-nu-ḡal₂ ša₃-bi nam tar-ra
- 7 i 7 dub-la₂-ba me-lim_x tuḥ-tuḥ-a kur-kur-ra diri-ga
- 8 i 8 gi-gun₄-na-bi dungu babbar-gin₇ an-ša₃-ga u₆-di
- 9 i 9 ḡeš^oRU-bi nim ḡir₂-ḡir₂-e-gin₇ ab-ša₃-ga kum_x(PA)-kum_x(PA)-mu
- 10 i 10 DIŠ! gud ḡeššudul₄-a-gin₇ ur₂ gur-ra x ku₃ DA.RA-ga
- 11 i 11 ḡešbansur ʾsiki-l-laʾ ki-aḡ₂ ʾsuʾen-na
- 12 i 12 e₂-kiš-nu-ḡal₂ ḡešbansur ʾsikiʾ-l-la ki-aḡ₂ ʾsuʾen-na
- 13 i 13 lugal KI.LUGAL.GUB-la ḥe₂-du₇-bi ʾkisaʾʾ(-)maḥ-e si-a
- 14 i 14 [u]rʾ-dnamma EN(uru₁₆) a₂ nun-ge₄-a ʾʾenʾ-[x] ʾx xʾ-ma
- 15 i 15 [(x) ur]i₃^{ki} ʾiriʾ daḡal(-)b[a/z[u^o] ʾSAR? xʾ [(x) x x]
- 16 i 16 [...] nam ʾx x-ga paʾʾ ba-e-ni-a-e₃
- 17 i 17 [...] ʾx(-x)ʾ [(x) x]-ʾxʾ nir-ḡal₂-e
- 18 i 18 [ni₂-te(-a)-n]i mi₂ zi i-ri-in-ga-am₃-me

- 1 City of all good m e, highest dais of kingship,
- 2 Sanctuary Ur, foremost in Sumer, built on splendid ground,
- 3 City, great wall, when (firmly) founded, has grown from the Abzu,⁷
- 4 City, azure like the heavens, full of luxuriance, iridescent upon the (build-
ing) platform,
- 5 Sanctuary Ur, (with a) firmly founded ġ i p a r, dwelling place of An and
Enlil,
- 6 Of its greatest palace - the Ekišnuġal: its centre where fate is determined,
- 7 Its! d u b l a, laden with radiance, exceeding all (the foreign) lands,
- 8 Its ġ i ġ u n a, spectacular as white clouds in the midst of the sky,
- 9 Its . . . *sparkling* in the depths of the sea like flashing lightening,
- 10 Like a single bull under a yoke, with stumpy legs, . . .
- 11 Pure (offering) table, beloved of Su'en,
- 12 Ekišnuġal, pure table, beloved of Su'en,
- 13 The king, the adornment of . . . who occupies the main courtyard,
- 14 Urnamma, the valiant, of indomitable strength, . . .
- 15 [...U]r, [...] broad city? . . . [...],
- 16 [...] . . . made appear.
- 17 [...] . . . the noble,
- 18 Furthermore praises [himse]lf deservingly,

⁷ Or: "City, which owing to its great wall (firmly) founded, has grown from the Abzu".

- 19 i 19 [u]r-^Γdnamma^Γ lugal uri₅ki-ma nam du₁₀ tar-ra-ba / ġiri₃ si mu-un-da-ab-sa₂
- 20 i 20 an-e ka ^Γku₃^Γ-ga-ni mu-un-ba IM.A ma-u₃-du₂
- 21 i 21 ki-še₃ ša₃-ga si ba-an-sa₂ ħe₂-ġal₂ ma-ra-DU
- 22 i 22 den-lil₂-le mi₂ zi mu-un-du₁₁ UN mu-ši-in-x⁸
- 23 i 23 d^Γen^Γ-ki-ke₄ mi₂ zi mu-un-du₁₁ a-eštub dezina₂ / še gu-nu saġ-e-eš mu-un-rig₇
- 24 i 24 ^Γdnin^Γ-tu-re ġe₂₆-e mu-un-dim₂-dim₂-en ga-ri-ġu₁₀ nu-tuku
- 25 i 25 [...]-^Γx^Γ du₁₀-be₂ bi₂-in-peš-en lugal kalam-ma-me-en
- 26 i 26 [...ġa]₂ zi-da-me-en tur₃ amaš mu-da-^Γdaġal^Γ
- 27 ii 1 dutu ka-ġa₂ enim ba-ni-in-ġal₂
- 28 ii 2 di ku₅-ru-ġu₁₀ ki-en-gi ki-uri gu₃ teš₂-a bi₂-in-si₃
- 29 ii 3 dnin-gublaga-ke₄ a₂ ma-an-šum₂
- 30 ii 4 me₃-ġu₁₀ an-ki šu₂-a-bi lu₂ la-ba-ra-e₃
- 31 ii 5 ur-dnamma lugal uri₅ki-ma dlamma iri-ġa₂-me-en
- 32 ii 6 šer₇-da mu-dub₂ su mu-un-saġ₃-saġ₃
- 33 ii 7 ni₂ su-e bi₂-us₂-sa-ġu₁₀ ^Γx x^Γ-a
i-na mu-x x-ri-ia(-)AŠ⁹
- 34 ii 8 di ku₅-ru-ġu₁₀ ki-en-gi ki-^Γuri^Γ us₂ AŠ-a mi-ni-ib-dab₅
- 35 ii 9 ni₂-zuĥ lu₂ i-dutu-ka gu₂-ba ġiri₃ bi₂-gub
- 36 ii 10 NE.RU-du muš-gin₇ šu gid₂-gid₂-da šu im-da-an-šu₂-šu₂
- 37 ii 11 lu₂ kar-da gur₅-ru-uš im-da-ab-be₂ ša₃-bi si bi₂-ib-sa₂

⁸ The last sign is neither de₂ nor sa₆.

⁹ Gloss, cf. also II 4., p. 27.

- 19 Urnamma, the king of Ur: after an auspicious fate had been determined, the roads were put in order due to him:
- 20 "An opened his pure mouth and *rain(storms)* was produced for me,
- 21 He made it fall right into the deep earth, and abundance came forth to/for me,
- 22 Enlil approved of me, has . . . the land/people to me,
- 23 Enki approved of me, has presented me with the early flood, wheat and *mottled* barley,
- 24 Nintur has formed me meticulously, (so that) I have no equal.
- 25 [...] has raised me *on the knees*, I am the king of the land.
- 26 I am the [...] of the just [...], cattle pen and sheepfold were expanded under my reign.
- 27 Utu has put orders in my mouth,
- 28 Through my capacity to pronounce judgments he has permitted me to make Sumer and Akkad obedient.
- 29 Ningublaga has given me strength,
- 30 When my battle covers heaven and earth, nobody escapes.
- 31 I am Urnamma, king of Ur, the guardian-spirit of my city:
- 32 I caused offense to tremble, bodies shook there.
- 33 Thanks to the fear I have inspired . . . ,
- 34 The judgments I pronounce made Sumer and Akkad hew to the one and same path.
- 35 I put my foot on the neck of thieves and oppressors.
- 36 Reaching out for malefactors as for a snake, I clasped them.
- 37 Against the fugitives I rushed forth, their hearts were set aright,

- 38 ii 12 niġ₂-si-sa₂-e pa e₃ bi₂-AK niġ₂-NE.RU sa₂ bi₂-du₁₁
- 39 ii 13 dġibil₆-gin₇ saġ₆-ki gid₂-da-ġu₁₀ ʾgu₃ʾ teš₂-a bi₂-ʾsi₃ʾ
- 40 ii 14 KA-ġu₁₀ ME(.)ME(.)DU₈ ba-gub-be₂ UN x ʾAʾ [...] ʾx(-x)-eʾ
- 41 ii 15 DAG ʾx(-x)ʾ-la ma-da kur-ʾkurʾ [...] / uri₅ʾki-eʾ x kurʾ [...]
- 42 ii 16 nidba-bi e₂-kiš-nu-ʾġal₂-la-naʾ / ʾnanna-ar mi-ni-in-ħul₂-le
- 43 ii 17 aʾ-ġu₁₀ ša₃ ku₃-ge ba-ri-a-ta
- 44 ii 18 ʾsuʾen-e u₆-e ki-aġ₂-ni
ʾx xʾ¹⁰
- 45 ii 19 ʾnanna-ar ħi-li-na ba-ni-in-ku₄-re
- 46 ii 20 den-lil₂-le ʾutu-gin₇ kalam-ma e₃-de₃ / mu du₁₀ mu-un-ʾše₂₁ʾ
- 47 ii 21 ʾninʾ(NIN₉)-tu du₂-ʾdu₂ʾ-a-ġu₁₀ <mu>-un-gub-buʾ
- 48 ii 22 ša₃ ama-ġu₁₀ ʾnin-sumun₂-ka-ta
- 49 ii 23 nam tar-ra sa₆-ga ma-ta-e₃
- 50 ii 24 ur-ʾnamma-me-en ma-da ki-en-gi ki-ʾuriʾ / ʾlamma mu-un-da-an-tuku
- 51 ii 25 kalam-ma ki ur₅ sa₆-ge-bi ġe₂₆-e-me-en zi-ġu₁₀ ħe₂-u₃-du₂
- 52 iii 1 piriġ ušumgalʾ x A(.)KA IGI(x).LA₂ a-ša₃ mu-da-dadag
- 53 iii 2 [GA]NA₂ʾ gi ħulu mu₂-a suba₂ nu-mu-u₈-da-lu
- 54 iii 3 ʾedim_xʾ(EDIN)-ma ezem-gin₇ du₃-a-ba ġiri₃ si mu-un-da-ab-ʾsa₂ʾ
- 55 iii 4 lu₂ a-ša₃-ga nir-ġal₂-bi mu-un-DU / gaba-na ib₂-ta-an-zi
- 56 iii 5 dumu-uku₂-ra u₂ il₂-i-de₃ ġen-na ama-ni-ir mu-un-ge₄-ge₄

¹⁰ Illegible gloss or variant between u₆ of line 44 and ħi of line 45.

- 38 I made justice appear, subdued evil,
 39 Like Gibil, my frown made them obedient.¹¹
 40 My mouth/command puts . . . [...] . . .
 41 . . ., the territories and all (the foreign) lands [...] Ur [...],
 42 Their sacrifices make me rejoice before Nanna in his Ekišnuḡal.
 43 When my semen was ejaculated into the pure womb,
 44 Su'en who loves marvellous things

 45 Made me turn (be)for(e) Nanna into his darling.
 46 Enlil who rises like the sun over the land, gave me a good name,
 47 Nintur stood by in the process of my birth,
 48 From the womb of my mother Ninsumun
 49 A propitious fate has emerged for me.
 50 In me!, Urnamma, the Land Sumer and Akkad has got a guardian-spirit.

 51 I am the source of the land's happiness, my life is a creative force.
 52 Lion(s) and dragon(s)? . . ., the fields were bright under my reign.
 53 (On) the [gro]und? on which bad reeds grew, did not . . . multiply under my reign?
 54 In the steppe, after being prepared as for a festival, the roads were put in order due to me!.
 55 Men stood confidently in the fields, up to their chests it¹² rose.
 56 The poor who went to gather fuel, were exempted from their obligations.

¹¹ Literally: "(...), I made my frown make them obedient", for otherwise bi₂-ib₍₂₎-si₃ is expected.

¹² i.e. the produce of the fields.

- 57 When the storm had receded?¹⁴ the moonlight returned to/for me,
- 58 Enlil designated me on his very auspicious day through extispicy.
- 59 He spoke authoritatively to Sumer, through him I rise over/in front of it.¹⁵
- 60 Because I possess broad wisdom and intelligence,
- 61 [...], the lord, put it¹⁶ in my control.
- 62 I am the . . . of [Sum]er.
- 63 [...] the beneficial . . . am I.
- 64 [...] am I,
- 65 [...] the [...] of the land am I.
- 66 [...] who carries [...].
- 67 . . . [...]
- 68 . . . [...]
- 69 I am the e n-priest¹⁷ . . . [...].
- 70 [I?] Urnamma, born to be a god, in pure fashion [...].
- 71 The assembly? is properly arranged before me,
- 72 Enlil has given me vigorous troops who keep the land secure.
- 73 In the ĝ i p a r I put on a linen garment,
- 74 I lay down on the flowered bed, its sweet resting place,
- 75 I let people eat? tasty food, I am their Enkimdu,
- 76 I am the faithful shepherd who has increased his flock?,

¹⁴ Expected is [g]e₂-a-ba.

¹⁵ i.e. Sumer. Less likely: "(...) and elevated me with it", with in-da- < im-da- (assimilation).

¹⁶ i.e. perhaps Sumer.

¹⁷ In view of lines 73-74, rather than "lord".

- 77 iii 26 tur₃ amaš daḡal KA×MAŠ-bi ḡal₂ bi₂-taka₄ gaba-ri-ḡu₁₀ nu-tuku
- 78 iii 27 sipa u₂ naḡ-ḡa₂-bi suba₂ ma-šar₂
x x mu[?]-ni-šar₂^{?18}
- 79 iii 28 nam-EN-na-bi u₃-me-ni-tag
- 80 iii 29 buru₁₄ maḡ-ḡu₁₀ ni₂-bi il₂-il₂-i niḡ₂-ku₅ nu-AK-e
- 81 iii 30 a₂-aḡ₂-ḡa₂-ḡu₁₀ bad₃ gal kur-ra-ka a-ne ḡu₂-la mu-e
- 82 iii 31 iri-ḡa₂ ki sur-ra ki-en-gi-ra gir₁₇-zal-bi ma-du₁₀
- 83 iii 32 ki-en-gi i₇-ba a šu bi₂-ba ḡeš gu₂-ba mu-zi
- 84 iii 33 saḡ-ur-saḡ-bi ḡeššudul₄-bi mu-zi
- 85 iv 1 [...k]ur-ra-ka ZA₃.LA₂-[?]bi[?] m[u]-[?]tuh[?]
- 86 iv 2 [...u]ri₅^{ki} [?]šu[?]-ba im-mi-[?]ge[?]₄
- 87 iv 3 [?]x[?]-ba ITIMA-šeššig-gin₇ kur-[?]ra[?]-na bi₂-ge₄
- 88 iv 4 še-bi ma₂-gur₈-ra-ke₄ bi₂-la₂ ḡa₂-nun-bi [?]bi[?]-ge₄
- 89 iv 5 dumu [?]KIḠ₂^{?19}-bi e₂-a-ni[!](IR) im-mi-ge₄ dubsig_x-bi mu-ge₄
- 90 iv 6 gu-ti-um^{ki} LU₂.ŠA₃×TAR[?].A-ke₄ šu urin-na mu-du₈
- 91 iv 7 i-dutu ka-ba um-mi-ge₄
- 92 iv 8 bad₃[?] bi₂-[?]šub[?]-ba bi₂-ge₄ ša₃ su₃-ra mu-[?]x^{?20}
iri[?] DU mu-gul[?] eš₃ uri₅^k[i....]²¹
- 93 iv 9 ḡuruš[?] gu₂ [?]tuku[?] den-lil₂-la₂-me-en nidba [?]x-(x)-[?]x[?]-me-[?]en[?]
- 94 iv 10 [?]x uḡ₃ (x) daḡal[?]-bi AN-da [?]x x (x)[?]
- 95 iv 11 [...]-[?]x-bi AN[?]-da [?]NI[?] x(-x)[?]

18 Possible variant, cf. also II 4., p. 27.

19 A reading -gi₇ is excluded.

20 Or [x] instead of [?]x[?], as the broken sign could also belong to the squeezed signs below.

21 Possibly an additional line (or a variant?) squeezed between lines 92 and 93.

- 77 I opened the . . . of the wide cattle pens and sheepfolds, I have nobody equal to me.
- 78 . . . were multiplied for me *in*²² the shepherd's pastures and watering places,²²
- 79 After having . . . ,
- 80 No one taxes my enormous harvest which raises itself high,
- 81 In the big fortress of the k u r, they joyfully follow my instructions,²³
- 82 The delight of my city (and) the region of Sumer, pleases me,
- 83 I released water into Sumer's canals, trees grew tall on their banks,
- 84 Its²⁴ s a ĝ u r s a ĝ lifted their yoke,
- 85 The . . . of the [...] of the foreign land I *released*²⁵,
- 86 [...] I returned to [U]r 's control.
- 87 I made . . . return like a . . . to his land,
- 88 I loaded its²⁵ grain on cargo boats, restocked its granaries with it.
- 89 I let its *working*²⁶ *citizens* return home, they returned to their (work) basket.
- 90 The *captive* Guti I *put in bloody fetters*.
- 91 And when I had diverted the cry of the oppressed into their²⁶ mouths,
- 92 I restored the wall²⁷ that had been torn down²⁸, and . . . *impenetrable hearts/ inside*, I . . . the sanctuary Ur [...].
- 93 I am the perfect workman²⁹ of Enlil, I am the one who . . . sacrifices.
- 94 . . . its numerous people . . .
- 95 [...] its . . .

²² Variant: "I have multiplied? . . .".

²³ Or: "My instructions, the big fortress of the k u r, they joyfully follow", i.e. Urnamma's instructions are likened to a fortress. Cf. perhaps Išmedagān A 241 (*TCL* 15 9 rev. ii 49) where Išmedagān calls himself "the tallest fortress" (b a d 3 r m a ħ 7).

²⁴ i.e. Sumer.

²⁵ i.e. Sumer or Ur.

²⁶ i.e. the Guti.

- 96 iv 12 [...] ʽxʽ [(x)] ʽx xʽ [...] -ʽdu₁₀ʽ²⁷
- 97 iv 13 [...] ʽxʽ [...] ʽxʽ
- 98 iv 14 [...]
- 99 iv 15 [...] ʽxʽ [...] ²⁷
- 100 iv 16 ʽġešʽ xʽ ġeš šinig? ġ[eš...]
- 101 iv 17 iri-a ġišbun-e mu-ʽdaʽ-a[n-...]
- 102 iv 18 e-ne-di ħul₂-la ġar-ra-še₃ e₂/ġa₂ ʽSI/E xʽ [...]ʽ
- 103 iv 19 i₇-ʽlugaʽ-la e₂ den-lil₂-la₂-še₃ ħe₂-ġal₂ mu-un-da-ʽku₄ʽ
- 104 iv 20 kar-ġeštin-na den-lil₂-la₂-še₃ ma₂ na-an-ga-mu-ni-ʽinʽ-ri
- 105 iv 21 kar-za-gin₃-na(-)dnanna-ka ma₂ na-an-ga-mu-ni-in-ri
- 106 iv 22 den-lil₂-ra gurun₆ la₃ ba-an-na-de₂
- 107 iv 23 sipa ur-dnamma-me-en til₃ niġ₂-ba-ġu₁₀ ħe₂-a
- 108 iv 24 dnanna lugal-ġu₁₀ e₂-gal-la-na mu-na-du₃
- 109 iv 25 e₂-kiš-nu-ġal₂ ħur-saġ sa₇-ga-gin₇ ki-gal-la bi₂-gub
- 110 iv 26 gi-gun₄-na-bi ku₃-sig₁₇ na₄za-gin₃-na dub-ba-an ba-la₂
- 111 iv 27 šu-du₁₁-ga-e dnanna-a-me-en
- 112 iv 28 ses dbil₃-ga-mes gu-la-me-en
- 113 iv 29 [dumu-d]u₂-da dnin-sumun₂-ka-me-en numun nam-en-na-me-en
- 114 iv 30 [an-t]a nam-lugal ma-ra-e₁₁ʽ(SI
DU)²⁸
- 115 iv 31 [sip]a ur-dnamma-me-en za₃-mi₂-ġu₁₀ du₁₀-ga-am₃

²⁷ An additional line might be missing before line iv 15.

²⁸ DU is squeezed in at the right of and under SI.

96f. [...] . . .

98 [...]

99 [...] [...]

100 . . . , tamarisks, [...].

101 In the city he? [sat down?] with me? to a banquet.

102 To organized merry playing . . . [...]"

103 Thanks to him abundance entered the Royal Canal and the temple of Enlil.

104 To the Wine Quay of Enlil did he navigate (his) ship,

105 (Departing) from the Shining Quay of Nanna did he navigate (his) ship.

106 He libated for Enlil liquors and syrup:

107 "I am shepherd Urnamma, let life be my gift!

108 For Nanna, my lord, I have built his palace,

109 I have erected the Ekišnuġal, like a verdant mountain, on a foundation platform,

110 For its g i g u n a a fence was/is bound together with gold and lapis lazuli.

111 I am the creature of Nanna!

112 I am the eldest of the brothers of Gilgameš!

113 I am the na[tural son] of Ninsumun, the seed of e n-ship!

114 Fro[m heaven] kingship has come down to me!

115 I am [sheph]erd Urnamma, my praise is sweet!"

3.3 Philological Commentary

2 For the significance of the right quality of the foundation soil, cf. Jacobsen, *EI* 20 (1989) 88*, fn. 35 = *OIP* 98 (1991) 66f., fn. 74, and Ludwig, *Išme-Dagan* 115ff.

4 For *s a₇ . g*, said of heaven, cf. Sjöberg, *Mondgott* 120f. The translation "azure", i.e. "brilliant, crispy blue" - and not just "beautiful" - is based on *g u n u₃ - g u n u₃* which follows. On the sequence *s a₇ . g — g u n u₃*, cf. Waetzoldt, *Textilindustrie* 52. In more general terms *s a₇ . g* describes an object or being in its prime, (sexually) attractive or fecund, growing state (cf. also the commentary ad Urnamma B 19).

A translation "great place" i.e. "netherworld" in opposition to *a b z u* and *a n* is also possible for *k i - g a l* which normally means "postament, building platform, foundation platform" (*kigallu*).

5 The *ĝ i p a r* was the residential quarters of the *e n*-priest(ess) (e.g. Ur Lament 349; 353-354; Sulgi B 134; Sumer and Ur Lament 184 || 192 || 250) and of her/his personnel (Enmerkar and Ensuhkešdana 118). The two *ĝ i p a r* south of the Ekišnuġal in OB Ur are discussed in Charpin, *Clergé* 192ff.

k i - t u š a n d e n - l i l₂ - l a₂ "dwelling place of An and Enlil" is in apposition to *e š₃ u r i₅ k i* "sanctuary Ur".

6 i.e. Ur's greatest palace is the Ekišnuġal (topicalised and focalised).

7 *d u b - l a₂ - b i* (as in line 8) is expected. The form might be contaminated by line 6 *e₂ - g a l - m a ħ - b a*. For a discussion of *d u b - l a₂*, cf. Cooper, *Curse of Agade* 248 ad 131 ("gateway"); Lambert, *Or.* 54 (1985) 193-96 ("stone block in which the door-pole turned at its base"); Steinkeller, *ZA* 75 (1985) 39, fn.1 ("platform or terrace"); Jacobsen, *EI* 20 (1989) 82*, 85*, and fn. 49 = *OIP* 98 (1991) 64; 72, and fn. 89 ("upper platform"); George, *Iraq* 57 (1995) 174, and fn. 14, 180f., 183ff., esp. 185f. ("pilaster").

9 *ĝ e š R U* is epigraphically uncertain (erasure [?]) between *Ĝ E Š* and *R U* and the meaning elusive. Suggestions have been made by Groneberg, *RA* 81 (1987) 115ff. ("Bogen", in mythological texts "magischer Stab") and *RA* 82 (1988) 71-73 ("numinöser Zauber-Gegenstand"), Wilcke, *N.A.B.U.* 1991/17 ("Reflexbögen"), Alster, *RA* 85 (1991) 6-8 ("boomerang" [?]), and most recently Römer, *AfO* 40/41 (1993/94) 32-38 (perhaps "Wurfspeer"). The connection with a part of a temple, however, remains unclear and therefore the term is not translated here.

In view of line 8 (*a n - š a₃ - g a*) a reading *a b - š a₃ - g a* is preferable to *e š₃ - š a₃ - g a* (Castellino and Sjöberg). Here *a b* "sea" is maybe used as a designation of the *a b z u* (cf. Charpin, *Clergé* 371 ad 1.).

For *k u m_x (P A) - k u m_x (P A)* compare perhaps *k u n₂ nabātu, namāru* (/ *k u n* / already in Proto-Ea 492a).

10 The curious D I Š¹ appears in Roth, *Mesop. Law* 43/359 v 45 (= *Law Collections* 51) D I Š¹ g u d₂ - u r₃ - r [a] (commentary p. 80). Cf. perhaps also Cavigneaux, Al-Rawi, *ZA* 85 (1995) 169:1 and 170:20 (commentary p. 173).

Compare u r₂ g u r - r a with a₂ g u r - r a "stumpy/stocky 'arms'/horns" (already v. Dijk, *SGL* 2 67, fn. 21). The expression u r₂ g u r appears, however, exclusively in context of tree imagery, cf. Lullaby 4, Sulgi P a 17, and Išmedagān A 242 (= *TCL* 15 9 rev. ii 50). The image is possibly of a single bull straining because bulls are usually yoked in pairs. The second part of the line is totally unclear.

13 K I . L U G A L . G U B is probably the place where royal sacrificial offerings and libations are made to the gods (most recently discussed by Tinney, *Nippur Lament* 135 ad 24, with reference to Michalowski, *Lamentation* 102f. ad 435; add Šūsu'en D [= Sjöberg, *AOAT* 25 412] 9-10, and Uruk Lament 12.10-15). For a possible archaeological identification, cf. Jacobsen, *EI* 20 (1989) 84* and fn. 47 = *OIP* 98 (1991) 70f. and fn. 87. It is undoubtedly distinct from u r u d a (/ u r u d a) K I . L U G A L . G U B (. B A), a royal pedestal from where the offerings were conducted (cf. Ludwig, *Išme-Dagan* 201 and fn. 477 with references) or possibly a votive vessel or basin (cf. Frayne, *Correlations* 437ff. and *BiOr.* 45 [1988] 351 who proposes a reading š i t e n_x as "variant" of š i t a / e š₂ - d a; a proposal apparently abandoned in *JAOS* 112 [1992] 623).

We probably have to look for two distinctive terms with related meaning (?) behind K I . L U G A L . G U B:

1. / a l a l / or the like (cf. OB Diri Nippur sect. 2:11 in *PSD* A/1 105 s.v. a-lal₃ A and our line), perhaps connected with a / e₄ - l a l₃, a yet unidentifiable room (of a temple?) in which prayers and blessings take place, cf. *PSD* A/1 ibid. s.v. a-lal₃ A 1. citing Gudea, Cyl. A 27:14-16, Sulgi A 77b (source H), and N 1363 + UM 29-16-785:26 (unpub.). It may be significant that K I . L U G A L . G U B is not attested in Gudea, so a - l a l₃ could be a substitute for it.

2. k i - l u g a l - g u b or the like (cf. Uruk Lament 12.14 which has locative - g u b - b a and Sumer and Ur Lament 435 which has - g u b - b u - n a / b a).

For k i s a l (-) m a ḥ as part of the Ekišnuḡal, cf. Steible, *FAOS* 1 (1975) 104 (probably with Frayne, *BiOr.* 45 [1988] 353 the courtyard of Nanna; pace Charpin, *Clergé* 333 [the ziggurat terrace in Ur]). Courtyards of temples were used for sacrificial offerings (Jacobsen, *EI* 20 [1989] 90*, fn. 47; add to his references e.g. our passage, Sulgi F 17, *UET* 6 106 17-18, Enki and the World Order 33), athletic events (Jacobsen, ibid., 90*f., fn. 48 for references) and display of royal statues and other objects (e.g. Lugale 495; Gudea, Cyl. A 23:8; Gudea, Stat. E 4:12-15; Sulgi Y 22-23; v. Dijk, *JCS* 19 [1965] 6:36ff.; *RIME* 4.1.10.11:15-19).

14 E N here could also have a reading e n "e n-priest", instead of u r u₁₆ . n "valiant" (cf. the commentary ad Urnamma B 44).

16 For the verbal form, cf. the commentary ad Urnamma B 41.

18 For the elusive prefix { i r i } which is regularly preceded by m i₂ (z i (- e e₃ - e š₂)), cf. Attinger, *Éléments* 296f., § 194.

19 In view of lines 20ff. the 3rd person is very strange here. One expects Urnamma's self-praise to begin after line 18. Line 19 could have been misplaced.

20-23 For these lines, cf. S. Cohen, *ELA* 150f. ad 9-10. I M. A in line 20 may have to be read with Cavigneaux, Al-Rawi, *ZA* 85 (1995) 190f., and fn. 12 i m - a (type a n - k i), perhaps in the meaning of "rain(storm)", in view of the next line where the imagery may be that of rain drenching the earth. Lines 20-21 find a literary analogy in Gudea, Cyl. A 11:7-8 in which the calling for rain makes abundance come forth from heaven (cf. also IV 1.2, p. 56f.). Urnamma G 8 is a parallel to the second part of line 23, though in Urnamma G Enlil is the subject. For the literary sequence a - e š t u b (k u e) — š e g u - n u in line 23, cf. also Ferrara, *StPohl SM* 2 (1973) 150ff. and the references in *PSD A/1* 66f. s.v. a-eštub.

24 Note how the object is emphasized by the personal pronoun 1st person absolutive and the reduplication of the verbal basis (Edzard, *ZA* 61 [1971] 231 d).

g a r i instead of g a b a r i is probably due to a hearing mistake: g a b a - r i (= / g á b r i /!) > / g á r i /. The correct form g a b a r i appears in line 77.

25 In view of d u ₁₀ - b a - n a p e š in Urnamma A 152, d u ₁₀ - b i "ten-derly" is less likely.

Perhaps [d n i n - s u m u n ₂ - k] e ₄ ? can be restored at the beginning, cf. Sulgi P b 24 where Sulgi is raised on Ninsumun's pure lap.

27 For this topos, cf. Römer, *SKIZ* 218f. ad 26.

28 Compare line 34 for its near parallel in content and the verbal form m i - n i - i b - d a b ₅. In line 28 Utu is therefore probably subject (b i ₂ - i n - s i ₃); literally: "he has made the judgments which I pronounce make Sumer and Akkad of one mind = obey".

32 The line is difficult. One expects the personal "offender" rather than the abstract "offense". For the reading š e r ₇ - d a š ē r t u "offense", cf. Steinkeller apud Gelb in *Studies Kraus* (1982) 74 and Alster, *ASJ* 13 (1991) 87 ad 147. Civil, *Studies Hallo* (1993) 75-78 reads N I R - d a and translates "capital offense". Add to his references (courtesy of P. Attinger) Sulgi to Aradmu 2 (= *OECT* 5 [1976] 13) 5 and 8 [no. 26]; SP Coll. 3.93; *BE* 31 28:4 // *FAOS* 2 180 ii 16 // *ISCT* 2 22, Ni. 4509:8' (= Two Women B = Dialogue 5). The PN š e r ₇ - d a - d b a - u ₂ - i b ₂ - g u (*MVN* 6 320 i 10, preceded by n a m - d a ₆ - d u ₈) makes Civil's explanation (p. 76 ad 2.9.) unlikely.

33 For n i ₂ s u - e u s ₂, cf. Römer, *Bi.Or* 48 (1991) 373 ad 17 with previous literature. The Akkadian gloss is unclear.

35ff. Compare Codex Urnamma 177-181 with similar vocabulary: n i ḡ ₂ - N E . R U l n i ḡ ₂ - a ₂ - z i l i - d u t u u g - g u ḥ e ₂ - n i - d e ₂ l n i ḡ ₂ - s i - s a ₂ l k a l a m - m a ḥ u - m u - n i - ḡ a r "Evil, violence, and the cry of the oppressed I verily made disappear, (instead) I established justice in the land".

36 š u š u ₂ - š u ₂ literally "to cover with the hands", i.e. "to clasp, to clamp down, to get hold of somebody" is more likely than Heimpel's "to fling, to hurl (out of the hands)" in *Tierbilder* 469.

37 For the problematical *g u r₅ - r u - u š e* and possible translations, cf. Attinger, *Eléments* 522, fn. 1449. The construction with the comitative postposition is exceptional!

42 *m i - n i - i n -* in the prefix chain (instead of e.g. *m u - n a - n i - i n -*) is difficult.

44-45 These lines are problematical. An - r Auslaut on *d n a n n a* seems a too early attestation and line 111 writes *d n a n n a - a - m e - e n*. Compare, however, Nanna's Journey to Nippur 349-352 where in line 350 one text source, namely C (and perhaps also V), writes *d n a n n a - a r d s u ' e n - e!* The gloss (?) is unclear. For the curious separation of Nanna and Su'en, cf. also Cavigneaux, Al-Rawi, *MHEO* 2 (1994) 76 ad 8.

47 For the reduplicated form *d u₂ - d u₂*, compare Gragg, *TCS* 3 (1969) 184 ad 78, and for (*u₃ -*) *d u₂* vs (*u₃ -*) *d u₂ . d* in general, cf. Edzard, *Or.* 43 (1974) 109.

A literary parallel for this line can be found in Išmedagān A 45 (read according to Tinney, *Nippur Lament* 37) [*d*] *n i n - t u d u₂ - d u₂ - a ḥ a - m a - n i - i n - g u b* "Nintur verily stood by for me in the process of the birth" (cf. in detail IV 2., p. 67).

50-51 Sumer and Kiengi are probably personified (*- a n - t u k u*) here. Difficult is *- u n - d a -* for the 1st person dative infix (cf. also the commentary ad 54, below).

For *z i u₃ - d u₂ . d* "to engender life", cf. Sjöberg, *JCS* 26 (1974) 171 and Attinger, *Eléments* 729, § 876.

52 The first part of the line may have to be compared with Urnamma H 9, which, however, is paleographically very uncertain.

53 The exact meaning of the noun *s u b a / i₂*, used here with *l u* "to be numerous, to multiply" and in line 78 with *š a r₂* "to multiply", is not clear (the context argues for something that flourishes). Perhaps there is a connection with the *n a₄ š u b a šubû* stones which might be representations of this unknown object *s u b a / i₂*. *Šubû* stones are symbols of sexuality and fertility and associated with *u r u₄* "to plough" in Sumerian love songs (cf. e.g. Alster, *Studies Hallo* [1993] 18f., and fn. 36). For the adjective *s u b a / i (2 / 3)* "bright" in connection with *k u r* "mountain" and *d u₆* "mound", cf. Sjöberg, *JCS* 40 (1988) 172f., fn. 6 (compare also *a - š a₃ s u b a / i* in Shepherd and Farmer 78-79).

54-55 These lines find a literary parallel in Išmedagān A 224-225 (cf. in detail IV 2., p. 67).

For *e z e m - g i n₇ / m a d u₃* "to make up, prepare something as for/during a festival", cf. Römer, *Or.* 62 (1993) 96 with previous literature. It is said of roads and streets: e.g. Ninurta's Journey to Eridu ii 7 (also in context of *e d i n* "steppe"), Ur Lament 214 and perhaps Iddindagān A 102 (*k i - a - n e - d i*), and of buildings, especially the Ekur: e.g. Nungal 58, Išmedagān Q_B (= Sjöberg, *ZA* 63 [1973] 18) 9' ll 13' and Išmedagān A (= *TCL* 15 9 rev. i 25 // *PBS* 10/2 9 rev. ii 21) 166 (cf.

Sjöberg, *Or.* 35 [1966] 297 and idem, *AfO* 24 [1973] 42 for the reading *e z e m - g i n*).

If the reading is correct, then *e d i n* has also final - *m* (cf. e.g. *e z e m* but *e z e n* in pause position) although OB literary texts show predominantly - *n* Auslaut. Note the writing *E D I N* in an Ur III source of Curse of Agade 128 for *g i (2) - d i m* "spade" (Cooper, *Curse of Agade* 246 ad 115). Compare perhaps also the cult song of Damu (= *TCL* 15 8 //) in Römer, *BiOr.* 49 (1992) 649 A 142 which shows a writing *i d i m* for B 45 || C 24' *e d i n*, and Römer's commentary p. 676 ad A 142. Finally, *e d i n - n a* in Išmedagān A 225 (cf. IV 2., p. 67) supports a reading *e d i m_x* (*E D I N*) "steppe" in line 54.

In the verbal chain of line 54 the writing - *u n - d a -*, marking a 3rd person animate, is perhaps due to the identical verbal form in line 19.

56-57 Note the pun and the play on sound in these two lines: *a m a - n i - i r m u - u n - g e₄ - g e₄* and *ʾaʾ - m a - r u [g] e₄ʾ - b a*.

57-59 These lines find a literary parallel in Išmedagān A 118-123 (cf. IV 2., p. 66f.). Furthermore, line 57 is an allusion to the ideology of the Sumerian King List (cf. IV 1.1, p. 41f.). The "storm" may refer to the Gutí whom Urnamma claims to have expelled (Ni. 4375 iv 2'-6'; Urnamma C 90-91, perhaps already 85ff.).

62 For the elusive *u z₃ - s a ĝ*, cf. Ludwig's discussion in *Išme-Dagan* 117ff. and George, *OLA* 40 (1992) 261f. J.S. Cooper prefers in this context the late Akkadian equation *ašarēdu* "foremost, "outstanding".

72 For *š u - a g e₄* (+ absolutive), literally "to give over", cf. most recently Römer, *BiOr.* 49 (1992) 317ff.; *U N* is tentatively read *k a l a m* in view of *RIME* 4.2.13.21:39 *m a - d a - b i - i m š u - a g e₄ - g e₄ - d e₃* "to keep its (= Ur's) territories secure". The ablative infix - *r a -* in *m a - r a - a n - š u m₂* is difficult to explain. Is this a case of "Ferndeixis"?

73-75 These lines describe Urnamma's cultic function as *e n*-priest in the *ĝ i p a r* of the Eana temple in Uruk (cf. also III 2., p. 38f.).

77 In view of the striking parallel in Curse of Agade 43-44 *a b u l l a a - b a (/ b i) (...) l k u₃ d i n a n a - k e₄ k a - b i ĝ a l₂ b i₂ - i n - t a k a₄* "Dazzling Inana opened the passage through (= of) its (= Agade's) city-gates (...)", *K A × M A Š* probably denotes some sort of "opening". J.S. Cooper tentatively suggests a connection with *k a - b a r* "herdsman".

78 For *s u b a / i₂* in this context, cf. the commentary above, ad 53.

u₂ n a ĝ - ĝ a₂ is obscure. The translation follows the late (!) Akkadian equation *ri'ītu u mašqītu* in Thureau-Dangin, *RAcc.* 109:15f. (as object of *š a r₂ = dešū D*), which on the other hand is equated e.g. in *RIME* 4.3.9.2:23' with *u₂ g u₇ u₃ a n a ĝ*.

m u - n i - š a r₂ looks like a variant of *m a - š a r₂*.

79 *u₃ - m e - n i - t a g* is semantically and grammatically difficult. For the sequence - *m e - n i -*, cf. Attinger, *Éléments* 219f. R.2.

n a m - E N - n a which is lexically equated with *bitrû* "outstanding, superb" (cf. *CAD* B 279 s.v. *bitrû* adj.) and *šapšu* "strong, resistant" (cf. *CAD* Š/1 481f.

s.v. *šapšu*), qualifying domestic animals, fields and products thereof (cf. Nisaba and Enki 15), has been discussed by Civil, *Studies Sjöberg* (1989) 55, Alster, *Dumuzi's Dream* 103f. ad 97 || 109, Waetzoldt, *Textilindustrie* 31f., and most recently by van de Mieroop, *BSA* 7 (1993) 168 (n a m - E N - n a-herd vs a r u - a-herd) and Stol, *RIA* 8 (1994) 192 (in opposition to g a - z a - P I? Compare the chart of Heimpel, *BSA* 7 [1993] 152). E N is perhaps to be read u r u₁₆ . n /u r u n / and the term might therefore denote an object that is rugged, resistant, and therefore of quality.

80 n i ĝ₂ - k u₅ A K "to make a profit, to tax" (compare CAD M/1 127 s.v. *makāsu*) is also attested in Gudea, Cyl. B 12:14-15 and Ĥendursaĝa Hymn (line references in Edzard, Wilcke, *AOAT* 25 [1976] 170 s.v.).

81 b a d₃ g a l k u r - r a "big fortress of the k u r" is so far only attested in this line and Angim 33. What k u r refers to is not clear. A meaning "big fortress against the (foreign) land" does not apply to Angim 33.

The usage of a - n e ĥ u l₂ - l a d u₁₁ . g , e , d i "to relax, to amuse oneself" with a₂ - a ĝ₂ - ĝ a₂ "instruction" in this line is strange. The term is normally associated with activities such as playing music, dancing, singing, swimming and sexual foreplay (cf. Attinger, *Éléments* 471, § 350).

82 Similarly Angim 173 k i - s u r - r a i r i - ĝ a₂ P U₂ a d u₁₀ - g a k i - e n - g i - r a ĥ e₂ - a "Let the region of my city be the sweet water well of Sumer" (MB Version).

84 In light of line 89 the given translation is better than "I lifted the yoke of(f) its s a ĝ - u r - s a ĝ". m u - z i = / m u n z i / (singular with collective meaning).

In this line and in Gudea, Stat. B 4:6 the s a ĝ - u r - s a ĝ (usually as cult personnel of Inana, cf. in general Sjöberg, *JCS* 40 [1988] 177f. and Steible, *FAOS* 9/2 [1991] 13) are portrayed as some sort of workers. In the Gudea passage they take over temple-building work from impure women, perhaps implying some play on the femininity of the s a ĝ - u r - s a ĝ, or the opposite. In Sulgi A 77 (there mentioned in connection with the e š₃ - e š₃-festival) and in Ewe and Grain 74 (with a play on their strength?) they are connected with the royal palace. In Šūsu'en Hist. Inscr. A iii 12-13 they seem to be mentioned in a fighting context (for the hapax g u₂ (-) Š E . U R₄ d u₁₁ . g in line 13, cf. Attinger, *Éléments* 526, § 454).

87 This line probably refers to the repulsion of enemy (troops; perhaps the Guti?). Compare Ean. 2, 6:8 e l a m k u r - r a - n a b i - g e₄ "He (= Eanatum) has made the Elamites return to their country", and Šūsu'en 9:24-26 u₃ n e₃ ĝ a r₇ - d u₂ l m a - d a - n e₂ - e l b i₂ - i n - g e₄ - a "And when he (= Šūsu'en, after building the Mardu-wall) made the military force of the Mardu return to their land" (with Steible, *FAOS* 9/2 [1991] 261). Perhaps Ni. 4375 iv 6' can be restored accordingly: k u r - ṛ b a[?] ṛ i m - m [i - g e₄] "I made them (= the evil Guti) [return] to their[?] country".

I T I M A - š e š š i g is unknown to me.

89 Were d u m u "citizens" + K I Ĝ₂ (k i ĝ₂ ?) workers liable for corvée work and in times of trouble for conscription? Another reading of K I Ĝ₂ could be s a g a₁₁.

For the reading $d u b s i g_x$ "(work) basket", compare W.G. Lambert, *CRRAI* 38 (1992) 133.

90 $L U_2 \cdot \check{S} A_3 \times T A R ?$. $A(-k)$ "captive" (?) is probably connected with $L U_2 \cdot / \times G A N A_2 - t$. and variants, cf. most recently Tinney, *Nippur Lament* 180f. ad 288 with previous literature.

For the reading $S E S = u r u / i_3 \cdot n$ or $u r i n / u r i n /$ "blood(y)", cf. Cooper, *Curse of Agade* 251 ad 192. For "bloody hands", compare perhaps Alster, *Šuruppak* 85f. ad 45. I tentatively interpret $\check{s} u d u_8$ here as non-standard writing for $\check{s} u d u_3$ "to bind", as in Cavigneaux, Al-Rawi, *ZA* 85 (1995) 21:5 (compare the frequent $\check{s} u - d u_3 - a$ for $\check{s} u - d u_8 - a$ "pledge"). This avoids a translation "I gripped with a bloody hand", referring to Urnamma's grip rather than that of the Gutti, although such an interpretation cannot be ruled out.

92 The wall of Ur is mentioned in Urnamma 9, in Urnamma year name "11", in the fragment Ni. 4375 (*ISCT* 1 p. 177) iv 14', and in Urnamma A 148, which, however, mentions the wall in an unfinished state. It is either the city-wall or possibly the wall surrounding the Ekišnuḡal temple precinct (cf. III 1., p. 36).

The second half of the line which is squeezed between 92 and 93 is paleographically and thematically difficult.

93 Read possibly $n i d b a \text{ } ^\top x - (x -) d i b ^\top - m e - ^\top e n ^\top$ "I am the one who brings him (= Enlil) ... offerings" and compare Sulgi R 67 $s u l - g i s i p a n i d b a g a l - g a l - l a - n i m u - n e - \check{s} i - i b_2 - d i b - d i b - b e_2$ "Sulgi, the shepherd, brings them (= the gods) his huge meal offerings".

101-102 For $\check{g} i \check{s} b u n$ "banquet" in connection with merry entertainment, cf. the references in Ludwig, *Išme-Dagan* 205f.

103 Note the 3rd person in line 103ff. From the preceding broken passage the subject is not clear; possibly Nanna is meant, more likely though it is Urnamma himself with a request to Enlil for long life in line 107.

$i_7 - l u g a l (- l a (- k))$ "Royal Canal" is attested as a canal name in Sollberger, *TCS* 1 (1966) 89, no. 365:4-6 and in Ur III administrative documents (cf. e.g. Sigrist, *Syracuse* 15:1f., 28:4, etc.), together with the $a - \check{s} a_3 i_7 - l u g a l$ (cf. Sigrist, *ibid.* 24:5, 366:2, Edzard, Farber, *Rép. géogr.* 2 275, and Maekawa, *BSA* 5 [1990] 139f.). The documents come from Umma and date from Sulgi's late to Amarsu'en's early years.

104-105 The locative in line 105 is understood in the sense of ablative "at" \approx "(departing) from".

Note the repetitive usage of the conjunctions $\{(i) n g a\} \dots \{(i) n g a\}$, with $m a_2 u s_2$ "to navigate" in Sulgi X 4 (cf. also Klein's commentary, *ThŠH* 146 ad 1-4) and 92, and in Nanna's Journey to Nippur 255 and 257. For $k a r - \check{g} e \check{s} t i n - n a$ "Wine Quay" as part of the temple complex in Nippur, cf. Behrens, *StPohl SM* 8 (1978) 65f. ad 5, and Klein, *ThŠH* 25 ad 375-377. For the $k a r - z a - g i n_3 - n a (-)^d n a n n a (- k)$ "Shining Quay of Nanna", cf. Michalowski, *Lamentation* 96 ad 318. Possibly the first-fruit offerings ($n e s a \check{g}$) were brought to this quay in Ur in a yearly ceremony to be shipped to Enlil's temple in Nippur. References to this ceremony are in Michalowski, *Lamentation* 97 ad 325-

326; add Gungunum A (= Sjöberg, ZA 63 [1973] 25, source A) rev. 9; Sîniddinam A (= v. Dijk, JCS 19 [1965] 21) 12ff. and Rîmsîn year name 23. Nanna's Journey to Nippur might be a literary reflexion of that same ceremony and journey, as well as our lines 103-106 (cf. Frayne, *Correlations* 103f. for similarities to Nanna's Journey to Nippur and Urnamma D). It is possible that the ceremony was constituted under Urnamma and then conducted on a yearly basis (cf. also III 2., p. 39f.).

106 For alcoholic beverages (often wine but also beer) and (date-)syrops as main componants of libations, cf. Heimpel, *RIA* 7 (1987) 1ff. For *g u r u n₆ l a l₃*, cf. Römer, *BiOr.* 45 (1988) 53 ad 39.

107 Compare thematically Nanna's Journey to Nippur 350 || 352 and Urnamma D 18-19.

108 (- (C) - a) - n a in *e₂ - g a l - a - n a* very rarely stands for - a - n i, but as absolutive is not attested before OB, cf. Attinger, *Eléments* 172f., § 108 a), R.

Lines 107-108 recall thematically the name of the statue Gudea fashioned for his lord, Ningîrsu, in Gudea, Stat. B 7:14-17 *l u g a l - ĝ u₁₀ l e₂ - a - n i l m u - n a - d u₃ l n a m - t i l₃ n i ĝ₂ - b a - ĝ u₁₀* "For my lord I have built his temple, (may) life (be) my gift!" (similarly, Gudea, Stat. E 9:1-3). Cf. also IV 3.2, p. 81.

110 For (*g i* -) *d u b - b a - a n*, a type of (reed) fence, cf. the discussion in Michalowski, *Lamentation* 97 ad 329; add Sladek, *Inanna's Descent* 216f. ad 293-294, Alster, *ASJ* 15 (1993) 6, fn. 13, and Civil, *Farmer's Instructions = AulOr. Suppl.* 5 (1994) 103, fn. 62. In the term *g i* is treated as a determinative (e.g. Enki's Journey to Nippur 41) and a lexeme (e.g. Inana's Descent 294). Here and in Enki's Journey to Nippur 41 *d u b - b a - a n* seems to be some kind of barrier or surrounding wall (also Charpin, *Clergé* 291 ad 14).

111 For forms in - (C) a - e, cf. Attinger, *Eléments* 144f., § 86 2°.

d n a n n a - a argues for / *n a n n a H* / (cf. the commentary ad 44-45!).

114 In context of line 57 this is a very likely allusion to the Sumerian King List (contra Wilcke, *Studies Sjöberg* [1989] 566, fn. 41), cf. also IV 1.1, p. 41f.

4. URNAMMA D

4.1 Introduction

Previous study¹

W.W. Hallo presented a first edition of Urnamma D, a hymn addressed to the king with a $z a_3 - m i_2$ doxology, in *JCS* 20 (1966) 133-41, utilising sources A (Nippur recension), and B and C (Ur recension), sources diverging from each other considerably, but also showing striking similarities. The purpose of his study was to show in general that "the fixation of many Neo-Sumerian texts was a continuous process" and that literary texts can contain historical material which can be correlated with other text material such as year names and inscriptions. This has been done in more detail by D.R. Frayne in his dissertation *The Historical Correlations of the Sumerian Royal Hymns*, which incorporates the unpublished sources D and E in the discussion.² S. Tinney is planning a complete edition of all the hitherto known text duplicates in the near future and therefore this presentation on the basis of sources A, B, and C is incomplete and kept as brief as possible.

Structural Analysis

Several indications, expounded in the previous chapter,³ strengthen the hypothesis that both the Nippur and Ur recensions of Urnamma D might be adapted type A b a l b a l e compositions rather than original type B. I royal hymns addressed to the king.⁴ One indication is that both recensions show a rigorous poetic structure consisting of line pairs linked by repetitive parallelism, common in b a l b a l e compositions.

1. The Nippur Recension (source A)

Source A begins with a repetitive sequence of a question ("Who will dig (the canal/ k e š k u g-canal/canal + epithet) there?") which finds its answer in the introduction

¹ Cf. also II 2., p. 20.

² Frayne, *Correlations* 116-21. Cf. also III 1., pp. 28ff.

³ IV 3.1, pp. 74ff.

⁴ For the typology, cf. II 1., pp. 13ff.

of Urnamma in lines 5-6. This "prologue" is followed by a self-laudatory passage (7-36) in which Urnamma describes his selection by Enlil and election to kingship at Nippur and Ur (7-17). He is favoured by Nanna, Enlil, and Enki who presents him with broad wisdom (18-21). Then follows a relatively well structured passage which takes up again the theme of the *k e š k u g*-canal dug at Ur: it produces an abundance of fish, birds and reed fodder for cows (22-36). The end of the composition (37-41) is marked by a shift of person, mentioning Urnamma again and closing with the *z a₃ - m i₂* doxology "Urnamma, king of Ur, your praise is sweet!". Note in summary the following sequences:

- I. Introduction (1-6) 3rd person
 - 1. Theme of canal construction (1-4)
 - 2. Introduction of Urnamma (5-6)
- II. Main section (7-36) 1st person
 - 1. Kingship (7-21)
 - a. Lord AŠimabbar's throne (7-8)
 - b. Divine selection and election to kingship in Nippur and Ur (9-17)
 - c. Divine favours (18-21)
 - 2. Canal construction at Ur results in abundance (22-36)
 - a. The *k e š k u g*-canal (22-24)
 - b. It produces fish and birds (25-26), *s u ḥ u r*-fish which feed on honey-plants (27-28), reed fodder for cows (29-30), and special types of fish (?) (31-34), it is filled with Enki, the lord of Eridu's *joyful cries* (35-36)
- III. Closing section (37-40) 2nd person
 - 1. Urnamma, king of the four corners, and Enlil (37)
 - 2. Urnamma, provider for Nippur and Ur (38-40)
- IV. *z a₃ - m i₂* doxology (41)

2. The Ur Recension (sources B and C)

The general outline given above for the Nippur recension (source A) is valid for this version as well. Note in summary the following sequences and their divergence in relationship to source A:

- I. Introduction (1'-9') 3rd person
 - 1. Theme of canal construction (1'-5')
 - 2. Introduction of Urnamma (6') and his son and successor Sulgi (7'-8')

II. Main section (10'-37') 1st person

1. Kingship (10'-29'?)

a. Divine selection and election to kingship in Nippur and Ur (10'-?)⁵

2. Canal construction results in abundance (30'-37')

a. The *k e š k u g*- and *p a b i l u ħ*-canals (30'-31')

b. They produce fish and birds (32'-35') for the Ekišnuġal, liquorice and honey-plants on their banks (36'), and *mottled* barley on their arable tracts (37')

III. Closing section (38'-40') 2nd (/3rd?) person

1. Urnamma, king of the four corners, and Enlil (38')

2. Urnamma, provider for Sumer and Akkad (39'-40')

IV. *z a₃ - m i₂* doxology (41')*Manuscripts*

Source A, an unpublished Yale piece (YBC 4617) of unknown provenance, but "strictly Nippurian orthography"⁶ is presented only in transliteration in W.W. Hallo's study. A copy of the tablet has been promised to be included in a projected volume of Sumerian royal hymns from the Yale Collection.⁷ Sources D and E are unpublished fragmentary pieces from Nippur which contain lines similar to those of source A and which will be discussed in detail by S. Tinney in his forthcoming edition. Source D (= CBS 8037 + N 1703 iii 25'-iv 6') is a four-column tablet which contains besides Urnamma D love songs that centre on Dumuzi and Inana.⁸

Sources B and C, of which photos were kindly made available by C.B.F. Walker, represent the Ur recension of our composition. The upper part of the obverse of source B is missing and the last couple of lines are unfortunately erased. The obverse of source C, with both ends broken off, has such a badly scratched surface that the few odd preserved signs could not be read from the photo. Source C looks like a mere duplicate of B, whereas both sources' relationship to the Nippur source A is more complex. The first ten lines or so of the Nippur recension (i.e. the digging of the *k e š k u g*-canal and the selection to kingship by Enlil) seem to have counterparts in the Ur sources, as does the topos of abundant fish and birds of Ur's *k e š k u g*-canal, as well as the final lines (Ni 37-41 = Ur 38'-41'). But other lines are omitted, e.g. Nippur recension 7-8 with reference to Nanna/AŠimbabbar, and 35-36 with reference to Enki and Eridu.⁹

⁵ This passage is too fragmentary for interpretation.

⁶ Hallo, *JCS* 20 (1966) 133, fn. 3.

⁷ Hallo, *ibid.*

⁸ Cf. IV 3.1, p. 74f.

⁹ Cf. also the divergent sequences in "Structural Analysis", above, p. 229f., and below, 4.4, pp. 244ff.

The recension from Nippur seems to stress Urnamma's legitimation and function especially as king of Ur (line 38 $d_{ur}-d_{namma} u_2-a n i b r u k i s a \hat{g}-u s_2 u r i_2 k i-m a$ "Urnamma, the provider for Nippur, the supporter of Ur", and line 41 $d_{ur}-d_{namma} l u g a l u r i_2 k i-m a z a_3-m i_2-z u d u_{10}-g a-a m_3$ "Urnamma, king of Ur, your praise is sweet"). In contrast, the recension from Ur lacks the titular "king of Ur" and does not connect Urnamma's kingship in any way with Nanna. Only the Nippur recension mentions Nanna/Ašimbabbar, the god of Ur, whom we would expect being named in the Ur recension.

A passage in the Nippur recension which the Ur recension lacks, is found more or less *verbatim* in a composition specifically concerned with Nanna and Ur, namely the elliptical (?) phrase connecting Su'en and Enlil in lines 7-8 which is modeled on Nanna's Journey to Nippur 349-352.¹⁰ Also, not all lines in a section of the Nippur recension (25-30) describing Ur's fertility, which matches a passage in a *b a l b a l e* of Nanna in M.G. Hall, *Moon-God* (= *TMH NF* 4 7 iv 190-195 //) 779f.,¹¹ are found in the Ur recension. The theme of cows in lines 29-30 of the Nippur recension, which the Ur recension lacks, is a citation of the lines in the above mentioned *b a l b a l e* of Nanna. Their mention is due to the fact that the beginning of that *b a l b a l e* focuses exclusively on the cattle pen and its productivity. This is not the case with the Ur recension which wholly concentrates on the produce of the canals and their surroundings, i.e. fish and birds, honey-plants and liquorice growing on their river banks, and barley on the arable tracks situated beyond the river banks.

It is unclear which of the recensions is the "original". The Nippur source A deifies Urnamma and might suggest a later manuscript tradition, or else deification of the royal name in this and the other Urnamma hymns¹² could simply be a matter of scribal preference. Source B from Ur in a reinterpretation of the Nippur version adds the deified Sulgi next to Urnamma digging the canal. W.W. Hallo's dating of the Ur recension - on the comparative basis of the different titles worn by Urnamma in the two recensions - something like a century later than the one from Nippur, has been rightly questioned by C. Wilcke.¹³

The many non-standard writings of the Ur sources are noteworthy. These non-standard writings include those which are semantically conditioned and those which are reinterpretations based on phonetic similarity. The texts also exhibit many Sandhi-writings and spellings which can be explained as dictation errors.¹⁴

Note finally that the *incipit* is mentioned in the Nippur Catalogue *STVC* 41 rev.⁷ i' 3: *a-b a-a m u-u n-b a-a [l-e]* (cf. W.W. Hallo, *StOr.* 46 = *Studies A. Salonen* [1975] 79) and in a text from Uruk, published by A.

¹⁰ For a discussion of these lines, cf. the commentary ad 7-8 with previous literature, p. 254f.

¹¹ For more details, cf. IV 3.1, p. 75f.

¹² Cf. the Lexical Index, s.v. $ur-d_{namma}$ and $d_{ur}-d_{namma}$, p. 358f.

¹³ Wilcke, *CRRAI* 19 (1974) 187, fn. 12.

¹⁴ For details, cf. II 3.2, pp. 24ff. For philological matters, cf. below, 4.5, pp. 254ff.

Cavigneaux, *AUWE* 23 (1996) 45, no. 83 rev. 4': [. . . - b] a - a l - e a - b a - a
m u - u n - b a - a l ! - e.

Sources

Nippur:

A¹⁵ YBC 4617

1-41

transliteration: W.W. Hallo, *JCS* 20 (1966) 139f.; transliteration below is W.W. Hallo's.

D CBS 8037 + N 1703 iii 25'-iv 6' (unpub.)

This Sammeltafel also contains Dumuzi-Inana C, a b a l b a l e of Inana (cf. B. Alster, *RA* 79 [1985] 146, no. 5.), and Dumuzi-Inana N (courtesy of S. Tinney).

[for a photo of this Sammeltafel, cf. now Y. Sefati, *Love Songs in Sumerian Literature, Critical Edition of the Dumuzi-Inanna Songs*, Ramat Gan (1998) pls. XVIII-XIX]

E UM 29-16-93 (unpub.)

Publication of D and E by S. Tinney in a forthcoming edition of the hymn.

Ur:

B U 16895 + *UET* 6 *147 (unpub.)

obv. 1'-24' = **1'-24' = 3-21b**¹⁶

rev. 1-17 = **25'-41' = 21c-41**

copy of U 16895: C.J. Gadd, *UET* 6 76.

photos made available by C.B.F. Walker, cf. pls. 21-22; read from photos.

C U 16860

rev. 1'-13' = **29'-41' = 21g-41**

copy: C.J. Gadd, *UET* 6 77; rev. only.

photos of obv. and rev. made available by C.B.F. Walker, cf. pls. 23-24;

rev. read from photo.

¹⁵ Unknown provenance but Nippur orthography.

¹⁶ Line counting of the Synopsis of Urnamma D.

4.2 Transliteration and Translation of the Nippur Recension (source A only)

The corresponding lines of the Ur recension are given in parenthesis. To facilitate comparison of the two versions a synopsis is given below, 4.4. "A Synopsis of Urnamma D: Nippur and Ur Recensions".

- 1 [a-ba-a mu-un-b]a-al-e a-¹ba-a mu¹-[un-ba-al-e / i₇] a-ba-a mu-u[n-ba-al-e]
- 2 [i₇-KEŠ₂-ku₃] a-ba-a mu-un-ba-[al-e]
- 3 / ¹i₇¹ a-ba-a mu-un-ba-al-e (Ur 1')
- 4 [i₇ pa₃-bi] lu_h a-ba-a mu-un-ba-al-e / ¹i₇¹ a-ba-a mu-un-ba-al-e (Ur 2'-3')
- 5 ^dur-^dnamma ku₃ tuku mu-un-ba-al-e (Ur 6')
- 6 sul zi ¹niĝ₂ tuku¹ mu-un-ba-al-¹e¹ (Ur 8')
- 7 lugal-ĝu₁₀ para₁₀-za ^den-lil₂-le en ^dAŠ-im₂-babbar
- 8 sul ^dsu'en para₁₀-za ^den-lil₂-le en ^dAŠ-im₂-babbar
- 9 lugal ša₃ zi-ta nam tar-ra nam-nir-ra saĝ il₂ (Ur 10')
- 10 ^dur-^dnamma sul igi il₂-la kur-[gal] ^den-lil₂-le (Ur 11')
- 11 ^dnu-nam-nir-re ki-en-gi ¹ki-uri-a¹ ĝe₂₆-e mu-un-suĝ-en (Ur 12')
- 12 nibru^{ki}-a ħur-saĝ-nam-til₃-¹la-ka¹ nam-ĝu₁₀ im-mi-in-du₁₀ (Ur 13')
- 13 saĝ-ki zalag-ga-ni mu-un-ši-in-bar ¹nam¹-lugal ¹ba¹⁷-an-¹šum₂¹
- 14 uri₂^{ki}-ma e₂-mud-kur-ra-ka (Ur 14')
- 15 ĝe[š gu-z]a-ĝa₂ suĝuš-[bi im-mi-in-g]e-en (Ur 15')

¹⁷ Naturally one expects ¹ma¹-an-šum₂.

- 1 [Who will] dig there,¹⁸ who will [dig there], who will [dig the canal there]?
- 2 Who will dig [the k e š k u g-canal] there?
- 3 Who will dig the canal there?
- 4 Who will dig [the canal] there [whose ditches] are clean? Who will dig the canal there?
- 5 Urnamma, the wealthy one, will dig it there!
- 6 The faithful youth, the rich one, will dig it there!
- 7 "My lord, for your throne, Enlil's, o lord AŠimbabbar,
- 8 Youthful Su'en, for your throne, Enlil's, o lord AŠimbabbar,
- 9 It is me, the king, destined from the true womb on, lifting the head confidently,
- 10 Me, Urnamma, the selected youth, [Great] Mountain Enlil,
- 11 Nunamnir has chosen in Sumer and Akkad.
- 12 For Nippur, in the Ĥursaġnamtila, he has made my destiny pleasing,
- 13 Smiled radiantly upon me¹⁹ and gave me! kingship.
- 14 For Ur, in the Emudkura,
- 15 He has made the foundation of my [thro]ne firm.

¹⁸ i.e. at Ur.

¹⁹ Literally: "turned his shining forehead towards me"; cf. also IV 1.2, p. 49, fn. 57.

- 16 ḡidri ku₃ uḡ₃ ša[r₂...] (Ur 17')
- 17 šibir(EN×GANA₂-t.) ešgiri(U.EN×GANA₂-t.) uḡ₃ daḡal lu-a ʿx x xʿ
ḡ[e₂-...] (Ur 18')
- 18 en dAŠ-im₂-babbar-ʿke₄ʿ zi u₄ sud-[...] (Ur 19'?)
- 19 den-lil₂-le BI DA I ba-ʿe²¹("T[E]")-[x]²⁰ (Ur 20'?)
- 20 mu da-ri₂ mu ka-ge d[u₇...]
- 21 den-ki-ʿke₄ʿ ḡeštu₂ daḡ[al...s]aḡ-e-eš m[u-rig₇]
- 22 ʿḡe₂₆ʿ-e iriki-ḡa₂ ʿi₇ʿ [ḡe₂-ḡal₂-la m]u-ba-al / ʿi₇-KEŠ₂ʿ-ku₃ mu(-)še₂₁ (Ur 30')
- 23 [ur]i₂ki-ma ʿi₇ḡe₂-ḡal₂ʿ-la mu-ba-al / ʿi₇-KEŠ₂ʿ-ku₃ mu(-)še₂₁
- 24 mu da-ri₂ ka-ge ba-ab-du₇-am₃ i₇pa₅-bi luḡ muše²¹ (Ur 31')
- 25 ḡe₂₆-e iri-ḡa₂ a DU-a-bi ku₆-am₃ diri-bi mušen-am₃ (Ur 32')
- 26 uri₂ki-ma a DU-a-bi ku₆-am₃ diri-bi mušen-am₃ (Ur 33'-34')
- 27 ḡe₂₆-e i₇-ḡa₂ u₂-lal₃-e mu-un-du₃ suḡurku₆-e am₃-si-e
- 28 uri₂ki-ma u₂-lal₃-e mu-un-du₃ suḡurku₆-e [am₃]-si-e (Ur 36'?)
- 29 ḡe₂₆-e iri-ḡa₂ gi-zi-bi lal₃-am₃ [?] / ab₂-e ḡa-ma-gu₇-e
- 30 uri₂ki-ma gi-zi-bi lal₃-a[m₃?] / ab₂-e ḡa-ma-gu₇-e
- 31 ḡe₂₆-e [...] x^{ku₆}/ku₆ ḡu-[...]
- 32 uri₂k[i-ma...]
- 33 ḡe₂₆-e i₇-ḡa₂ a [DU-a-bi ḡu-mu]-un-[tum₃] / ḡešdubsig_x-e ḡu-mu-un-na-la₂-e

20 Hallo, *JCS* 21 (1966) 139 ad 19 has den-lil₂-le-bi-da i-ba-ʿe²¹-[ne].

21 Hallo's muše is certainly a typing error. Tinney reads mušen-am₃.

- 16 [Made me take possession of (?)] the dazzling sceptre [for guiding (?)] the innumerable people,
 17 The staff and nose-leash for [...] the many widespread people [...].
- 18 Lord AŠimabbabar [gave me (?)] life [for] all time.
- 19 Enlil . . . [...],
- 20 A lasting name, a name worthy to be prais[ed ...].
- 21 Enki presen[t]ed me with [bro]ad wisdom [...].
- 22 As for me, in my city, I have dug a canal [of abundance], *naming it* the k e š k u g-canal,
 23 At U[r] I have dug a canal of abundance, *naming it* the k e š k u g-canal,
- 24 The lasting name is made worthy to be praised, the canal whose ditches are clean *has birds*.
- 25 (Due to) me, what water it²² *carries* in my city are fish, what it makes glide are birds.
- 26 What water it *carries* in Ur are fish, what it makes glide are birds,
- 27 (Due to) me, honey-plants were planted at my canal, the s u ħ u r-fish *fill up on them*,
- 28 In Ur honey-plants were planted, the s u ħ u r-fish *fill up on them*.
- 29 (Due to) me, in my city its reed fodder is (honey-)sweet, may the cows eat it for me,²³
- 30 In Ur its reed fodder is (honey-)sweet, may the cows eat it for me.
- 31 (Due to) me, [in my ...] may the fish [...],
- 32 [In] Ur [...].
- 33 (Due to) me, [may] the water [*carried*] by my canal [bring them²⁴], may baskets place them at his²⁵ disposal,²⁶

22 i.e. the canal.

23 Or in this and the succeeding line: "(...) the cows indeed eat it for me".

24 i.e. fish.

25 i.e. Nanna.

26 Or in this and the succeeding line: "(...) the water [*carried*] by my canal indeed [brings] them, baskets place them indeed at his disposal".

- 34 uri₂^{ki}-ma i₇-ĝa₂ a DU-a<-bi> ĥu-mu-un-tum₃ / ĝeš₃ dubsig_x-e ĥu-mu-un-na-la₂-e
- 35 lugal-bi lugal eridu^{ki}-ga PA-a-zu SU₃-am₃
- 36 dnu-dim-mud lugal eridu^{ki}-ga PA-a-zu SU₃-am₃
- 37 lugal an ub-da limmu₂-ba ša₃ den-lil₂-la₂ du₁₀-ge-en (Ur 38')
- 38 dur-dnamma u₂-a nibruki saĝ-us₂ uri₂^{ki}-ma (Ur 39')
- 39 iti₆-ŠE₃ uĝ₃ uri₂^{ki}-ma-še₃ (Ur 40')
- 40 sila_x(UBARA)-a u₄ mi-ni-ib-zal-zal-le-de₃ (Ur 40')
- 41 dur-dnamma lugal uri₂^{ki}-ma za₃-mi₂-zu du₁₀-ga-am₃ (Ur 41')

4.3 Transliteration and Translation of the Ur Recension²⁷

[Two or four lines missing]

- 1' B obv. 1' [i₇ a-ba] mu-un-ba-[al-e]
- 2' B obv. 2' [i₇-pa₄-bi]-luĥ-ĥa(-)a-ba ṛmu^ṽ-u[n-ba-al-e]
- 3' B obv. 3' [i₇ a-b]a mu-un-ba-al-ṛe^ṽ
- 4' B obv. 4' ṛi₇^ṽ(-)-ĜEŠ.BI.ĜEŠ(-)a(-)ĝar-r[a?] ṛa^ṽ-ba mu^ṽ-[un-ba-al-e]²⁸
- 5' B obv. 5' i₇ a-ba mu-ṛun-ba^ṽ-a[l-e]
- 6' B obv. 6' ur-dnamma ku₃ tuku mu-un-ṛba^ṽ-[al-e] (Ni 5)
- 7' B obv. 7' i₇ a-ba mu-un-ba-a[l-e]
- 8' B obv. 8' dsul-gi niĝ₂ tuku mu-un-ba-al-ṛe^ṽ (Ni 6)
- 9' B obv. 9' i₇ a-ba mu-un-ba-al-e

²⁷ The semantically conditioned non-standard writings and reinterpretations based on phonetic affinity are translated literally, even though they change the intended sense of the composition.

²⁸ Hardly space available for such a restoration which is, however, expected.

- 34 In Ur, may the water *carried* by my canal bring them, may baskets place them at his disposal.
- 35 O its²⁹ lord, lord of Eridu, it is *full of your PA-a-cry!*
- 36 O Nudimmud, lord of Eridu, it is *full of your PA-a-cry!"*
- 37 King of the four corners, you make Enlil happy,
- 38 Urnamma, the provider for Nippur, the supporter of Ur,
- 39f. As the moonlight, for the people of Ur, you make them pass the time in joy.
- 41 Urnamma, king of Ur, your praise is sweet!

- 1' [Who] will dig [the canal] there?
- 2' Who will [dig] the [p a b i] l u ḫ-canal there?
- 3' Who will dig [the canal] there?
- 4' Who will [dig] the *canal which has irrigated . . .* there?
- 5' Who will dig the canal there?
- 6' Urnamma, the wealthy one, will dig it there!
- 7' Who will dig the canal there?
- 8' Sulgi, the rich one, will dig it there!
- 9' Who will dig the canal there?

²⁹ i.e. the canal.

- 10' B obv. 10' lugal ša₃ zi-da nam tar-ra nam-nir-ra saĝ il₂ (Ni 9)
- 11' B obv. 11' ur-dnamma sul igi il₂-la kur-gal UD den-lil₂-la₂-ke₄ (Ni 10)
- 12' B obv. 12' dnu-nam-nir ki-en-gi uri-e me-am₃(-)-mu-un-suĥ₁₀-e (Ni 11)
- 13' B obv. 13' nibruki-e ĥur-saĝ-nam-til₃-la-ka nam-mi(-)im-MI (Ni 12)
- 14' B obv. 14' uri₃ki-e e₂-mud-kur-ra-kam (Ni 14)
- 15' B obv. 15' ĝešgu-za-a-ni suĥuš-bi im-mi-in-ge (Ni 15)
- 16' B obv. 16' aga me-lim_x me-teš₂ nam-lugal-la saĝ-ĝa₂ im-mi-ĝal₂
- 17' B obv. 17' ĝešĝidri ku₃ uĝ₃ šar₂ si si-e-DI šu-ĝa₂ im-mi-in-sa₂ (Ni 16)
- 18' B obv. 18' ṽšibir₂⁷¹ [ešgiri (?)] ṽx x x x x-laĥ₄⁷-laĥ₄-e (Ni 17)
- 19' B obv. 19' [...]
- 20' B obv. 20' [...]NE
- 21' B obv. 21' [...]
- 22' B obv. 22' [...]
- 23' B obv. 23' [...]
- 24' B obv. 24' [...]
- 25' B rev. 1 [x x (x)] ṽx⁷-ĝal₂ saĝ GI ĝal₂-ṽx⁷³⁰
- 26' B rev. 2 [x x x g]uru₃^{ru} ki-tuš ša₃ ĥul₂-ṽla⁷³¹
- 27' B rev. 3 [x x x (x)] ṽx⁷-da ur₂-bi im-mi-in-ge
- 28' B rev. 4 [x x x (x-)n]a-kam³² gu₂-da(-)am bi-šu₂
- 29' B rev. 5 [x x x (x) k]u₃-si₂(ZI) ku₃-babbar-ra gub-ba-am₃ / im-mi-ir-mi-re
C rev. 1' [...] ṽx⁷ [...]

³⁰ Hallo, *JCS* 20 (1966) 140 restores [e₂-kiš-n]u-ĝal₂ saĝ-ge ĝal₂-l[a²].

³¹ Hallo, *ibid.* restores [e₂-temen-ni₂-g]uru₃^{ru}.

³² A reading [...] ṽx⁷-ki-kam cannot be excluded.

- 10' "It is me, the king, destined from the true womb on, lifting the head confidently,
 11' Me, Urnamma, the selected youth, *shining* Great Mountain Enlil,
 12' Nunamnir has chosen for Sumer and Akkad.
 13' For Nippur, in the Hursaĝnamtila, he has made my destiny pleasing,
 14' For Ur, in the Emudkura,
 15' He has made the foundation of¹ his³³ throne firm.
 16' He has placed the radiant crown, the adornment of kingship, on my head.
 17' Made me take possession of the dazzling sceptre for guiding the innumerable people,
 18' The staff? [and nose-leash (?)] for leading
 19'-24' [six lines not preserved]

- 25' [...] . . . the head
 26' [...] . . . the dwelling of the joyful heart.
 27' [...] makes the foundation of [...] firm.
 28' . . . of the [...].
 29' [...] . . . which stands in gold and silver.

³³ Probably error for "the foundation of my throne" (cf. Nippur).

- 30' B rev. 6 [x x x (x)] u₄ ħe₂-ġal₂-la bala ub-ba / (?) i₇-KEŠ₂-ku₃ mu(-)še
C rev. 2' na(-)ri-MU(-)u₄ ħe₂-ġal₂-la¹ [...] / i₇-KEŠ₂-ku₃ mu(-)še
[(x)] (Ni 22)
- 31' B rev. 7 [mu d]a-ri ka-ke du-a-ba i₇-pa₄- bi-luĥ / mu(-)še (Ni 24)
C rev. 3' 'mu' da-ri ka-ke du-a-ba i₇-pa₄/p[a₅-bi-luĥ...]
- 32' B rev. 8 'ġa₂' iriki-ġa₂ a DU-bi ku₆-ab / te-li-bi mu-še-na (Ni 25)
C rev. 4' [ġa₂] 'iri'^{ki}-ġa₂ a DU-bi ku₆-ab te-'li-bi' [...]]
- 33' B rev. 9 i₇-KEŠ₂-ku₃ iriki-bi ku₆-ab / te-li-bi mu-še-na
C rev. 5' [i₇-KE]Š₂?-'ku₃' iri-bi!(GA)³⁴ ku₆-ab te-li-bi! mu-ši-'x'³⁵
- 34' B rev. 10 i₇-pa₄-bi-luĥ a DU-bi ku₆-ab / te-li-bi mu-še-na
C rev. 6' [i₇-pa₄/s-bi-lu]ĥ a DU-bi! ku₆-^{ab} te-li-bi mu-ši-x
- 35' B rev. 11 ħe₂-ġal₂-bi ku₆ mušen ma-ra-ab-DU / e₂-kiš-nu-ġal₂-še₃
C rev. 7' [... k]u₆ mušen ma-ra-ab-DU e₂-kiš-nu-ġal₂-še₃
- 36' B rev. 12 gu₂-gu₂-bi u₂munzer!(UD.^dNANNA) lu₂-a u₂-lal₃-e(-) / gu₇-e
C rev. 8' [x x] 'x' gu₂?³⁶ mu-su-ur lu₂-u₂ u₂-lal₃ 'x(-) x'⁷-e
- 37' B rev. 13 a-gar₃ gal-bi še gu-nu mu₂-mu₂ 'ġeštir-gin₇'⁷¹ / 'su-su' [x (x)]
C rev. 9' [x x x -b]i! še 'gu'⁷-nu mu₂-mu₂ ġeštir-gin₇ su-su 'x-x'⁷
- 38' B rev. 14 lugal an-n[e₂ ub-da limmu₂-b]i še-ga de[n-lil₂-la₂] (Ni 37)
C rev. 10' lugal an-ne₂ u]b-da limmu₂-bi! še-ga den-lil₂-la₂
- 39' B rev. 15 'ur-d'[namma... k]i-'en'⁷-gi u[ri-e x x x] (Ni 38)
C rev. 11' [ur]'^d[namma! u₂-a ki- en-gi ki-uri-e ki-aġ₂ den-lil₂-la₂
- 40' C rev. 12' [it]j₆¹³⁷ ĠAR uri₅ki-ma(-)x(-)sila-am₃ u₄ mi-ni-in-'x'⁷¹ / za-e¹³⁸-en-
za-e-le za-e-me-en (Ni 39-40)
B rev. 16 [...] 'x'⁷ [...]
- 41' C rev. 13' ur-^dnamma lugal mu da-a-ri za₃-mi₂-zu du₁₀-ga³⁹ (Ni 41)
B rev. 17 [...]

³⁴ C does not distinguish BI from GA in this and subsequent lines.

³⁵ The last sign in rev. 6' is UD on the copy.

³⁶ The copied sign gu₂ is not clear on the photo (-bi! expected!).

³⁷ The restoration [UD.SE]S¹(GA?).KI¹(NA) at the beginning of the line is very uncertain.

³⁸ Attached to the vertical of -e is a horizontal, perhaps mistakenly written in view of za-e-me-en at the end of the same line.

³⁹ Followed by double ruling.

- 30' . . . days of abundance . . . , *naming it* the k e š k u g-canal.
- 31' After the lasting name has been made worthy to be praised, *naming it* the p a b i l u ḥ-canal,
- 32' (Due to) me, what water it⁴⁰ *carries* in my city are fish, what it makes glide are birds.
- 33' The k e š k u g-canal: its city has fish, what it makes glide are birds,
- 34' The p a b i l u ḥ-canal: what water it *carries* are fish, what it makes glide are birds.
- 35' Their⁴¹ abundance has brought fish and birds for me to the Ekišnuḡal.
- 36' On their banks where liquorice is plentiful, they⁴² eat of honey-plants.
- 37' On their large arable tract(s) *mottled* barley that sprouts *grows tall* like riverine thickets."
- 38' King of the four corners, the favourite of Enlil,
- 39' Urnamma, the provider for Sumer and Akkad, the beloved of Enlil,
- 40' [... the moon]light!, . . . of Ur, *you make them pass the time* in joy, you are the one!
- 41' Urnamma, king with a lasting name, your praise is sweet!

40 i.e. the canal.

41 i.e. the k e š k u g- and the p a b i l u ḥ-canal.

42 i.e. the fish.

4.4 A Synopsis of Urnamma D: Nippur and Ur Recensions

The line numbering follows the Nippur recension (source A only). The lines in the Ur recension that are lacking in the Nippur recension are given lower case letters (a, b, etc.). Note that they have been fitted in with the Nippur recension line sequence arbitrarily (cf. especially lines 18ff. and 28ff.).

- 1 [a-ba-a mu-un-b]a-al-e a-^Γba-a mu^Γ-[un-ba-al-e / i₇] a-ba-a mu-u[n-ba-al-e]
- 2 [i₇-KEŠ₂-ku₃] a-ba-a mu-un-ba-[al-e]
- 3 / ^Γi₇^Γ a-ba-a mu-un-ba-al-e
B obv. 1' [i₇ a-ba] mu-un-ba-[al-e]
- 4 [i₇ pa₅-bi] luḥ a-ba-a mu-un-ba-al-e
/ ^Γi₇^Γ a-ba-a mu-un-ba-al-e
B obv. 2' [i₇-pa₄-bi]-luḥ-ḫa(-) a-ba ^Γmu^Γ-u[n-ba-al-e]
B obv. 3' [i₇ a-b]a mu-un-ba-al-^Γe^Γ
- a B obv. 4' ^Γi₇^Γ(-)ĜEŠ.BI.ĜEŠ(-)a(-)ĝar-r[a?] ^Γa[!]-ba mu^Γ-[un-ba-al-e]
- b B obv. 5' i₇ a-ba mu-^Γun-ba^Γ-a[l-e]
- 5 ^dur-^dnamma ku₃ tuku mu-un-ba-al-e
B obv. 6' ur-^dnamma ku₃ tuku mu-un-^Γba^Γ-[al-e]
- a B obv. 7' i₇ a-ba mu-un-ba-a[l-e]
- 6 sul zi ^Γniĝ₂ tuku^Γ mu-un-ba-al-^Γe^Γ
B obv. 8' ^dsul-gi niĝ₂ tuku mu-un-ba-al-^Γe^Γ
- a B obv. 9' i₇ a-ba mu-un-ba-al-e
- 7 lugal-ĝu₁₀ para₁₀-za ^den-lil₂-le en ^dAŠ-im₂-babbar
- 8 sul ^dsu'en para₁₀-za ^den-lil₂-le en ^dAŠ-im₂-babbar

- 1 [Who will] dig there,⁴³ who will [dig there], who will [dig the canal there]?
- 2 Who will dig [the k e š k u g-canal] there?
- 3 Who will dig the canal there?
[Who] will dig [the canal] there?
- 4 Who will dig [the canal] there [whose ditches] are clean? Who will dig the canal there?
Who will [dig] the [p a b i] l u ḡ-canal there? Who will dig [the canal] there?
- a Who will [dig] the *canal which has irrigated* . . . there?
- b Who will dig the canal there?
- 5 Urnamma, the wealthy one, will dig it there!
Urnamma, the wealthy one, will dig it there!
- a Who will dig the canal there?
- 6 The faithful youth, the rich one, will dig it there!
Sulgi, the rich one, will dig it there!
- a Who will dig the canal there?
- 7 "My lord, for your throne, Enlil's, o lord AŠimbabbar,
- 8 Youthful Su'en, for your throne, Enlil's, o lord AŠimbabbar,

⁴³ i.e. at Ur.

- 9 lugal ša₃ zi-ta nam tar-ra nam-nir-ra saĝ il₂
 B obv. 10' lugal ša₃ zi-da nam tar-ra nam-nir-ra saĝ il₂
- 10 dur-^dnamma sul igi il₂-la kur-[gal] den-lil₂-le
 B obv. 11' ur-^dnamma sul igi il₂-la kur-gal UD den-lil₂-la₂-ke₄
- 11 dnu-nam-nir-re ki-en-gi 'ki-uri-a' ĝe₂₆-e mu-un-suĥ-en
 B obv. 12' dnu-nam-nir ki-en-gi uri-e me-am₃(-)mu-un-suĥ₁₀-e
- 12 nibruki-a ĥur-saĝ-nam-til₃-^lla-ka^l nam-ĝu₁₀ im-mi-in-du₁₀
 B obv. 13' nibruki-e ĥur-saĝ-nam-til₃- la-ka nam-mi(-) im- MI
- 13 saĝ-ki zalag-ga-ni mu-un-ši-in-bar 'nam^l-lugal 'ba^l-an-^lšum₂'
- 14 uri₂ki-ma e₂-mud-kur-ra-ka
 B obv. 14' uri₅ki-e e₂-mud-kur-ra-kam
- 15 ĝe[šgu-z]a-ĝa₂ suĥuš-[bi im-mi-in-g]e-en
 B obv. 15' ĝešgu-za-a-ni suĥuš-bi im-mi-in-ge
- a B obv. 16' aga me-lim_x me-teš₂ nam-lugal-la saĝ-ĝa₂ im-mi-ĝal₂
- 16 ĝidri ku₃ uĝ₃ ša[r₂...]
 B obv. 17' ĝešĝidri ku₃ uĝ₃ šar₂ si si-e-DI šu-ĝa₂ im-mi-in-sa₂
- 17 šibir(EN×GANA₂-t.) ešgiri(U.EN×GANA₂-t.) uĝ₃ daĝal lu-a 'x
 x x^l ĥ[e₂-...]
 B obv. 18' 'šibir₂' [ešgiri (?)] 'x x x x x-laĥ₄^l-laĥ₄-e
- 18 en ^dAŠ-im₂-babbar-'ke₄' zi u₄ sud-...]
 B obv. 19' [...]
- 19 den-lil₂-le BI DA I ba-'e'?'('T[E]')-[x]
 B obv. 20' [...]-NE
- 20 mu da-ri₂ mu ka-ge d[u₇...]
 B obv. 21' [...]
- 21 den-ki-'ke₄' ĝeštu₂ daĝ[al...s]aĝ-e-eš m[u-rig]
 B obv. 22' [...]

- 9 It is me, the king, destined from the true womb on, lifting the head confidently,
"It is me, the king, destined from the true womb on, lifting the head confidently,
- 10 Me, Urnamma, the selected youth, [Great] Mountain Enlil,
Me, Urnamma, the selected youth, *shining* Great Mountain Enlil,
- 11 Nunamnir has chosen in Sumer and Akkad.
Nunamnir has chosen for Sumer and Akkad.
- 12 For Nippur, in the Ĥursaġnamtila, he has made my destiny pleasing,
For Nippur, in the Ĥursaġnamtila, he has made my destiny pleasing,
- 13 Smiled radiantly upon me and gave me! kingship.
- 14 For Ur, in the Emudkura,
For Ur, in the Emudkura,
- 15 He has made the foundation of my [thro]ne firm.
He has made the foundation of! his⁴⁴ throne firm.
- a He has placed the radiant crown, the adornment of kingship, on my head.
- 16 [Made me take possession of (?)] the dazzling sceptre [for guiding (?)] the innumerable people,
Made me take possession of the dazzling sceptre for guiding the innumerable people,
- 17 The staff and nose-leash for [...] the many widespread people [...].

The staff? [and nose-leash (?)] for leading . . .
- 18 Lord AŠimbabbar [gave me(?)] life [for] all time.
- 19 Enlil . . . [...],
- 20 A lasting name, a name worthy to be prais[ed ...].
- 21 Enki presen[ted] me with [bro]ad wisdom [...].

⁴⁴ Probably error for "the foundation of my throne" (cf. Nippur).

- a** B obv. 23' [...]
- b** B obv. 24' [...]
- c** B rev. 1 [x x (x)] ʽxʼ-ġal₂ saġ GI ġal₂-ʽxʼ
- d** B rev. 2 [x x x g]uru₃^{ru} ki-tuš ša₃ ħul₂-ʽlaʼ
- e** B rev. 3 [x x x (x)] ʽxʼ-da ur₂-bi im-mi-in-ge
- f** B rev. 4 [x x x (x-)n]a-kam⁴⁵ gu₂-da(-)am bi-šu₂
- g** B rev. 5 [x x x (x) k]u₃-si₂(ZI) ku₃-babbar-ra gub-ba-am₃ / im-mi-ir-mi-re
C rev. 1' [...] ʽxʼ [...]
- 22** ʽġe₂₆ʼ-e iriki-ġa₂ ʽi₇ʼ [ħe₂-ġal₂-la m]u-ba-al / ʽi₇-KEŠ₂ʼ-ku₃
mu(-)še₂₁
B rev. 6 [x x x (x)] u₄ ħe₂-ġal₂-la bala ub-ba / (?) i₇-KEŠ₂-ku₃
mu(-)še
C rev. 2' na(-)ri-MU(-) u₄ ʽħe₂-ġal₂-laʼ [...] / i₇-KEŠ₂-ku₃
mu(-)še [(x)]
- 23** [ur]i₂ki-ma ʽi₇ ħe₂-ġal₂ʼ-la mu-ba-al / ʽi₇-KEŠ₂ʼ-ku₃ mu(-)še₂₁
- 24** mu da-ri₂ ka-ge ba-ab-du₇-am₃ i₇ pa₅-bi luħ muše
B rev. 7 [mu d]a-ri ka-ke du-a-ba i₇-pa₄-bi-luħ / mu(-)še
C rev. 3' ʽmuʼ da-ri ka-ke du-a-ba i₇-pa₄/p[a₅-bi-luħ...]
- 25** ġe₂₆-e iri- ġa₂ a DU-a-bi ku₆-am₃ diri-bi mušen-am₃
B rev. 8 ʽġa₂ʼ iriki-ġa₂ a DU- bi ku₆-ab / te-li-bi mu-še-na
C rev. 4' [ġa₂] ʽiriʼ^{ki}-ġa₂ a DU- bi ku₆-ab te-ʽli-biʼ [...]
- 26** uri₂ki-ma a DU-a-bi ku₆-am₃ diri-bi mušen-am₃
B rev. 9 i₇- KEŠ₂- ku₃ iriki- bi ku₆-ab / te-li-bi mu-še-na
C rev. 5' [i₇-KE]Š₂ʼ-ʽku₃ʼ iri- bi! ku₆-ab te-li-bi! mu-ši-ʽxʼ
- a** B rev. 10 i₇-pa₄-bi-luħ a DU-bi ku₆-ab / te-li-bi mu-še-na
C rev. 6' [i₇-pa₄/s-bi-lu]ħ a DU-bi! ku₆-ʽabʼ te-li-bi mu-ši-x
- b** B rev. 11 ħe₂-ġal₂-bi ku₆ mušen ma-ra-ab-DU / e₂-kiš-nu-ġal₂-še₃
C rev. 7' [... k]u₆ mušen ma-ra-ab-DU e₂-kiš-nu-ġal₂-še₃

⁴⁵ A reading [...] ʽxʼ-ki-kam cannot be excluded.

a-b [not preserved]

c [...] . . . the head

d [...] the dwelling of the joyful heart.

e [...] makes the foundation of [...] firm.

f . . . of the [...].

g [...] . . . which stands in gold and silver.

22 As for me, in my city, I have dug a canal [of abundance], *naming it* the k e š k u g-canal,
 . . . days of abundance . . . , *naming it* the k e š k u g-canal.

23 At U[r] I have dug a canal of abundance, *naming it* the k e š k u g-canal,

24 The lasting name is made worthy to be praised, the canal whose ditches are clean *has birds*.

After the lasting name has been made worthy to be praised, *naming it* the p a b i l u ḫ-canal,

25 (Due to) me, what water it⁴⁶ *carries* in my city are fish, what it makes glide are birds.

(Due to) me, what water it *carries* in my city are fish, what it makes glide are birds.

26 What water it *carries* in Ur are fish, what it makes glide are birds,
 The k e š k u g-canal: its city has fish, what it makes glide are birds,

a The p a b i l u ḫ-canal: what water it *carries* are fish, what it makes glide are birds.

b Their⁴⁷ abundance has brought fish and birds for me to the Ekišnuḡal.

⁴⁶ i.e. the canal.

⁴⁷ i.e. the k e š k u g- and the p a b i l u ḫ-canal.

- 27 $\hat{g}e_{26}$ -e i_7 - $\hat{g}a_2$ u_2 - lal_3 -e mu - un - du_3 $su\check{h}ur^{ku_6}$ -e am_3 -si-e
- 28 uri_2^{ki} -ma u_2 - lal_3 -e mu - un - du_3 $su\check{h}ur^{ku_6}$ -e [am_3]-si-e
- a B rev. 12 gu_2 - gu_2 -bi u_2 munzer!(UD.dNANNA) lu_2 -a u_2 - lal_3 -e(-) / gu_7 -e
 C rev. 8' [x x] $\lceil x \rceil$ gu_2 ! ? mu -su-ur lu_2 - u_2 u_2 - lal_3 $\lceil x(-) \rceil$ $x \rceil$ -e
- 29 $\hat{g}e_{26}$ -e iri - $\hat{g}a_2$ gi -zi-bi lal_3 - am_3 [?] / ab_2 -e $\check{h}a$ -ma- gu_7 -e
- 30 uri_2^{ki} -ma gi -zi-bi lal_3 -a[m_3 ?] / ab_2 -e $\check{h}a$ -ma- gu_7 -e
- 31 $\hat{g}e_{26}$ -e [...] x^{ku_6}/ku_6 $\check{h}u$ -[...]
- 32 uri_2^k [i-ma...]
- 33 $\hat{g}e_{26}$ -e i_7 - $\hat{g}a_2$ a [DU-a-bi $\check{h}u$ -mu]-un-[tum_3] / $\check{g}e\check{s}$ dubsig $_x$ -e $\check{h}u$ -mu-un-na- la_2 -e
- 34 uri_2^{ki} -ma i_7 - $\hat{g}a_2$ a DU-a-<bi> $\check{h}u$ -mu-un- tum_3 / $\check{g}e\check{s}$ dubsig $_x$ -e $\check{h}u$ -mu-un-na- la_2 -e
- a B rev. 13 a- gar_3 gal-bi $\check{s}e$ gu -nu mu_2 - mu_2 $\lceil \check{g}e\check{s}tir$ - $gin_7 \rceil$ / $\lceil su$ -su \rceil [x (x)]
 C rev. 9' [x x x -b]i! $\check{s}e$ $\lceil gu \rceil$ -nu mu_2 - mu_2 $\check{g}e\check{s}tir$ - gin_7 su-su $\lceil x$ - $x \rceil$
- 35 $lugal$ -bi $lugal$ $eriduki$ -ga PA-a-zu SU_3 - am_3
- 36 dnu -dim-mud $lugal$ $eriduki$ -ga PA-a-zu SU_3 - am_3
- 37 $lugal$ an ub-da $limmu_2$ -ba $\check{s}a_3$ den - lil_2 - la_2 du_{10} -ge-en
 B rev. 14 $lugal$ an-n[e_2 ub-da $limmu_2$ -b]i $\check{s}e$ -ga de [n- lil_2 - la_2]
 C rev. 10' [$lugal$ an- ne_2 u]b-da $limmu_2$ -bi! $\check{s}e$ -ga den - lil_2 - la_2
- 38 dur - $dnamma$ u_2 -a $nibruki$ $sa\check{g}$ - us_2 uri_2^{ki} -ma
 B rev. 15 $\lceil ur$ - $d \rceil$ [$namma$... k]i- $\lceil en \rceil$ -gi u[ri-e x x x]
 C rev. 11' [ur] $\lceil d \rceil$ [$namma$! u_2 -a ki- en-gi ki-uri-e ki- $a\check{g}_2$ den - lil_2 - la_2

- 27 (Due to) me, honey-plants were planted at my canal, the s u ḫ u r-fish *fill up on them*,
- 28 In Ur honey-plants were planted, the s u ḫ u r-fish *fill up on them*.
- a On their banks where liquorice is plentiful, they⁴⁸ eat of honey-plants.
- 29 (Due to) me, in my city its reed fodder is (honey-)sweet, may the cows eat it for me,⁴⁹
- 30 In Ur its reed fodder is (honey-)sweet, may the cows eat it for me.
- 31 (Due to) me, [in my ...] may the fish [...],
- 32 [In] Ur [...].
- 33 (Due to) me, [may] the water [*carried*] by my canal [bring them⁵⁰], may baskets place them at his⁵¹ disposal,⁵²
- 34 In Ur, may the water *carried* by my canal bring them, may baskets place them at his disposal.
- a On their large arable tract(s) *mottled* barley that sprouts *grows tall* like riverine thickets."
- 35 O its⁵³ lord, lord of Eridu, it is *full of your PA-a-cry!*
- 36 O Nudimmud, lord of Eridu, it is *full of your PA-a-cry!"*
- 37 King of the four corners, you make Enlil happy,
King of the four corners, the favourite of Enlil,
- 38 Urnamma, the provider for Nippur, the supporter of Ur,
Urnamma, the provider for Sumer and Akkad, the beloved of Enlil,

48 i.e. the fish.

49 Or in this and the succeeding line: "(...) the cows indeed eat it for me".

50 i.e. the fish.

51 i.e. Nanna.

52 Or in this and the succeeding line: "(...) the water *carried* by my canal indeed [brings] them, baskets place them indeed at his disposal".

53 i.e. the canal.

- 39** $\text{iti}_6\text{-}\check{\text{S}}\text{E}_3 \text{ u}\check{\text{g}}_3 \text{ uri}_2^{\text{ki}}\text{-ma-}\check{\text{e}}_3$
 C rev. 12' $[\text{it}]\text{i}_6^! \text{ } \hat{\text{G}}\text{AR} \text{ uri}_5^{\text{ki}}\text{-ma}(-)\text{x}(-)$
 B rev. 16 $[\dots] \text{ } \ulcorner \text{x} \urcorner [\dots]$
- 40** $\text{sila}_\text{x}(\text{UBARA})\text{-a} \text{ } \text{u}_4 \text{ mi-ni-ib-} \text{ } \text{zal-zal-le-de}_3$
 C rev. 12' $\text{sila-} \text{ } \text{am}_3 \text{ } \text{u}_4 \text{ mi-ni-in-}\ulcorner \text{x} \urcorner / \text{za-e}^!\text{-en-za-e-le} \text{ } \text{za-e-me-en}$
- 41** $\text{}^{\text{d}}\text{ur-dnamma} \text{ lugal} \text{ uri}_2^{\text{ki}}\text{-ma} \text{ } \text{za}_3\text{-mi}_2\text{-zu} \text{ } \text{du}_{10}\text{-ga-am}_3$
 C rev. 13' $\text{}^{\text{d}}\text{ur-dnamma} \text{ lugal} \text{ mu} \text{ da-a-ri} \text{ } \text{za}_3\text{-mi}_2\text{-zu} \text{ } \text{du}_{10}\text{-ga}^{54}$
 B rev. 17 $[\dots]$

⁵⁴ Followed by double ruling.

- 39 As the moonlight, for the people of Ur,
[... the moon]light!, . . . of Ur,
- 40 You make them pass the time in joy.
You make them pass the time in joy, you are the one!
- 41 Urnamma, king of Ur, your praise is sweet!
Urnamma, king with a lasting name, your praise is sweet!

4.5 Collective Philological Commentary

As in the Synopsis (4.4), line numbers refer to the Nippur recension, lower case letters to the Ur recension.

2 The i_7 - KE Š₂ - $k u_3$. g-canal is to my knowledge only attested in this hymn. Perhaps there is a connection with $\hat{g} e \check{s}$ - $k e \check{s}_2$ - $d a$ "dam".

4 i_7 $p a_5$ - $b i$ $l u \check{h}$ "canal whose ditches are clean" is taken as an epithet of the i_7 - KE Š₂ - $k u_3$. g because, contrary to the i_7 - KE Š₂ - $k u_3$. g (line 23), it is not "named" $m u \check{s} e_{21}$ in line 24 (cf. also Civil, *Farmer's Instructions* 179). In Ur recension 2', however, it seems to be treated as a canal name, as the $m u (-) \check{s} e$ of line 31' (= Ni 24) is more likely a non-standard writing of $m u \check{s} e_{21}$ "to name" rather than $m u \check{s} e n$ "bird" without the copula. The only other attestation of $i_7 (-) p a_4 /_5$ - $b i$ - $l u \check{h}$ is Sjöberg, *Mondgott* 46:6'. Compare perhaps also $p a_5$ - $a (/ N I) (-) l u \check{h}$ - $\check{h} a$ in Urenlila to Ensi and Sanga (= Ali, *Letters* 105) 3. For $l u \check{h}$, cf. *MSL* 11 27 sect. 4 A ii 7 (3')ff. (i_7 - $p a_5$ - $l u \check{h}$ - $\check{h} a$ in sect. 7 A iii 16). The writing - $l u \check{h}$ - $\check{h} a$ in Ur recension 2' is most probably Sandhi-writing (compare source B line 31' [= Ni 24] i_7 - $p a_4$ - $b i$ - $l u \check{h}$).

a In Ur recension 4' i_7 $\hat{G} E \check{S}$. B I . $\hat{G} E \check{S}$ $a \hat{g} a r - r a$ "canal which has irrigated . . .", not mentioned in the Nippur recension, could in turn be an epithet of the i_7 - KE Š₂ - $k u_3$. g, which is only mentioned later on in line 30', or else it is an otherwise unattested canal name.

5-6 = Ur recension 6' and 8'. The two terms $k u_3$ $t u k u$ "wealthy" and $n i \hat{g}_2$ $t u k u$ "rich" in the following line appear in context also in Dumuzi-Inana O 27ff. and in Enlil and Namzitara 19ff. (cf. also Arnaud, *Emar* 6/4 [1987] 368:12'ff., no. 771) where they are part of a topos-like sequence which includes $k u_3$ $t u k u$ $z a$ $t u k u$ $g u d$ $t u k u$ $u d u$ $t u k u$ and $\check{s} e$ $t u k u$ (cf. also in Ewe and Grain 189-190). Being rich and exercising kingship are coupled in Nisaba Hymn (= Reisman, *AOAT* 25 360) 43 $l u_2$ $n i \hat{g}_2$ $t u k u$ $n a m - l u g a l$ $a l - A K - d e_3$ "The rich person exercises kingship". In the Dumuzi-Inana O and Ewe and Grain passages the two terms are also preceded by $l u_2$.

In Ur recension 8', $d s u l - g i . r$ is a reinterpretation based on phonetic affinity with $s u l$ $z i . d$ "faithful youth" in Nippur recension 6 (cf. also II 3.2, p. 26). Note that whereas Urnamma does not get deified in this recension, Sulgi does.

7-8 These lines are a shortened citation of the concluding lines in Nanna's Journey to Nippur 349-352, observed by Ferrara, *StPohl SM* 2 (1973) 155ff., and fn. 28, also commented on by Edzard, *ZA* 63 (1973) 298-300, and Wilcke in *CRRAI* 19 (1974) 187, fn. 12 (with vars. for Nanna's Journey to Nippur), idem, *AS* 20 (1975) 245, fn. 65, and most recently in "Politik und Literatur" 38f., and

fns. 48-51. The syntax is in both cases difficult. In view of the fact that the unpub. source E omits lines 8ff. completely, and that lines 7-8 are not extant in the Ur recension, it is probably an elliptical phrase without any syntactical reference to the following line (pace Edzard and Wilcke, "Politik und Literatur" 39). But admittedly $d\bar{e}n-lil_2-le$ ($||-la_2$ in the two duplicates of Nanna's Journey to Nippur which preserve the end of the line) remains difficult. For genitives in -e, cf. Attinger, *Eléments* 259, § 168 3°.

10-11 U D after $kur-gal$ "Great Mountain" in Ur recension **11'** is unusual, perhaps read as $zala_g$ or $babb\bar{a}r$ "bright, shining", but it is said mostly of the day (and Inana who brightens the day). $d\bar{e}n-lil_2-la_2-ke_4$ could be a "genitive ending in - ke_4 " with a reinterpretation of the Nippur recension 10 which has $d\bar{e}n-lil_2-le$, or we have to translate "Great Mountain, the . . . of Enlil", parallel to Nunamnir in line 11.

Note the Sandhi-writing $me-am_3(-)$ in Ur recension **12'**, for the Nippur recension's $ge_{26}-e$ in line 11.

12-14 In view of the locative-terminative -e in Ur recension **13'-14'** and the verbal chain $im-mi-$ ($=\{i+m+b+i\}$), which reflects a locative-terminative, rather than a periphrastic complement in the locative (cf. Attinger, *Eléments* 286, § 185), the following locatives $nibruk_i-a$ and $uri_2^{ki}-ma$ in lines 12 and 14 of the Nippur recension are translated "for Nippur/Ur" rather than "in Nippur/Ur".

If the $e_2-mud-kur-ra$ is a cella in the Ekišnuḡal at Ur (cf. George, *House Most High* 128 ad no. 816; add Frayne, *AOS* 74 [1992] 33 and 119, fn. 246), perhaps the $hur-saḡ-nam-til_3-la$ "Mountain of Life" is the (e_2-) $hur-saḡ-galam-ma$ or a part thereof, i.e. Enlil's cella on the zigurat at Nippur (cf. the commentary ad Urnamma B 22-23).

$nam-mi(-)im-MI$ in Ur recension **13'** is Sandhi-writing for $nam-gu_{10}im-MI$. The verbal base MI should perhaps be read $kukku_2$ (or ku_{10}), and that in turn could be a variant for $ku_7(-ku_7.d)$ *ṭābu* "sweet", as the Nippur recension in line 12 has $du_{10}.g$ "to be sweet". But maybe it is simpler to assume that the scribe has forgotten to write the verbal base, i.e. $nam-mi(= -gu_{10}$ with assimilation and vowel harmony) $im-mi<(-in)-du_{10}>$.

15a In Ur recension **16'** I understand $agame-lim_x$ "crown and radiance" as "radiant crown".

I interpret $me-teš_2$ as an error for $me-te$ "adornment", rather than $me-teš_2$ "appeal and vigour" (cf. Ininšagura 125 where the two nouns are equated with Akk. *dūtu* "appeal" and *baštu* "vigour, essence").

16 Read in Ur recension **17'** $si-si-e-DI$ as $si-si-e-sa_2$ (with difficult -e-), or perhaps $si-si-e-de$ for $si-sa_2-e-de_3$.

18-19 The structure and grammar of these lines are obscure. - ke_4 for -e/-re in line 18 is dubious and needs collation. Hallo reads in line 19 $d\bar{e}n-lil_2-le-bi-da i-ba-^{\Gamma}e^{\Gamma}-[ne]$ "Together with Enlil - they bestow". But for $zi-ba$ "to bestow life" there is only one (more) reference, Abaindasa to Sulgi (= Ali, *Letters* 54) 24. Furthermore, i- before the verbal base is very rare. One

expects $d e n - l i l_2 - l e$ to be parallel with $e n - d A \check{S} - i m_2 - b a b b a r - r e$ (!) of line 18, and $B I D A I$, with different readings, is perhaps some nominal syntagm.

20 This line probably relates to the preceding line 19, as Enlil gives Urnamma a good name in Urnamma C 46, and Enki is usually associated with giving wisdom (line 21), cf. also IV 1.2, p. 50.

For $k a - g e d u_7$ "worthy to be praised" (Ur recension **31'** has the non-standard writing $k a - k e d u$), cf. Attinger, *Eléments* 371, § 213 3° s.v. "du₁₁-ge", with previous literature.

21c In Ur recension **25'** $s a \hat{g} G I$ could be $s a \hat{g} - g e$ for $s a \hat{g} - e / \hat{g} e_2$ "for the head", or perhaps read the second part of the line as $s a \hat{g} - g i (-) I G - r x$ for $s a \hat{g} g i_6 . g$ "Black-Headed".

f In Ur recension **28'** $g u_2 - d a (-) a m b i - \check{s} u_2$ might stand for $g u_2 - d a - a m_3 b i - \check{s} u_2$. The sense, however, eludes me.

g In Ur recension line **29'** the $k u_3 -$ in $[\dots k] u_3 - s i_2 (Z I) . g$ "gold", a non-standard writing of $k u_3 - s i g_{17}$, is read from context. For $/ k u s i (g) /$, cf. Sjöberg, *JCS* 40 (1988) 174 ad 4 with previous literature.

I tentatively connect $m i - i r - m i . r$ with $b i - b i . r \parallel b a - b a . r$ in Enki's Journey to Nippur 113 \parallel Römer, *BiOr.* 48 [1991] 366 A 2 [= Gudam] $t i - l i m - d a m a_2 - g u r_8 k u_3 i m - b a (/ b i) - b a (/ b i) - r e (- e - n e)$ "They (= the gods)/he (= Gudam) . . . the $t i l i m d a$ -vessel and the splendid cargo boat" (source B of Enki's Journey to Nippur has the variant $[i m] - m i r - m i r - e - n e$, sources EE, M and W have $i m - k a r_2 - k a r_2 - r e - n e$ "they [= the gods] make shine forth"). It is very unlikely that $b i - b i . r \parallel$ is a non-standard writing of $b a b b a r$ "to be white, to shine" (*PSD* B 30 s.v. *babbar* C), despite the variant $k a r_2 - k a r_2$, because *babbar* is not attested in any of the variants in this topos.

22-23 $m u (-) \check{s} e_{21}$ (the Ur recension has $m u (-) \check{s} e$) is very difficult. One expects $m u (- \check{S} E_3) b a / b i_2 - \check{s} e_{21}$ "I have named it". $\check{s} e_{21}$ alone can mean "to lie" (Wilcke, *Lugalbandaepos* 145 with literature), but that does not make any sense here. There is probably a sound play with $m u \check{s} e n$ in lines 24-26.

In source C of Ur recension **30'**, $n a (-) r i - M U (-) u_4$ with Sandhi-writing probably reflects original $\hat{g} a_2 u r i_5 (k i) - m a / i r i (k i) - \hat{g} a_2 i_7$ with reinterpretation. u_4 for i_7 in the Nippur version is due to attraction of $- M U (-) . u b - b a$ could be reinterpreted from $(m) u - b a (- a l)$ but the sense of $b a l a u b - b a$ eludes me.

25-30 These lines roughly correspond to lines 190-195 of a *balbale* of Nanna (= *TMH NF* 4 7 iv 190-195 // *ISCT* 1 62 [Ni. 9788]), discussed by Hall, *Moon-God* 776-87 with previous literature (cf. in detail the discussion in IV 3.1, p. 75f.).

25-26 In view of $- a -$ before $- b i$ in the Nippur recension, $a (= e_4) D U (- a) - b i$ is a pronominal conjugation which excludes the noun $a - r a_2$ but in the meaning of "way, course" with reference to water (cf. *PSD* A/1 149f. s.v. *ara₂* B 5.; note also that $a - r a_2$ with water is used for negative descriptions).

Because of the Ur variant $i r i^{(k i)} (= / e r i /, / i r i /)$ in line 33', which only can be explained if the scribe heard $/ e r a /$, a D U might still have to be read $a r a_2$ "to carry water" or the like (instead of $a d e_6 / t u m_2$), for which compare perhaps $\check{s} u d_3$ D U ($r a_2$) "to address a prayer". Note that the form $i r i^{(k i)} - b i$ in Ur recension 33' appears in both duplicates and the correct form $a D U - b i$ is used in lines 32' and 34'. On the other hand the unpub. source E of the Nippur recension has $a d u_{10} - g a$ "sweet water" (Tinney's reading, vs Hall, *Moon-God* 786 who reads $- b i$ instead of $- g a$) for $a D U (- a) - b i$ in parallel with line 26 of source A, and $a d u_{10}$ in parallel with lines 33-34. This looks like a reinterpretation based on phonetic affinity and argues for a reading $a d u (- a) - b i$ "its coming water", "when the water is coming" for $a D U (- a) - b i$. If $a d u (- a) - b i$ instead of $a r a_2 (- a) - b i$ turns out to be the correct reading in the Nippur version in view of source E, then the Ur sources in line 33' (= Ni 26) must represent a different version altogether (note also in the same line $i_7 - K E \check{S}_2 - k u_3 . g$ instead of $u r i_2^{k i} - m a$).

$k u_6 - a b$ in Ur recension 32'ff. is a semantically conditioned non-standard writing: $< k u_6 - a m_3$ plus the association with $a b$ "body of water, sea" (cf. also II 3.2, p. 25).

In view of the variant $d a l$ "to fly" (courtesy of S. Tinney) in the unpub. source E, $d i r i$ means here most probably "to glide" (said of birds which roam along the riverine thickets and marshes of the canals preying on fish), rather than $d i r i . g$ "surplus" (Hallo), or "upper areas" (Hall), which however, cannot be entirely dismissed. $d i r i$ underlines here movement as in $a D U (r a_2)$ "to carry water".

For abundance of fish and birds as literary topos, cf. Ferrara, *StPohl SM* 2 (1973) 139f.

26b In Ur recension 35' a reading $k u_6 m u \check{s} e n m a - r a - a b - D U$ is preferred over $k u_6 \check{h} u - m a - r a - a b - D U$. But $\check{h} u - m a -$ cannot be excluded because the text otherwise does not write $m u \check{s} e n$ and $\check{h} u -$ instead of $\check{h} a -$ could possibly be explained as influenced by the preceding $k u_6$.

27-28 The parallel line of line 27 in the *bal bale TMH NF* 4 7 iv 192 has $s u \check{h} u r k u_6 - e$ $\lceil a ? \rceil - a b - s i / N I \hat{G} I N_2$ and the obscure Akk. gloss $[li]-ir-te-e$, cf. Hall, *Moon-God* 786. The *bal bale*'s parallel line (iv 193) of line 28 has calves eating honey-plants (cf. also IV 3.1, p. 76).

For the association of the $s u \check{h} u r$ -fish with the $u_2 - l a l_3$ "honey-plant", cf. Civil, *Iraq* 23 (1961) 170 and the schematic outline of references in Gragg, *AfO* 24 (1973) 69. The "honey-plant" grows on canal banks (cf. Lugalbanda I 391-392 and Ur recension 36'), but apparently also further out in the steppe region (e.g. Nisaba Hymn 80 $e d i n - e d i n - e u_2 - l a l_3 b i_2 - m u_2 - m u_2$ "The steppes let honey-plants grow").

28a Ur recension 36' is influenced by lines 27-28 of the Nippur recension.

For $u_2 m u n z e r$ (usually written $u_2 K I . d N A N N A$) "liquorice" or the like, cf. Civil, *JCS* 20 (1966) 122f. and *Studies Reiner* (1987) 45f. The occurrence of this plant in this line might be due to the mentioning of cows eating $g i - z i$

"reed fodder" in lines 29-30 of the Nippur recension (cf. below), for the liquorice (m u n z e r)-fed cows are a literary topos. Note that the plant was used as a sweetener (e.g. SP Coll. 3.131 = Falkowitz, *Sumerian Rhetoric Collections* 223; compare also Dumuzi-Inana W 23) and was therefore connected with the honey-plant.

For l u₂ as a non-standard writing for l u "to be numerous, to be plentiful", cf. Steinkeller, *SEL* 1 (1984) 15, fn. 21 and Michalowski, *JCS* 40 (1988) 161. It is normally said of animals and people, but u₂ l u is sporadically attested, cf. Heimpel, *Tierbilder* 219 ad n, and also Inana and Ebiḫ 125 a m - b i u₂ l u - a m u - u n - D U "Wild bulls roam about there (i.e. Ebiḫ) in plentiful grass". This interpretation is preferred over l u₂ "person" and a translation "(even) people eat of honey-plants". Humans are not usually associated with eating the honey-plant (examples to the contrary are v. Dijk, *Or.* 44 [1975] 53 [= UM 29-15-367//] obv. 5 ll, said of a woman who wants to become pregnant, and perhaps Instructions of Šuruppak 110), and in Ewe and Grain 24 and Nippur Lament 35, where people are said to eat plants like sheep, the imagery is negative, whereas in our line it should be positive.

l u₂ - u₂ in source C instead of l u₂ - a is phonetically influenced (l u₂ - u₂ u₂ -). u₂ - l a l₃ - e (-) g u₇ - e reflects u₂ - l a l₃ - e (i₃ -) g u₇ - e ("to eat of" + locative-terminative).

29 For a more recent discussion of g i - z i, cf. Klein, *Studies Artzi* (1990) 117f. ad 28-31 and Waetzoldt, *BSA* 6 (1992) 129f.; cf. also Englund, *ASJ* 14 (1992) 90. These young, edible reeds grow along river banks and, when cut, become excellent reed fodder for cattle and animals of the steppe, cf. e.g. Tree and Reed 189 (in Civil, *Studies Reiner* [1987] 45), and Heron and Turtle 8-9 ll 46-47 ll 87-88). They are also associated with (marsh-)carps (g u d, vars. g u d - d u and g u₄ - u d) as in Home of the Fish 73-76, Enki's Journey to Nippur 79 ll Enki and the World Order 98, and Heron and Turtle 28 ll 75.

33-34 For l a₂ with dative, cf. Civil, *JAOS* 103 (1983) 62 ad 41.

34a In Ur recension **37'** s u - s u could be a non-standard writing for s u₃ - s u₃. d "to become long, to become tall". Compare thematically Isin *28 (= Falkenstein, *ZA* 49 [1950] 114) obv. 11 p u₂ ḡ e ṣ k i r i₆ ḡ e ṣ l a m - b i k i t a g - g a t i r - g i n₇ s u₃ - s u₃ - e (/ - ṣ d e₃ ṣ) "to let the planted *nut* (*bearing*) trees of the orchards grow tall like riverine thickets".

35-36 P A - a is usually connected with u₂ - a (cf. Sjöberg, *AOAT* 25 [1976] 423 ad 22 and idem, *JCS* 29 [1977] 29 ad 12' with previous literature), but the meaning "provider" does not seem to fit our line. The translation given here "it (= the canal) is *full of* your P A - a - cry" is only a guess. P A - a, which might have a reading p a - a (cf. Alster, *ASJ* 14 [1992] 25 ad 8 and 49), is usually mentioned next to a - l a - l a as some sort of an exclamation, perhaps of joy, and/or a working song refrain (cf. *PSD* A/1 100 s.v. a-la-la A).

The translation "full of" for S U₃ - a, normally reflecting s u d - a "made long", is based on the unpub. sources D and E which have s u₃ - g a - a m₃

(courtesy of S. Tinney). However, a semantic variation "your *PA-a-cry* resounds far (?) " cannot be ruled out.

37 In Ur recension **38'** š e - g a "favourite" is possibly influenced by š a₃ (. g) of the Nippur recension.

39-40 Ur recension **40'** is syntactically and epigraphically difficult. z a - e - e n - z a - e - l e probably stands for z a l - z a l - l e, rhyming with succeeding z a - e, but z a - e - m e - e n does not seem to fit with the verbal chain m i - n i - i n - 「 x ? 」 which looks like 3rd person *hamtu* sg. animate. Maybe the line has been reinterpreted with ^d u t u as subject. Read then (...) s i l a - a ^d u t u m i - n i - i n - 「 x ? 」 "(...) in joy, Utu has . . .".

5. URNAMMA EF

5.1 Introduction

Previous studies¹

A first transliteration with translation and a copy (pl. 2) of source B (= Urnamma F) of Urnamma EF was given by S. Langdon in *PSBA* 40 (1918) 45-50. M. Cohen presented an edition of Urnamma F, together with Urnamma E (= source A), in *JAOS* 95 (1975) 596-600 as part of his treatment of the so-called *š i r n a m š u b* compositions to which Urnamma EF belongs.²

Urnamma EF: a širnamšub composition

M. Civil listed Urnamma EF separately under Urnamma E and F in his unpublished *Index for a Corpus of Sumerian Literature*³ and noted that Urnamma F was very similar to Urnamma E. The line sequence and content of both Urnamma E and F, despite some line additions and omissions, are indeed so strikingly similar⁴ that Urnamma E and F probably present two non-Nippur⁵ recensions⁶ of an original Urnamma hymn which served as a common model. In this study they are therefore treated as the same composition (Urnamma EF) in two different recensions (Urnamma E and F).

Urnamma EF ends with the subscript "š i r n a m š u b of Nanna" and thus belongs to the small and heterogeneous group of Old Babylonian⁷ *š i r n a m š u b* compositions conveniently listed by C. Wilcke in *AS* 20 (1975) 288⁸ and M. Cohen in *JAOS* 95 (1975) 593. Four more can now be added:

¹ Cf. also II 2., p. 20f.

² Cf. also Schretter's short description of this group of hymns in *Emesal-Studien* (1990) 90f., and Black, *Studies Civil* (1991) 24.

³ p. 29 ad 2.415. and 2.416.

⁴ Cf. below, "Structural Analysis", p. 263f. and 5.4, pp. 276ff.

⁵ The provenance of Urnamma E is Lagaš, of Urnamma F probably Sippar.

⁶ Cf. also Cohen, *JAOS* 95 (1975) 594 and fn. 8 ("redactions"); Black, *Studies Civil* (1991) 24, fn. 14 ("versions"); Schretter, *Emesal-Studien* (1990) 90, fn. 38.

⁷ The *š i r n a m š u b* of Nininsina (= *KAR* 15 = 16 // in Cohen, *JAOS* 95 [1975] 609-11) also has a Middle Assyrian bilingual version.

⁸ Cf. also the previous list and discussion in Krecher, *Kultlyrik* 31f., and fn. 68ff.

Dumuzi-Inana M, an unpublished Nippur text (UM 29-15-242), has been transliterated and commented on by Y. Sefati in *Love Songs* 232f.⁹ It skips the divine name in the subscript (š i r₃ - n a m - š u b - b a - r¹⁰ k a m¹¹). We have another š i r n a m š u b of Inana published by S.N. Kramer in *Recueil de Travaux* 2 (1984) 5-9,¹¹ and two of Utu inscribed together on a four-column tablet (two columns on either side) in the British Museum (BM 23631) and published by S.N. Kramer in *Or.* 54 (1985) 117-32.¹² This raises the number to 12 in all so far.¹³ The Jena Catalogue (*TMH NF* 3 53 + 4 53) which lists š i r n a m š u b compositions in column one shows that quite a few more are extant.

The precise meaning of the subscript š i r₃ - n a m - š u b (- b a), lexically attested in the Old Babylonian lexical list Proto-Lu (*MSL* 12 54) 592,¹⁴ as well as the nature and function of the genre as a whole remain elusive. The term n a m - š u b is equated in the post-Old Babylonian period with Akkadian *šiptu* "incantation, spell", but there might be an original association with ḡ e š - š u b (- b a) = *isqu* "lot, share, destiny", and thus "casting a spell" with "casting lots".¹⁵ The n a m - š u b could be recited in form of a hymn and involve the act of cleansing. This is supported by the topos š i r₃ (-) k u₃ n a m - š u b.¹⁶ According to M. Cohen the genre š i r₃ - n a m - š u b (- b a) and the š i r₃ (-) k u₃ n a m - š u b are synonymous,¹⁷ but note that š i r₃ (-) k u₃ seems to be a technical term¹⁸ and intoned on different types of musical instruments, e.g. the t i g i-, š e m / u b-, and a l a-instruments,¹⁹ and on the b a l a ḡ-instrument.²⁰ It is associated with the š i r₃ (-) ḡ a - m u n (- n a) both lexically²¹ and in literary texts.²² The š i r n a m š u b genre may have been part of the ḡ a l a-singer's²³ repertoire

⁹ [Cf. now the published form as Sefati, *Love Songs in Sumerian Literature, Critical Edition of the Dumuzi-Inanna Songs*, Ramat Gan (1998) 208f.].

¹⁰ This practice is also attested for the e r š e m a cult songs (cf. Krecher, *Kulturyik* 29, and fn. 55).

¹¹ A copy of source BM 88318 is now *CT* 58 13, pl. 14.

¹² The second š i r n a m š u b composition on the tablet has been subsequently treated by Jacobsen, *JANES* 22 (1993) 63-68.

¹³ Note that UM 29-15-570 in Sjöberg, *JCS* 29 (1977) 8-13 (with additions by Krecher apud Klein, *TAPS* 71/7 [1981] 42) is very likely another member of the š i r n a m š u b genre: it has stock phrases which appear in another š i r n a m š u b hymn (Cohen, *JAOS* 95 605f.:38-41 // 51-53 = Sjöberg, *JCS* 29 9 rev. 7'-10') and in *RA* 15 (1918) 128:18-21 (according to Black, *BiOr.* 44 [1987] 76 not yet assigned to a known b a l a ḡ cult song), it uses dividing lines, exhibits Eme-sal and main dialect passages, and refers to a king (for these characteristics of the š i r n a m š u b genre, cf. in more detail below, p. 262).

¹⁴ After the š i r₃ - n a m - ḡ a l a and before the š i r₃ - n a m - N E . R U - m a, an execration type of hymn.

¹⁵ Cf. Hallo, *JCS* 19 (1965) 57 ad no. 16 "fate-fixing song . . .". Attinger apud Uehlinger, *OBO* 101 (1990) 411, fn. 18, and idem, *Éléments* 625, § 673, and fn. 1790.

¹⁶ Cohen, *JAOS* 95 (1975) 595; add to the references Geller, *UHF* 22:48 (š i r₃ (-) k u₃ n a m - š u b k u₃ (- ḡ a)).

¹⁷ Cohen, *ibid.* 595; also Uehlinger, *OBO* 101 (1990) 411, fn. 18.

¹⁸ Klein, *ThŠH* 216 ad 93; cf. also idem, *Studies Artzi* (1990) 120 ad 41-42.

¹⁹ Enki's Journey to Nippur 125; Sumer and Ur Lament 436-437; Eridu Lament 3.10-11; *KAR* 15 = 16 // (= Cohen, *JAOS* 95 610) 15'.

²⁰ Nanše Hymn 41-42; *KAR* 15 = 16 // (= Cohen, *ibid.* 610) 15'.

²¹ In Proto-Lu (*MSL* 12 54) 588-90 š i r₃ (-) k u₃ / š i r₃ (-) ḡ a - m u n / š i r₃ (-) n a m - n a r.

²² Temple Hymns 298; Nanše Hymn 42; Eridu Lament 3.10. Gudea, Cyl. A 27 12 has n a m - š u b š i r₃ (-) ḡ a - m u n.

²³ For the ḡ a l a = *kalā*, cf. e.g. Black, *Studies Civil* (1991) 26ff.

and thus sung in the temple cult because some hymns are exclusively written in Eme-sal.²⁴ Others, however, show a mixing of Eme-sal forms with the main dialect,²⁵ or are wholly written in the main dialect.²⁶

The š i r n a m š u b compositions share some formal characteristics with two other types of cultic songs, namely the š i r n a m g a l a²⁷ and the b a l a ḡ songs belonging to the province of the g a l a- singers. The š i r n a m š u b and š i r n a m g a l a compositions use similar rubrics, refer to (anonymous) kings, and both exhibit a slight mixing of Eme-sal forms with the main dialect. The š i r n a m š u b compositions are listed together with b a l a ḡ and e r š e m a songs in the Old Babylonian catalogue VS 10 216, both types of songs use the same repertoire of rubrics²⁸ and the device of dividing lines which are very likely substitutes for the rubric k i r u g u.²⁹ Also š i r n a m š u b compositions exhibit the so-called "stock phrases" ("Versatzstücke") found in b a l a ḡ and e r š e m a songs.³⁰ Major differences between the š i r n a m š u b and b a l a ḡ songs, however, are also apparent: the b a l a ḡ songs are in Eme-sal entirely and represent a huge group of hymns which were popular over a very long period of time, whereas the š i r n a m š u b compositions are in both dialects, a minor group, and apparently did not survive into the later tradition. Also, the main themes of the b a l a ḡ songs, such as images of the storm, the enemy, destruction and abandonment of temples, humiliation and the disappearance of deities, are never broached in the š i r n a m š u b compositions. Unlike the b a l a ḡ songs, the š i r n a m š u b compositions make reference to kings who, however, remain anonymous, with the sole exception of Urnamma EF which explicitly names the king. Urnamma EF shows another feature which is unique to, or at least anomalous for, š i r n a m š u b compositions: instead of an introductory hymn of praise to a deity, here Nanna-Su'en, in whose honour the hymn was composed, as is usual with š i r n a m š u b compositions, Urnamma EF has a long hymnic description of the temple Ekišnuḡal at Ur and its lord, Urnamma, elected by Nanna to kingship and recipient of blessings. Perhaps then an original hymn to a god was modified and altered to compose Urnamma EF.³¹ If the š i r n a m š u b compositions were

²⁴ E.g. CT 42 13 (= Kramer, *PAPS* 107 [1963] 503f.) and CT 42 22 (= Cohen, *JAOS* 95 605-09), Dumuzi-Inana M (= Sefati, *Love Songs* 232f.).

²⁵ E.g. Urnamma F (cf. below); VS 2 68 (= Sjöberg, *Mondgott* 80-88).

²⁶ E.g. KAR 15 = 16 // (= Cohen, *JAOS* 95 609-11); *SLTNi* 61 (= Cohen, *WO* 8 [1975-76] 22-36).

²⁷ Listed by Wilcke, *AS* 20 (1975) 288; add the š i r n a m g a l a of Su'en, mentioning Šu'su'en, in Kramer, *Studies Sjöberg* (1989) 303-05 (= BM 100042 i obv. 1-48). Its *incipit* appears in the Jena Catalogue (*TMH NF* 3 53//35) and in the "Nippur Catalogue" in Michalowski, *OA* 19 (1980) 266:4.

²⁸ The b a l a ḡ songs have in addition the š u d ₃- and š a ₃- b a - a - T U K U rubrics.

²⁹ On k i - r u - g u ₂ and its possible meaning, cf. Ludwig, *Išme-Dagan* 30ff. with previous literature; also Vanstiphout, *JEOL* 31 (1989/90) 54f. and 57ff.; Černý, *ArOr.* 62 (1994) 25f.; Tinney, *Nippur Lament* 21, fn. 110. On the method of marking the end of a k i r u g u section with a line for the š i r n a m š u b compositions, cf. Wilcke, *AS* 20 (1975) 288 ad (a); also Kramer, *Recueil de Travaux* 2 (1984) 8, fn. 3; for the b a l a ḡ songs, cf. Wilcke, *ibid.* 258 ad (c) and 286, ad (a) - (c); Kramer, *PAPS* 124 (1980) 296, fn. 8; Römer, *BiOr.* 37 (1980) 190; Kramer, *ASJ* 3 (1981) 8, fn. 8.

³⁰ Cf. Black, *Studies Civil* (1991) 24, and fn. 13.

³¹ Cf. also IV 3.1, p. 77, and the discussion of Urnamma D, *ibid.*, pp. 74ff.

indeed part of the *gala*-singer's repertoire, Urnamma EF may have been composed for temple ceremonies in which the king participated.

Structural Analysis

Urnamma E and Urnamma F fall into two major sections, an introductory hymn and the main, second *kirugu* section. The prologue, or introductory hymn (I), begins with a general description of Ur and introduces Urnamma (1.).³² Then it focuses on Ur's main shrine, the Ekišnuġal, and enumerates and describes in varying detail the various parts of the temple, leading us through the gate into its inner sanctum (2.) and mentioning Urnamma again at the end (3.). In the first part of the main section (II) Urnamma is chosen by Su'en (1.) in order to enforce law and order (2.). It ends with Urnamma's blessing in form of a decreeing of fate (3./4.).

1. Urnamma E (source A)

I. Introductory hymn to [Ur], the Ekišnuġal and Urnamma (1'-24') 2nd person

1. [...], the (city-)gate (1')
2. The [Eki]š[nuġal] and its lord Urnamma (2'-8'), its gate (9'), its *platform*? (10'-12'), its interior (13'-14'), its *giguna* (15'), its *dublamah* (16'-17'), the Etemenniguru (18'), its lord Urnamma (19'-20'), [...], the Esaga (22')
3. Urnamma (23'-24')

II. Main section (25'-40') 3rd person

1. Urnamma's divine election (25'-26')
2. Urnamma enforces justice (27'-32')
3. Urnamma and the Ekišnuġal (33'-34')
4. Decreeing of fate for Urnamma (35'-40')

2. Urnamma F (source B)

I. Introductory hymn to Ur, the Ekišnuġal and Urnamma (1-24) 2nd person

1. Ur's foundations (2), its lord Urnamma (3-5), the assembly (6), the (city-)gate (7)
2. The Ekišnuġal and its lord Urnamma (8-13), its gate (14), its *platform*? (15-17), its interior (?), its *giguna* (20), its *dublamah* (21-22)
3. Urnamma's divine election (23-24)

³² Only preserved in Urnamma F.

II. Main section (25-51) 3rd person

1. Urnamma's divine election (25-29)
2. Urnamma submits rebellious lands to his law and order (30-35)
3. Decreeing of fate for Urnamma (36-51)

Manuscripts

As noted above, Urnamma E (source A) and F (source B) probably present two non-Nippur recensions of an original Urnamma hymn serving as a common model. Urnamma E (source A), L 1499, published in copy in *ISCT* 1 (1969/71) pp. 224f. (nos 166-67), comes from Lagaš, exhibits quite a few non-standard writings and, judging from what is preserved of the text, may have been written entirely in the main dialect.³³ The number of lines missing at the beginning and end of the composition cannot be determined with any certainty. Urnamma F, containing 51 lines, is of no help as the divergence from Urnamma E in line addition and, furthermore, omission is too considerable. In the first *k i r u g u* section 24 lines are preserved, the second *k i r u g u* section consists of 16 preserved lines with the end and subscript missing.

Urnamma F (source B) is BM 78183 (= *CT* 44 16), a well preserved one-column tablet with inscribed edges, containing the whole composition consisting of two *k i r u g u* sections divided by a line. This source probably comes from Sippar and uses twice the Eme-sal form *u₃ - m u - u n* "lord" (next to the more often recurring main dialect form *e n*) and once *u r u₂* "city" in an otherwise wholly main dialect text.³⁴ The following transliteration of Urnamma E is based on the copy in *ISCT*; Urnamma F was read from a photo kindly made available by C.B.F. Walker.

The two manuscripts show some divergence, as do the Nippur and Ur recensions of Urnamma D. Urnamma E and F follow the same sequence of lines, i.e. narrative, but diverge from each other through additions (whole lines or only parts of lines), omissions, and line division, so the two manuscripts cannot be considered just basic scribal variants. There are additions in both versions that repeat lines of similar content. Urnamma EF 19 a³⁵ (= Urnamma E 14') is an addition which is influenced by the preceding line 19 (*š a₃* and *h u l - ĝ a l₂* are taken up again) and somewhat echoes Urnamma EF 9 (= Urnamma E 3'). Urnamma E inserts additions (Urnamma EF 34a-c; 36a) by using ornamental repetition of line pairs in the passage Urnamma EF 34-36. Urnamma F 17 is a thematic expansion of the preceding line 16. Urnamma F 24 is paralleled in line 29, substituting Su'en with

³³ Line 3, where Urnamma F has the Eme-sal forms *u r u₂* "city" and *u₃ - m u - u n* "lord", is not preserved in E; *u₃ - m u - u n* in Urnamma F 26 is not extant in Urnamma E.

³⁴ Cf. the preceding footnote.

³⁵ Line numbering of the Synopsis (5.4).

AŠimbabbar. Another addition is the continuous description of the Ekišnuḡal in Urnamma E 18'-24' (= Urnamma EF 24a-g), thus making the first *k i r u g u* section a couple of lines longer than the one of Urnamma F. Unmatched in Urnamma F is also the "refrain" *t e š₂ m u - z u ḫ e₂ - i - i* "he *reveals*? your vigour and name indeed" which recurs four times in Urnamma E 8' || 12' || 19' || 23'. The theme of repression and wickedness in general, and the evil lands in particular (*k i - b a l a* "rebellious land" in lines 20 and 35, *k u r - k u r* "all (the foreign) lands" in line 30 and *k u r N E . R U - m a* "the enemy land" in line 34), is more fully elaborated in Urnamma F, whereas Urnamma E lacks any mention of lands at all.

The fact that the two recensions handle line divisions differently (in Urnamma F 13, 16, 21f., 32f., and 37 the end of the line falls together with the end of the sentence, whereas in the parallel lines of Urnamma E this is not the case) might stem from a different interpretation of a common model, perhaps written in short-line format. Urnamma E might even have been compiled from two different models as the king's name is deified in the second *k i r u g u* section but not in the first.³⁶

Both recensions are beset with syntactical and grammatical traits unknown in texts of Gudea and the hymns of Sulgi which have not been modernised. One of the more often recurring phenomenon in both Urnamma E, and even more so in Urnamma F, is the replacement of the dative postposition by the locative-terminative postposition. This case is so far only well attested in Ur III juridical and administrative documents. Other syntactical and grammatical difficulties encountered in Urnamma EF are mentioned in the collective philological commentary below.

The first part of the opening line of the second *k i r u g u* section, marked in both Urnamma E and F by a dividing line,³⁷ is listed in two catalogues, namely in the "Yale Catalogue" YBC 3654 ii 17 (cf. W.W. Hallo, *JAOS* 83 [1963] 171; *l u g a l - ḡ u₁₀* instead of *l u g a l*, though) and in the "Nippur Catalogue" CBS 8086 12, published by P. Michalowski, *OA* 19 (1980) 266f., among other opening lines of *k i r u g u* sections.

Sources

Lagaš:

A = Recension E L 1499

obv. 1'-22' = **1'-22' = 7-24e**³⁸

rev. 1-18 = **23'-40' = 24f-45**

copy: M. Çiğ, H. Kizilyay, *ISCT* 1 (1969/71) pp. 224f.

³⁶ Cf. the commentary ad 29.

³⁷ For this method of substituting the rubric for a line which can also be observed for *b a l a ḡ* songs, cf. above, p. 262, and fn. 29.

³⁸ Line counting of the Synopsis of Urnamma EF.

Sippar(?):

B = Recension F BM 78183

obv. 1-20 = **1-20** = **1-20**rev. 1-31 = **21-51** = **21-51**copy: Th.G. Pinches, *CT* 44 16.

photos made available by C.B.F. Walker, cf. pls. 23-24; read from photos.

5.2 Transliteration and Translation of Urnamma E (source A)³⁹

The corresponding lines of Urnamma F (source B) are given in parenthesis. To facilitate comparison of the two recensions a synopsis is given below, 5.4 "A Synopsis of Urnamma EF: Recensions E and F".

- 1' obv. 1' [abul]la-zu 'x' [...] (F 7)
- 2' obv. 2' [eš₃] ur[i₅ki...] 'he₂-gal₂ bar⁷-[...] (F 8)
- 3' obv. 3' [e₂-ki]š'-[nu-ġal₂ ħur-saġ] galam-ma ša₃-bi [lu₂ nu]-'zu' (F 9)
- 4' obv. 4' ki ut-ti-z[u? kur? šem?] ġešeren-na mu-zu-še₃ UN 'x (x)' (F 10)
- 5' obv. 5' en-zu en sa₇-ga mu pa₃-da (F 11)
- 6' obv. 6' dumu 'nin-'sumun₂'-ka me-te kur-kur-ra (F 12)
- 7' obv. 7' uri₅ki me gal-zu a-ra₂'-ab diġir-re-ne (F 13)
- 8' obv. 8' kalam-ma ġal₂-la 'teš₂' mu-zu he₂-i-i
- 9' obv. 9' KA₂-zu an sa₇-ga su-zi guru₃'ru' (F 14)
- 10' obv. 10' ġal₂-TAKA₄.TAKA₄-ga dutu an-'ur₂'-ta u₄ mi-'ne⁴⁰-ġar-ra-ta (F 15)
- 11' obv. 11' gi-ša₃-zu-ta ki nam tar-re diġir-re-ne (F 16)
- 12' obv. 12' di si-sa₂ ku₅'-me-en teš₂ mu-zu he₂-i-i

³⁹ The translation of Urnamma E and F is a line-by-line translation of both sources which sometimes do not make sense because of the confusion of their model.

⁴⁰ For -ni-?!

- 1' [...] your [(city-)ga]te [...].
- 2' [Sanctuary] Ur, [...] abundance, [...] façade? [...],
- 3' [Eki]š[nuġal], skilfully built [mountain (range)] whose interior [nobody] fathoms,
- 4' Your? place *where daylight breaks*, (is) a [mountain? of fragrant?] cedar, *at your name, the people/land . . .*
- 5' Your lord, the comely lord, who is called by name,
- 6' (Is) the son of Ninsumun, the adornment of all (the foreign) lands.
- 7' Ur, your great m e, the shackles of the gods,
- 8' Are positioned over the land. He⁴¹ *reveals?* your vigour and name indeed!
- 9' Your gate (is) the azure heaven, full of awe.
- 10' After Utu has set light from the horizon in the openings,
- 11' At your *platform?*, the place where fate is determined by the gods,
- 12' You render just judgments. He *reveals?* your vigour and name indeed!

⁴¹ i.e. Urnamma.

- 13' obv. 13' ša₃-ga-ta ġeš-ġur zi-da ġul-ġal₂ nu-[dib²-b]e₂ (F 19)
- 14' obv. 14' e₂-kiš-nu-ġal₂ ša₃-zu ušumgal ġul-ġal₂ nu-[u]n-zu
- 15' obv. 15' e₂ gi-gun₄-na-zu nidba-zu LIL₂.DIM/GIR₂² den-[li]l₂² sud₄-ru (F 20)
- 16' obv. 16' dub-la₂-maġ ki nam tar-re-za diġir gal-gal-e-ne (F 21)
- 17' obv. 17' nam mi-ni-ib-tar-re-ne (F 22)
- 18' obv. 18' e₂-temen-ni₂-^Γguru₃^{ru} tum₂¹-ma
- 19' obv. 19' u₃-du₂-^Γx^Γ [...te]š₂ [m]u-zu ġe₂-i-i
- 20' obv. 20' en sa₇-[ga...] ^Γx^Γ zi ur-^Γdnamma^Γ
- 21' obv. 21' ur[i₅ki...]
- 22' obv. 22' e₂-sag₃-ga ^Γdutu-gin₇ x^Γ [...]
- 23' rev. 1 teš₂ mu-zu ġe₂-i-i ur-dnamma! ^Γx^Γ [...]
- 24' rev. 2 su₆ za-gin₃ su₃-su₃ ^Γx^Γ [...]⁴²
- 25' rev. 3 lugal ġi-li guru₃^{ru} me-lim_x k[alam-ma dul-la] (F 25)
- 26' rev. 4 <d>ur-dnamma dAŠ-im₂-babbar-re ša₃ ku₃-ge [...-pa₃²] (F 29)
- 27' rev. 5 niġ₂-NE.RU igi-ni-še₃ nu-dib-ba niġ₂-s[i-sa₂] (F 32)
- 28' rev. 6 dur-dnamma-ke₄ niġ₂-gur₁₁ sa₂ bi₂-in-du₁₁ (F 33)
- 29' rev. 7 ^Γlugal-e^Γ pa mul pa mul-^Γzu^Γ
- 30' rev. 8 dur-dnamma-ke₄ maš-gi-i(-)i-^Γim^Γ-me
- 31' rev. 9 enim zu EN(uru₁₆)-na-ke₄ pa mul pa ^Γmul^Γ-zu
- 32' rev. 10 dur-dnamma-ke₄ maš-gi-i(-)^Γ^Γ-im-me (F 35)
- 33' rev. 11 lugal-e ^Γe₂^Γ d^Γsu'en-na^Γ-ke₄ (F 36)

⁴² Followed by single ruling.

- 13' On¹ the inside, the evil-doer does not [have access[?]] to the righteous plans.⁴³
- 14' Ekišnuḡal, your interior (is) a dragon, the evil-doer cannot fathom it.
- 15' House, your g i g u n a . . . your offerings . . . lengthens,
- 16' At your d u b l a m a ḡ, the place where fate is determined, all the great gods
- 17' Determine the fate.
- 18' The one worthy of the Etemenniguru,
- 19' Born [...]. He *reveals*[?] your [vigo]ur and [na]me indeed!
- 20' The comely lord [...], the faithful . . . , Urnamma,
- 21' Ur [...].
- 22' The Esaga, like Utu . . . [...].
- 23' He *reveals*[?] your vigour and name indeed! Urnamma . . . [...],
- 24' Wearing a long lapis lazuli beard . . . [...].
- 25' The king, full of charms, who has [covered the la]nd with radiance,
- 26' Urnamma, Ašimabbabar [has chosen[?]] in (his) precious heart!
- 27' Evil does not pass before him.
- 28' (Rather) Urnamma has imposed jus[tice] on property (matters).
- 29' The king - under your⁴⁴ ramifying branches -
- 30' Urnamma is in charge,
- 31' The *eloquent* facing the obstinate - under your ramifying branches -
- 32' Urnamma is in charge.
- 33' May the king, at Su'en's temple,

⁴³ Or, with a restoration -dab_s[?] (and omission of the ergative): "On¹ the inside, the evil-doer cannot [seize[?]] the righteous plans".

⁴⁴ i.e. the Ekišnuḡal.

- 34' rev. 12 $\text{dur-dnamma-}^{\text{r}}\text{ke}_4 \text{ ni}_2 \text{ he}_2^{\text{r}}\text{-eb-ši-ib}_2\text{-te-en-te}$
- 35' rev. 13 $\text{lugal-e } i_7\text{idigna } i_7\text{buran[u]n-ke}_4 \text{ (F 37)}$
- 36' rev. 14 $\text{dur-dnamma-ke}_4 \text{ nam mu-}^{\text{r}}\text{ni}^{\text{r}}\text{-ib!}^?(ZU)\text{-ta[r-r]e}$
- 37' rev. 15 $\text{nin-bi nin ni}\hat{\text{g}}_2\text{-gur}_{11}\text{-ra-ke}_4 \text{ nin e}_2(-)[...] \text{ (F 41)}$
- 38' rev. 16 $\text{dur-dnamma-ke}_4 \text{ nam mu-ni-}^{\text{r}}\text{ib-tar}^{\text{r}}\text{-[re]} \text{ (F 42)}$
- 39' rev. 17 $\text{munus a } ^{\text{r}}\text{nun-na}^{\text{r}}\text{-ke}_4 \text{ mi}_2 \text{ zi-de}_3\text{-}^{\text{r}}\text{eš}^{\text{r}} [...] \text{ (F 44)}$
- 40' rev. 18 $\text{d[ur-dnamma-k]e}_4 \text{ } \hat{\text{G}}\text{A}_2.\text{NE.N[A...]} \text{ (F 45)}$
- [the end of the composition is not preserved]

5.3 Transliteration and Translation of Urnamma F (source B)

- 1 obv. 1 $[\text{uru}_2^?(x)] \text{ bad}_3^? \text{ ku}_3\text{-ga-ta hi-li guru}_3\text{ru}$
- 2 obv. 2 $[\text{u}]\text{ri}_2^{\text{ki}} \text{ uš-u}_2\text{-zu he}_2\text{-}\hat{\text{g}}\text{al}_2 \text{ ki us}_2\text{-sa}$
- 3 obv. 3 $\text{asil}_3\text{-la}_2\text{-a } ^{\text{r}}\text{uru}_2^{\text{r}} \text{ u}_3\text{-mu-un-zu he}_2\text{-a-u}_5^!(\text{HU.RU})$
- 4 obv. 4 $\text{dur-d}^{\text{r}}\text{namma}^{\text{r}} \text{ he}_2\text{-a-u}_5^!(\text{HU.RU})$
- 5 obv. 5 $\text{su}_6 \text{ za-gin}_3 \text{ su}_{13}\text{-su}_{13} \text{ he}_2\text{-a-u}_5^!(\text{HU.RU})$
- 6 obv. 6 $\text{gu}_2\text{-en-}^{\text{r}}\text{ta en}^{\text{r}} \text{ sukud-da e}_3\text{-de}_3\text{-bi-ta nir } \hat{\text{g}}\text{al}_2$
- 7 obv. 7 $\text{abulla-zu e}_3 \text{ a maḥ gaba-šu-}\hat{\text{g}}\text{ar nu-tuku (E 1')}$
- 8 obv. 8 $\text{eš}_3 \text{ uri}_2^{\text{ki}} \text{ ša}_3\text{-zu kur he}_2\text{-}\hat{\text{g}}\text{al}_2 \text{ bar-zu x x (x) (E 2')}$
- 9 obv. 9 $\text{e}_2\text{-kiš-nu-}\hat{\text{g}}\text{al}_2 \text{ hur-saḡ galam-ma ša}_3\text{-bi lu}_2 \text{ nu-zu (E 3')}$
- 10 obv. 10 $\text{e}_2\text{-zu}^!(\text{SU}) \text{ kur ge-rin-na mu-zu ša}_3 \text{ gur-ra (E 4'?)}$
- 11 obv. 11 $\text{en-zu en sa}_7\text{-ga mu pa}_3\text{-da (E 5')}$

- 34' May Urnamma refresh himself!
- 35' For the king, the Tigris and the Euphrates,⁴⁵
- 36' For Urnamma she determines the fate.
- 37' That lady, the lady of treasures, the lady of . . . [...],
- 38' Determines? the fate for Urnamma!
- 39' The woman of noble stock appropriately [...],
- 40' (For/) [Urnamma] . . . [...].

- 1 [City?], at/from the splendid wall?, full of charms,
- 2 Ur, your foundations (are) abundance, firmly secured.
- 3 In jubilation, o city, your lord is indeed riding high!
- 4 Urnamma is indeed riding high!
- 5 The one wearing a long lapis lazuli beard is indeed riding high!
- 6 Placing confidence in the assembly and the eminent lord coming forth there of.
- 7 Whatever leaves your (city-)gate (is) a flood which has no counterpart.
- 8 Sanctuary Ur, your interior (is) a mountain (of) abundance, your façade is a
... ,
- 9 Ekišnuḡal, skilfully built mountain (range) whose interior nobody fathoms,
- 10 Your house is a blossoming mountain, your name is merciful.
- 11 Your lord, the comely lord, who is called by name,

⁴⁵ Faulty ⁱidigna ⁱburanun-ke₄ is perhaps contaminated by the following ^dur-^dnamma-ke₄. Alternatively: "For the king, for the one of the Tigris and Euphrates".

- 12 obv. 12 dumu ^dnin-sumun₂ me-te kur-kur-ra (E 6')
- 13 obv. 13 e₂ me gal-zu rab diĝir-re-e-ne kalam-ma la₂-am₃ (E 7'-8')
- 14 obv. 14 KA₂-zu an-zu an sa₇-ga mu pa₃-da (E 9')
- 15 obv. 15 ĝal₂-TAKA₄.TAKA₄-ga ^dutu an-ur₂-ta u₄ mi-ni-in-ĝar-ra (E 10')
- 16 obv. 16 'gi[?]-sa₂[?]-zu ki nam tar-ra diĝir-re-e-ne di[!] si-sa₂ kud-ru-de₃ (E 11'-12')
- 17 obv. 17 [da-nu]n-na diĝir an-ki-ka ad mi-ni-in-ge-ge-^{ne}
- 18 obv. 18 [...](-)'x[?]-zu-ta munus zi gir₁₇-zal-a-a gu₂ peš-a
- 19 obv. 19 [...] ĝeš-ĥur ku₃-ga-a ĥul-ĝa[l₂] 'x[?] [...] -dab₅[?]/dib[?]-be₂ (E 13')
- 20 obv. 20 [...gi-gu]n₄-na inda₃-ba[!]-bi ki-bala IŠ 'x[?] [...] (E 15')
- 21 rev. 1 [dub-la₂-m]aĥ ki nam tar-re-za (E 16')
- 22 rev. 2 [diĝir ga]l-gal-e-ne nam mi-ni-tar-re-ne (E 16'-17')
- 23 rev. 3 'ki[?]-en-gi ki-uri uĝ₃ saĝ gi₆-ga
- 24 rev. 4 ^dur-dnamma ^dsu'en ša₃-ge ba-ni-in-pa₃⁴⁶
- 25 rev. 5 lugal ĥi-li guru₃^{ru} me-lim_x kalam-ma dul-la (E 25')
- 26 rev. 6 me-e(-)EN u₃-mu-un-ra mi₂ zi-de₃-eš
- 27 rev. 7 ^dur-dnamma ga-an-i-i-de₃
- 28 rev. 8 ^dur-dnamma ĥi-li guru₃^{ru} me-lim_x kalam-ma dul-la
- 29 rev. 9 ^dur-dnamma ^dAŠ-im₂-babbar ša₃-ge ba-ni-in-pa₃ (E 26')
- 30 rev. 10 ĝešrab-ba kur-kur-ra im-mi-in-ĝar

⁴⁶ Followed by double ruling.

- 12 (Is) the son of Ninsumun, the adornment of all (the foreign) lands.
- 13 House, your great m e, the shackles of the gods, are suspended over the land.
- 14 Your gate (is) your heaven, an azure heaven which is called by name.
- 15 When Utu has set light from the horizon in the openings,
- 16 At your *platform*[?], the place of fate determined by the gods, you render just judgments.
- 17 [The Anu]na, the gods of heaven and earth, confer with each other there.
- 18 At your [...] the good and *proud* woman *has stiffened (her) neck*,
- 19 [On the inside], the evil-doer does [not] have access[?] to the sacred plans.⁴⁷
- 20 [... the g i g u]n a, its offerings . . . the rebellious land [...],
- 21 At your [d u b l a m]a h, the place where fate is determined,
- 22 All the gr[eat gods] determine the fate.
- 23 For Sumer and Akkad, for/among the black-headed people,
- 24 Su'en has chosen Urnamma in (his) heart.
- 25 The king, full of charms, who has covered the land with radiance,
- 26f. Let us extoll the lord, Urnamma, rightfully!
- 28 Urnamma, full of charms, who has covered the land with radiance,
- 29 Urnamma, AŠimbabbar has chosen in (his) heart!
- 30 He⁴⁸ has put shackles on all (the foreign) lands,

⁴⁷ Or, with a reading -dab,[?] (and omission of the ergative): "[On the inside], the evil-doer cannot [seize?] the sacred plans".

⁴⁸ i.e. Urnamma.

- 31 rev. 11 si-ĝar kala-ga im-mi-in- gi_{16} -ba lugal d su'en-ra tum₂-ma-am₃
- 32 rev. 12 niĝ₂-NE.RU igi-ni-še₃ nu-dib₂-be₂ (E 27')
- 33 rev. 13 niĝ₂-si-sa₂ dur-dnamma niĝ₂-gur₁₁ sa₂ bi₂-in-du₁₁ (E 27'-28')
- 34 rev. 14 za-pa-aĝ₂-ĝa₂-ni-ŠE₃ kur NE.RU-ma bi₂-in-ĝar
- 35 rev. 15 ki-bala-bi mu-un-ŠUM₂ dur-dnamma maškim im-me (E 32')
- 36 rev. 16 lugal-e e₂ d su'en-na-ke₄ (E 33')
- 37 rev. 17 i₇idigna i₇buranun dur-<d>namma-ke₄ / nam mu-ni-ib₂-BI-tar-re!(GI?) (E 35'-36')
- 38 rev. 18 r du_{tu} an-ur₂-ta e₃-a-ba
- 39 rev. 19 [nam-l]u₂-ulu₃ ħu-mu-ši-ib₂-daĝal-e-ne
- 40 rev. 20 [dumu? d]nin-sumun₂-ka ħu-mu-ni-in-dab₅-dab₅-be₂ u₆ di-x
- 41 rev. 21 [nin-b]i nin niĝ₂-gur₁₁-e ki-aĝ₂ (E 37')
- 42 rev. 22 [ki-a]ĝ₂-ĝa₂-na-ke₄ dur-dnamma-ke₄ nam mu-ni-ib-tar-re (E (37'-)38')
- 43 rev. 23 [x] x(-)gal nin-bi nin niĝ₂-gur₁₁-e ki-aĝ₂
- 44 rev. 24 [munus a] nun-na-ke₄ dur-dnamma-ke₄ niĝ₂-gur₁₁-e ki-aĝ₂ (E 39')
- 45 rev. 25 [sip]a dur-dnamma-ke₄ IL₂(dubsig_x) e₂ d su'en-na-še₃ su₆ za-gin₃ su₁₃-su₁₃ (E 40')
- 46 rev. 26 [...] AN nin x ħu-mu-ni-ib-dab₅-dab₅-be₂
- 47 rev. 27 [...] du₁₀-ga-am₃ ħi-li-ba ku₇-ku₇-dam-nu
- 48 rev. 28 [(...) d_{ni}]n-lil₂-le u₄-da u₃-du₂-da-gin₇
- 49 rev. 29 [(ku₃?) d_{ni}]n-sumun₂-na-ke₄ za-e ħu-mu-ra-u₃-du₂

- 31 He has blocked (them) with a strong bolt, he is the king who is worthy of Su'en.
- 32 Evil does not pass before him.
- 33 (Rather) Urnamma has imposed justice on property (matters).
- 34 He has set <...>⁴⁹ as his roar on the enemy land.
- 35 He has imposed it on that rebellious land, Urnamma is in charge.
- 36 For the king, for Su'en's temple,
- 37 For the Tigris and the Euphrates, for Urnamma she determines the fate.
- 38 When Utu rises from the horizon,
- 39 May [the peo]ple spread out before him!
- 40 May the [son?] of Ninsumun *take hold of it*⁵⁰ there, *invoking*[?] admiration.
- 41 Tha[t lady], the lady who loves treasures,
- 42 Determines the fate for Urnamma, *her [belo]ved*[!].
- 43 . . . , that lady, the lady who loves treasures,
- 44 [The woman] of noble [stock], she who loves treasures, <determines the fate> for Urnamma.
- 45f. May [shephe]rd Urnamma *take hold of the (work) basket* for Su'en's temple, wearing a long lapis lazuli beard . . . , [...].
- 47 [...] is pleasant, *is it not* sweet in its attractiveness?
- 48 Like [...] whom [Ni]nlil gave birth to daily,
- 49 [(Dazzling?) Ni]nsumun has indeed given birth to you!

⁴⁹ Perhaps referring to Urnamma's command, cf. the commentary ad 34-35, p. 288.

⁵⁰ Perhaps referring to the (work) basket (cf. lines 45-46) with incorrect -in- before the verbal base (cf. line 17), or referring to the people of line 39.

50 rev. 30 sipa-da an ku₃-ga ħu-m[u-...]

51 rev. 31 sipa d_{ur}-d_{namma}-da saĝ [...]⁵¹

šir₃-nam-šub-d_{nanna}-^Γkam^Γ / 51? mu-bi

5.4 A Synopsis of Urnamma EF: Recensions E and F

The line numbering follows Urnamma F (source B). The lines in Urnamma E that are lacking in Urnamma F are given lower case letters (a, b, etc.). Note that they have been fitted in with the line sequence of Urnamma F arbitrarily (cf. especially lines 24 a-g and 34a-c).

- | | | |
|----|--------------------|---|
| 1 | obv. 1 | [uru ₂ ? (x)] bad ₃ ? ku ₃ -ga-ta ħi-li guru ₃ ^{ru} |
| 2 | obv. 2 | [u]ri ₂ ^{ki} uš-u ₂ -zu ħe ₂ -ĝal ₂ ki us ₂ -sa |
| 3 | obv. 3 | asil ₃ -la ₂ -a ^Γ uru ₂ ^Γ u ₃ -mu-un-zu ħe ₂ -a-u ₅ ^Γ (ĤU.RU) |
| 4 | obv. 4 | d _{ur} -d ^Γ _{namma} ^Γ ħe ₂ -a-u ₅ ^Γ (ĤU.RU) |
| 5 | obv. 5 | su ₆ za-gin ₃ su ₁₃ -su ₁₃ ħe ₂ -a-u ₅ ^Γ (ĤU.RU) |
| 6 | obv. 6 | gu ₂ -en- ^Γ ta en ^Γ sukud-da e ₃ -de ₃ -bi-ta nir ĝal ₂ |
| 7 | obv. 7
obv. 1' | abulla-zu e ₃ a maĥ gaba-šu-ĝar nu-tuku
[abul]la-zu ^Γ x ^Γ [...] |
| 8 | obv. 8
obv. 2' | eš ₃ uri ₂ ^{ki} ša ₃ -zu kur ħe ₂ -ĝal ₂ bar-zu x x (x)
[eš ₃] ur[i ₅ ^{ki} ...] ^Γ ħe ₂ -ĝal ₂ bar ^Γ ?-[...] |
| 9 | obv. 9
obv. 3' | e ₂ -kiš-nu-ĝal ₂ ĥur-saĝ galam-ma ša ₃ -bi lu ₂ nu-zu
[e ₂ -ki]š [?] -[nu-ĝal ₂ ĥur-saĝ] galam-ma ša ₃ -bi [lu ₂ nu] ^Γ - ^Γ zu ^Γ |
| 10 | obv. 10
obv. 4' | e ₂ -zu ^Γ (SU) kur ge-rin-na mu-zu ša ₃ gur-ra
ki ut-ti-z[u? kur? šem?] ĝeš ^Γ eren-na mu-zu-še ₃ UN ^Γ x (x) ^Γ |
| 11 | obv. 11
obv. 5' | en-zu en sa ₇ -ga mu pa ₃ -da
en-zu en sa ₇ -ga mu pa ₃ -da |

⁵¹ Followed by single ruling.

50 With the shepherd in the brilliant heaven indeed she [...]!

51 With the shepherd Urnamma [...] the head!

(It is a š i r n a m š u b of Nanna, it has 51[?] lines)

1 [City?], at/from the splendid wall?, full of charms,

2 Ur, your foundations (are) abundance, firmly secured.

3 In jubilation, o city, your lord is indeed riding high!

4 Urnamma is indeed riding high!

5 The one wearing a long lapis lazuli beard is indeed riding high!

6 Placing confidence in the assembly and the eminent lord coming forth there of.

7 Whatever leaves your (city-)gate (is) a flood which has no counterpart.
[...] your [(city-)ga]te [...].

8 Sanctuary Ur, your interior (is) a mountain (of) abundance, your façade is a
...

[Sanctuary] Ur, [...] abundance, [...] façade? [...],
9 Ekišnuḡal, skilfully built mountain (range) whose interior nobody fathoms,
[Eki]š[nuḡal], skilfully built [mountain (range)] whose interior [nobody] fathoms,

10 Your house is a blossoming mountain, your name is merciful.
Your[?] place *where daylight breaks*, (is) a [mountain[?] of fragrant[?]] cedar, *at your name, the people/land* . . .

11 Your lord, the comely lord, who is called by name,
Your lord, the comely lord, who is called by name,

- 12 obv. 12 dumu ^dnin-sumun₂ me-te kur-kur-ra
obv. 6' dumu ^dnin-[┐]sumun₂-ka me-te kur-kur-ra
- 13 obv. 13 e₂ me gal-zu rab diġir-re-e-ne kalam-ma la₂-am₃
obv. 7'-8' uri₃^{ki} me gal-zu a-ra₂'-ab diġir-re- ne | kalam-ma ġal₂-la
- a obv. 8' [┐]teš₂[┐] mu-zu ħe₂-i-i
- 14 obv. 14 KA₂-zu an-zu an sa₇-ga mu pa₃-da
obv. 9' KA₂-zu an sa₇-ga su-zi guru₃^{┐ru}
- 15 obv. 15 ġal₂-TAKA₄.TAKA₄-ga ^dutu an- ur₂- ta u₄ mi-ni-in-ġar-ra
obv. 10' ġal₂-TAKA₄.TAKA₄-ga ^dutu an-[┐]ur₂[┐]-ta u₄ mi-[┐]ne^{┐52}-ġar-ra-ta
- 16 obv. 16 [┐]gi[┐]-sa₂[┐]-zu ki nam tar-ra diġir-re-e-ne di[┐] si-sa₂ kud-ru-de₃
obv. 11'f. gi-ša₃-zu-ta ki nam tar-re diġir-re- ne | di si-sa₂ ku₅'-me-en
- a obv. 12' teš₂ mu-zu ħe₂-i-i
- 17 obv. 17 [da-nu]n-na diġir an-ki-ka ad mi-ni-in-ge-ge-[┐]ne[┐]
- 18 obv. 18 [...](-)[┐]x[┐]-zu-ta munus zi gir₁₇-zal-a-a gu₂ peš-a
- 19 obv. 19 [...] ġeš-ħur ku₃-ga-a ħul-ġa[l₂] [┐]x[┐] [...]dab₅[┐]/dib[┐]-be₂
obv. 13' ša₃-ga-ta ġeš-ħur zi-da ħul-ġal₂ nu-[dib[┐]- b]e₂
- a obv. 14' e₂-kiš-nu-ġal₂ ša₃-zu ušumgal ħul-ġal₂ nu-[u]n-zu
- 20 obv. 20 [...gi-gu]n₄-na inda₃-ba[┐]-bi ki-bala IŠ [┐]x[┐] [...]
obv. 15' e₂ gi-gun₄-na-zu nidba-zu LIL₂.DIM/GIR₂[┐] den-[li]l₂[┐] sud₄-ru
- 21 rev. 1 [dub-la₂-m]aħ ki nam tar-re-za
obv. 16' dub-la₂-maħ ki nam tar-re-za
- 22 rev. 2 [diġir ga]l-gal-e-ne nam mi-ni- tar-re-ne
obv. 16'f. diġir gal-gal-e-ne | nam mi-ni-ib-tar-re-ne
- 23 rev. 3 [┐]ki[┐]-en-gi ki-uri uġ₃ saġ gi₆-ga

⁵² For -ni-?!

- 12 (Is) the son of Ninsumun, the adornment of all (the foreign) lands.
(Is) the son of Ninsumun, the adornment of all (the foreign) lands.
- 13 House, your great m e, the shackles of the gods, are suspended over the land.
Ur, your great m e, the shackles of the gods, are positioned over the land.
- a He⁵³ *reveals?* your vigour and name indeed!
- 14 Your gate (is) your heaven, an azure heaven which is called by name.
Your gate (is) the azure heaven, full of awe.
- 15 When Utu has set light from the horizon in the openings,
After Utu has set light from the horizon in the openings,
- 16 At your *platform?*, the place of fate determined by the gods, you render just judgments.
At your *platform?*, the place where fate is determined by the gods, you render just judgments.
- a He *reveals?* your vigour and name indeed!
- 17 [The Anu]na, the gods of heaven and earth, confer with each other there.
- 18 At your [...] the good and *proud* woman *has stiffened (her) neck*,
- 19 [On the inside], the evil-doer does [not] have access? to the sacred plans.⁵⁴
On! the inside, the evil-doer does not [have access?] to the righteous plans.⁵⁵
- a Ekišnuḡal, your interior (is) a dragon, the evil-doer cannot fathom it.
- 20 [...the g i g u]n a, its offerings . . . the rebellious land [...],
House, your g i g u n a . . . your offerings . . . lengthens,
- 21 At your [d u b l a m]a ḡ, the place where fate is determined,
At your d u b l a m a ḡ, the place where fate is determined,
- 22 All the gr[eat gods] determine the fate.
All the great gods determine the fate.
- 23 For Sumer and Akkad, for/among the black-headed people,

⁵³ i.e. Urnamma.

⁵⁴ Or, with a reading -dab₃? (and omission of the ergative): "[On the inside], the evil-doer cannot [seize?] the sacred plans".

⁵⁵ Or, with a restoration -dab₃? (and omission of the ergative): "On! the inside, the evil-doer cannot [seize?] the righteous plans".

- 24 rev. 4 $\text{dur-dnamma } \text{dsu}'\text{en } \text{ša}_3\text{-ge } \text{ba-ni-in-pa}_3$ ⁵⁶
- a obv. 18' $\text{e}_2\text{-temen-ni}_2\text{-}^\text{r}\text{guru}_3\text{ru}^\text{r} \text{ tum}_2\text{'-ma}$
- b obv. 19' $\text{u}_3\text{-du}_2\text{-}^\text{r}\text{x}^\text{r} [\dots\text{te}]_2 \text{ [m]u-zu } \text{h}_2\text{e}_2\text{-i-i}$
- c obv. 20' $\text{en sa}_7\text{-[ga...]} \text{ }^\text{r}\text{x}^\text{r} \text{ zi ur-}^\text{r}\text{dnamma}^\text{r}$
- d obv. 21' $\text{ur}[\text{i}_5\text{ki...}]$
- e obv. 22' $\text{e}_2\text{-sag}_3\text{-ga } \text{dutu-gin}_7 \text{ x}^\text{r} [\dots]$
- f rev. 1 $\text{te}_2 \text{ mu-zu } \text{h}_2\text{e}_2\text{-i-i ur-dnamma}^\text{r} \text{ }^\text{r}\text{x}^\text{r} [\dots]$
- g rev. 2 $\text{su}_6 \text{ za-gin}_3 \text{ su}_3\text{-su}_3 \text{ }^\text{r}\text{x}^\text{r} [\dots]$ ⁵⁷
- 25 rev. 5 $\text{lugal } \text{h}_1\text{-li } \text{guru}_3\text{ru } \text{me-lim}_\text{x} \text{ kalam-ma } \text{dul-la}$
 rev. 3 $\text{lugal } \text{h}_1\text{-li } \text{guru}_3\text{ru } \text{me-lim}_\text{x} \text{ k[alam-ma } \text{dul-la}]$
- 26 rev. 6 $\text{me-e(-)EN } \text{u}_3\text{-mu-un-ra } \text{mi}_2 \text{ zi-de}_3\text{-eš}$
- 27 rev. 7 $\text{dur-dnamma } \text{ga-an-i-i-de}_3$
- 28 rev. 8 $\text{dur-dnamma } \text{h}_1\text{-li } \text{guru}_3\text{ru } \text{me-lim}_\text{x} \text{ kalam-ma } \text{dul-la}$
- 29 rev. 9 $\text{dur-dnamma } \text{dAŠ-im}_2\text{-babbar } \text{ša}_3\text{-ge } \text{ba-ni-in-pa}_3$
 rev. 4 $\text{<d>ur-dnamma } \text{dAŠ-im}_2\text{-babbar-re } \text{ša}_3 \text{ ku}_3\text{-ge } [\dots \text{-pa}_3\text{'?}]$
- 30 rev. 10 $\text{gēšrab-ba } \text{kur-kur-ra } \text{im-mi-in-g̃ar}$
- 31 rev. 11 $\text{si-g̃ar } \text{kala-ga } \text{im-mi-in-gi}_{16}\text{-ba } \text{lugal } \text{dsu}'\text{en-ra } \text{tum}_2\text{-ma-am}_3$
- 32 rev. 12 $\text{niĝ}_2\text{-NE.RU } \text{igi-ni-še}_3 \text{ nu-dib}_2\text{-be}_2$
 rev. 5 $\text{niĝ}_2\text{-NE.RU } \text{igi-ni-še}_3 \text{ nu-dib-ba}$
- 33 rev. 13 $\text{niĝ}_2\text{-si-sa}_2 \text{ dur-dnamma } \text{niĝ}_2\text{-gur}_{11} \text{ sa}_2 \text{ bi}_2\text{-in-du}_{11}$
 rev. 5-6 $\text{niĝ}_2\text{-s[i-sa}_2\text{]} | \text{dur-dnamma-ke}_4 \text{ niĝ}_2\text{-gur}_{11} \text{ sa}_2 \text{ bi}_2\text{-in-du}_{11}$

⁵⁶ Followed by double ruling.

⁵⁷ Followed by single ruling.

- 24** Su'en has chosen Urnamma in (his) heart.
- a** The one worthy of the Etemenniguru,
- b** Born [...]. He *reveals*? your [vigo]ur and [na]me indeed!
- c** The comely lord [...], the faithful . . . , Urnamma,
- d** Ur [...].
- e** The Esaga, like Utu . . . [...].
- f** He *reveals*? your vigour and name indeed! Urnamma . . . [...],
- g** Wearing a long lapis lazuli beard . . . [...].
- 25** The king, full of charms, who has covered the land with radiance,
The king, full of charms, who has [covered the la]nd with radiance,
- 26f.** Let us extoll the lord, Urnamma, rightfully!
- 28** Urnamma, full of charms, who has covered the land with radiance,
- 29** Urnamma, AŠimbabbar has chosen in (his) heart!
Urnamma, AŠimbabbar [has chosen?] in (his) precious heart!
- 30** He⁵⁸ has put shackles on all (the foreign) lands,
- 31** He has blocked (them) with a strong bolt, he is the king who is worthy of
Su'en.
- 32** Evil does not pass before him.
Evil does not pass before him.
- 33** (Rather) Urnamma has imposed justice on property (matters).
(Rather) Urnamma has imposed jus[tice] on property (matters).

⁵⁸ i.e. Urnamma.

- 34 rev. 14 za-pa-aĝ₂-ĝa₂-ni-ŠE₃ kur NE.RU-ma bi₂-in-ĝar
- a rev. 7 ʾlugal-eʾ pa mul pa mul-ʾzuʾ
- b rev. 8 dur-dnamma-ke₄ maš-gi-i(-)i-ʾimʾ-me
- c rev. 9 enim zu EN(uru₁₆)-na-ke₄ pa mul pa ʾmulʾ-zu
- 35 rev. 15 ki-bala-bi mu-un-ŠUM₂ dur-dnamma maškim im-me
rev. 10 dur-dnamma-ke₄ maš-gi-i(-)ʾiʾ-im-me
- 36 rev. 16 lugal-e e₂ d^{su}ʾen-na-ke₄
rev. 11 lugal-e ʾe₂ʾ d^{su}ʾen-naʾ-ke₄
- a rev. 12 dur-dnamma-ʾke₄ ni₂ ħe₂ʾ-eb-ši-ib₂-te-en-te
- 37 rev. 17 i₇idigna i₇buranun dur-<d>namma-ke₄ / nam mu-ni-
ib₂-BI- tar-reʾ(GI?)
rev. 13-14 lugal-e i₇idigna i₇buran[u]n-ke₄ | dur-dnamma-ke₄ nam mu-ʾniʾ-
ibʾ?(ZU)-ta[r-r]e
- 38 rev. 18 ʾdutuʾ an-ur₂-ta e₃-a-ba
- 39 rev. 19 [nam-l]u₂-ulu₃ ħu-mu-ši-ib₂-daĝal-e-ne
- 40 rev. 20 [dumuʾ d]nin-sumun₂-ka ħu-mu-ni-in-dab₅-dab₅-be₂ u₆ di-x
- 41 rev. 21 [nin-b]i nin niĝ₂-gur₁₁-e ki-aĝ₂
rev. 15 nin-bi nin niĝ₂-gur₁₁-ra-ke₄ nin e₂(-)[...]
- 42 rev. 22 [ki-a]ĝ₂-ĝa₂-na-ke₄ dur-dnamma-ke₄ nam mu-ni- ib-tar- re
rev. 16 dur-dnamma-ke₄ nam mu-ni-ʾib-tarʾ-[re]
- 43 rev. 23 [x] x(-)gal nin-bi nin niĝ₂-gur₁₁-e ki-aĝ₂
- 44 rev. 24 [munus a] nun-na-ke₄ dur-dnamma-ke₄ niĝ₂-gur₁₁-e ki-aĝ₂
rev. 17 munus a ʾnun-naʾ-ke₄ mi₂ zi-de₃-ʾešʾ [...]

- 34 He has set <...>⁵⁹ as his roar on the enemy land.
- a The king - under your⁶⁰ ramifying branches -
- b Urnamma is in charge,
- c The *eloquent* facing the obstinate - under your ramifying branches -
- 35 He has imposed it on that rebellious land, Urnamma is in charge.
Urnamma is in charge.
- 36 For the king, for Su'en's temple,
May the king, at Su'en's temple,
- a May Urnamma refresh himself!
- 37 For the Tigris and the Euphrates, for Urnamma she determines the fate.
For the king, the Tigris and the Euphrates,⁶¹ for Urnamma she determines the fate.
- 38 When Utu rises from the horizon,
- 39 May [the peo]ple spread out before him!
- 40 May the [son?] of Ninsumun *take hold of it*⁶² there, *invoking*? admiration.
- 41 Tha[t lady], the lady who loves treasures,
That lady, the lady of treasures, the lady of . . . [...],
- 42 Determines the fate for Urnamma, *her [belo]yed*!
Determines the fate for Urnamma!
- 43 . . . , that lady, the lady who loves treasures,
- 44 [The woman] of noble [stock], she who loves treasures, <determines the fate> for Urnamma.
The woman of noble stock appropriately [...],

⁵⁹ Perhaps referring to Urnamma's command, cf. the commentary ad 34-35, p. 288.

⁶⁰ i.e. the Ekišnuḡal.

⁶¹ Faulty ¹idigna ²buranun-ke₄ is perhaps contaminated by the following ³ur-d⁴namma-ke₄. Alternatively: "For the king, for the one of the Tigris and Euphrates".

⁶² Perhaps referring to the (work) basket (cf. lines 45-46) with incorrect -in- before the verbal base (cf. line 17), or referring to the people of line 39.

- 45 rev. 25 [sip]a ^dur-^dnamma-ke₄ IL₂(dubsig_x) e₂ ^dsu'en-na-še₃ su₆ za-gin₃
 su₁₃-su₁₃
 rev. 18 ^d[ur-^dnamma-k]e₄ ĜA₂.NE.N[A...]
- 46 rev. 26 [...] AN nin x ħu-mu-ni-ib-dab₅-dab₅-be₂
- 47 rev. 27 [...] du₁₀-ga-am₃ ħi-li-ba ku₇-ku₇-dam-nu
- 48 rev. 28 [(...) ^dni]n-lil₂-le u₄-da u₃-du₂-da-gin₇
- 49 rev. 29 [(ku₃?) ^dni]n-sumun₂-na-ke₄ za-e ħu-mu-ra-u₃-du₂
- 50 rev. 30 sipa-da an ku₃-ga ħu-m[u-...]
- 51 rev. 31 sipa ^dur-^dnamma-da saĝ [...] ⁶³
 šir₃-nam-šub-^dnanna-^lkam^l / 51? mu-bi

⁶³ Followed by single ruling.

- 45 f.** May [shephe]rd Urnamma *take hold of the (work) basket* for Su'en's temple,
wearing a long lapis lazuli beard . . . , [...].
(For/) [Urnamma] . . . [...].

47 [...] is pleasant, *is it not* sweet in its attractiveness?

48 Like [...] whom [Ni]nlil gave birth to daily,

49 [(Dazzling?) Ni]nsumun has indeed given birth to you!

50 With the shepherd in the brilliant heaven indeed she [...]!

51 With the shepherd Urnamma [...] the head!

(It is a š i r n a m š u b of Nanna, it has 51[?] lines)

5.5 Collective Philological Commentary

As in the synopsis, line numbers refer to Urnamma F (source B), lower case letters to Urnamma E (source A).

1 The restoration *u r u₂* "city" is very uncertain but would be a plausible parallel to *u r i₂ k i* "Ur" in line 2.

2 Note the unusual writing *u š - u₂* for *u š u š š u* "foundations".

ḥ e₂ - ḡ a l₂ k i u s₂ - s a appears in similar context in Sulgi O 3 *n u m u n i - i s u ḥ u š k a l a m - m a ḡ i - n e₂ ḥ e₂ - ḡ a l₂ k i u s₂ - s a* "It (= the sanctuary Ur) makes the seed come forth, makes the foundation of the land firm, (is) abundance, firmly secured".

3 The verb *u₅* has the meanings a.) "to mount" *rakābu*, with (locative-) terminative, in parallelism with *z i . ḡ* "to raise, to lift"; as result of the action b.) "to be mounted, to be seated, to ride (high)", with locative, in parallelism with *d u r₂ ḡ a r* "to be seated, to sit", and c.) "to lift, to carry high", with absolutive, in parallelism with *ḡ u r u₃* "to carry". In particular, *u₅* is used in the sense of 1. "to ride away" i.e. "to flee", with ablative infix: cf. e.g. the references in Michalowski, *Lamentation* 94 ad 271-276; 2. "to copulate", said of animals: e.g. Enl.sudr. 152; 3. "to embark", with (locative-)terminative, "to sail (on a boat)", with locative: cf. e.g. the references in Römer, *AOAT* 232 (1993) 350ff.; 4. "to be mounted, to be seated on", with locative(-terminative), i.e. on concrete objects, like animals: e.g. Ninmešara 14, Ininšagura 105, Römer, *Studies Kraus* (1982) 303 (= *CT* 15 15f.) obv. 9; waves and floods: e.g. Kramer, *Studies Birot* (1986) 120 (= *BM* 86535) ii obv. 103-iii obv. 104, Sjöberg, *OrSuec* 19/20 (1970/1) 142 (= *UM* 29-13-609) ii obv. 21'; storm: e.g. Römer, *ibid.* 303 (= *CT* 15 15f.) obv. 8; on abstract objects, like the *m e*: cf. Klein, *Studies Tadmor* (1991) 306 ad 3 with previous literature; 5. "to carry high", with absolutive, i.e. abstract objects, like *awe*: Gudea, Cyl. B 13:18. In this line the object on which Urnamma rides high is not mentioned. Maybe the connotation is that Urnamma is firmly established as the lord of the Ekišnuḡal, cf. above ad b.).

6 *e n s u k u d - d a* "eminent lord" also appears in Šūilišu A (= Isin *4) 8 *e n s u k u d - d a k a l a - ḡ a k i š i b - l a₂ (- e) t u k u n a - m e e - n e - r a n u - ḡ u b - b u* "Eminent and strong lord, having a wrist (= strength), whom nobody can withstand".

9 The tentative restorations in Urnamma E 3' are solely based on the parallel version of Urnamma F 9.

10 For the uncertain restoration [... *k u r ? ṣ e m ?*] *ḡ e ṣ e r e n - n a* "mountain? of fragrant? cedar" in Urnamma E 4', based on Urnamma F 10, and said of the Ekišnuḡal, cf. Charpin, *Clergé* 290 ad 5 with literature. *ḡ e ṣ e r e n* "cedar" might be attracted by image (cf. e.g. Enlil and Sud 148) and sound to *ḡ e -*

rin "blossoming, flowered" (better $g e g e r i n_x$ (L A G A B)), the $-š e_3$ in $m u - z u - š e_3$ by $š a_3$ in Urnamma F 10.

Cohen, *JAOS* 95 (1975) 598 ad 4 interpreted $k i u t - t i$ as a non-standard writing of $k i u_6 d i$ "place of admiration". I tentatively suggest a non-standard writing for $k i d u t u / u_4 e_3 (- a)$ "place where the sun rises/the daylight breaks" on the following grounds: the close association with $k u r š e m g e š e r e n - n a$ (cf. Sjöberg, *TCS* 3 [1969] 90 ad 192), should the restoration indeed be correct; the context, in general, which centres on the Ekišnuḡal as a place where the wicked await judgment and justice is administered, but specifically line 10' where Utu, the judge who perceives everything, illuminates the entryways (for temple gates and the $k i d u t u / u_4 e_3 (- a)$ as places of judgment, cf. the commentary ad Urnamma A 58 and 211); other references for $k i d u t u / u_4 e_3 (- a)$ in association with a temple (e.g. Temple Hymns 192, Nungal 9).

13 For ($g e š$) $r a b r a p p u$, a restraining device, hence translated here as "shackle", of which $a - r a_2 - a b$ in Urnamma E 7' is presumably a non-standard writing, cf. most recently Civil, *Studies Hallo* (1993) 74 ad 31.

14 $a n - z u a n s a_7 - g a$ is influenced by $e n - z u e n s a_7 - g a$ in line 11. Because $a n s a_7 - g a$ "azure heaven", whether likened to a gate (e.g. Nungal 13), some part of it (e.g. Gudea, Cyl. A 21:13-14) or the temple in general (e.g. Gudea, Cyl. A 21:7-8, Cyl. B 16:10) is such a common topos I read an "heaven" rather than $d i g i r$ "god" (pace Cohen, *JAOS* 95 [1975] 598 ad 9). Compare also Urnamma C 4 $i r i a n - g i n_7 s a_7 - g a h i - l i g u r u_3 r u$ "City, azure like the heavens, full of luxuriance".

16 As Cohen suggests $g i ? - s a_2$ and $g i - š a_3$ may be connected with the well attested $/ k i s s a /$, written $k i - s a_2 /_5$ and $k i s s a$ (K I . S E S . K A K . A) "platform" for which cf. now Suter, *ZA* 87 (1997) 6ff. The Ekišnuḡal's description continues from a general to a more detailed interior view, first describing the sanctuary as a whole and then the gate. Note that in *UET* 6 105 14ff. (Charpin, *Clergé* 287) the $/ k i s s a /$ is the platform for the Abzu, presumably a reed hut with a water basin that one reached after entering the gate and the courtyard and which was situated in front of the main cella (cf. Sallaberger, *Kalender* 184, and fn. 872 with literature; also Frayne, *BiOr.* 45 [1988] 354 ad "p. 335"). As in our passage, the $/ k i s s a /$ is preceded by terms describing parts of the gate. "The place where the gods determine fate" is otherwise said of the $d u b - l a_2 - m a h$ (cf. lines 21-22 = Urnamma E 16'-17'; in general Charpin, *Clergé* 332 and Michałowski, *Lamentation* 103 ad 438) from which one had access to the ziggurat (cf. Urnamma E 18'). Perhaps there was confusion between $/ k i s s a /$ and $d u b - l a_2$ which can follow terms for parts of gates (e.g. Nungal 14ff.; Temple Hymns 30ff.), or this inner part of the Ekišnuḡal, perhaps the location of the Abzu, was indeed a place where justice was administered (e.g. Enki's Journey to Nippur 44).

In view of Urnamma E 12' $k u_5 - m e - e n$, $k u d - r u - d e_3$ stands probably for $k u d - r u - d e_3 - e n / k u d r u d e (n) /$, cf. Attinger, *Eléments* 194, §

126 with literature. For temples or places which render judgments, cf. e.g. Temple Hymns 496.

17 a n - k i - k a is probably a n - k i - k a (m) for expected a n - k i - k e₄ - n e (collective with plural in the verbal form). Note also - n -, instead of - b -, before the verbal base (also in line 40 vs line 46).

18 This line has many problems and the translation offered is tentative. For g i r₁₇ - z a l - a - a = g i r₁₇ - z a l - l a - a m and p e š - a = p e š - a m₃, cf. lines 30 ġ e š r a b - b a and 31 i m - m i - i n - g i₁₆ - b a. For g i r₁₇ - z a l - a - a determining m u n u s z i . d (in parallelism with ħ u l - ġ a l₂ "evil-doer"), cf. s u l g i r₁₇ - z a l (- l a) "the proud young man", commented on by Volk, *FAOS* 18 (1989) 217 ad 20.

19 Instead of the faulty š a₃ - g a - t a in Urnamma E **13'** š a₃ - z u - t a in analogy to g i - š a₃ - z u - t a in line **11'** is expected (the copy seems to rule out a reading š a₃ - b i - t a which would also be semantically unsatisfactory).

20 In view of n i d b a in Urnamma E **15'**, a reading i n d a₃ - b a is more likely than n i ġ₂ - b a. Note that the sign after n i ġ₂ is not a clear - b a on the copy (photo hardly legible).

24 e₂ - s a g₃ - g a is enigmatic. v. Dijk, *Sagesse* 63 ad 26 proposes an equation with e₂ s i - g a "silenced house".

26-27 m i₂ z i - d e₃ - e š i - i "to extoll rightfully" can be compared with m i₂ - b i i - i, for which cf. Attinger, *Eléments* 612, § 646. For final dropping of / n / in g a - a n - i - i - d e₃, cf. the commentary ad 16.

m e - e (-) E N is unclear to me. One expects a form like m e - e n - d e₃.

29 Note that the king's name is deified in the second k i r u g u section of Urnamma E (lines 28', 30', 32', 34', 36', 38', 40') in contrast to the first k i - r u g u section, perhaps indicating that Urnamma E was compiled from two different models. In line **26'** the scribe still seems to have been influenced by line 24 f which has u r - d n a m m a and thus omitted the determinative.

34-35 The object of ġ a r "to set" in line 34 and Š U M₂ "to impose" in line 35 seems to have been omitted in the process of transmission. I tentatively suggest e n i m "word, command" in view of Urnamma E **31'** (with reinterpretation), cf. immediately below, line 34b/35.

34a/c p a m u l p a m u l - z u "under/at your ramifying branches" in Urnamma E **29' || 31'** may be an insertion in 2nd person referring to and anticipating "Su'en's temple", i.e. the Ekišnuġal, in line **33'**. For p a (-) m u l in association with a temple, rather than referring to kings or gods, compare perhaps Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta 342-343 || 384-385 p a m u l - m u l - l a - b i e š₃ e₂ - a n - n a - k e₄ (/ k a) l k u₃ d i n a n a - k e₄ n i₂ i m - š i - i b - t e - e n - t e "Under its (= Enmerkar's sceptre) ramifying branches - (being) the sanctuary Eana - dazzling Inana refreshes herself" (S. Cohen, *ELA* 129 || 131, accepted by Powell, *BSA* 6 [1992] 100, contra Jacobsen, *Harps* 302). For the topos of refreshing oneself under the shade of a building, cf. Sulgi G 61-62 and Klein, *Studies Tadmor* (1991) 312f. ad 60-62.

For *enim zu* "the one who knows the word/the affairs = *eloquent*" in Urnamma E 31', cf. Volk, *FAOS* 18 (1989) 219 ad 24 with previous literature.

34b/35 *maš-gi-i(-)i-i-m-me* in Urnamma E 30' || 32' is non-standard and Sandhi-writing of *maškim i-m-me* in Urnamma F 35.

ki-bala-bi mu-un-ŠUM₂ may be associated with *enim zu* *EN(u ru₁₆)-na-ke₄* "The *eloquent* facing the obstinate" of Urnamma E 31', with *EN(u ru₁₆)-na(-k)* reflecting *ki-bala* and *enim* "word, command" being the omitted object of *ŠUM₂*. *ŠUM₂* has either a reading *si₃.g* "to throw", or *šu_m₂* "to give".

36 Note that *e₂ dsu'en-na-ke₄* has been reinterpreted differently in E and F, i.e. it shows a different syntactical function in Urnamma E 33' (in view of the added succeeding line 36a = E 34') than in Urnamma F 36.

40 For [*du mu[?] d*] *nin-su mu₂-ka(m)*, cf. above, line 17. The restoration [*du mu[?]*] is very uncertain.

41 The epithet *nin niĝ₂-gur₁₁-e ki-aĝ₂* "the lady who loves treasures" exhibits the same word formation and shares a common semantic field with *nin saĝ-e ki-aĝ₂*, an epithet of Ba'u, and *ur-saĝ niĝ₂-ba-e ki-aĝ₂*, said of Ningirsu, and discussed in Steible, *FAOS* 9/2 (1991) 45 ad 4. Both *nin niĝ₂-gur₁₁-e ki-aĝ₂* "the lady who loves treasures" and *nin niĝ₂ gur₁₁-ra* "the lady of treasures" in Urnamma E 37' look like a re- or misinterpretation of *dNIN-niĝar(ĝar/mar-ra)*, a goddess associated with Ningal and Ninsumun in *SF* I i 13-15 (cf. also Krebernik, *ZA* 76 [1986] 199 s.v. *dNIN-niĝar*) and also with Inana (Krecher, *Kultlyrik* 128ff. ad II 13, Black, *ASJ* 7 [1985] 43 ad 163, and Sallaberger, *Kalender* 129 and vol. II 129, chart 75). *dNIN-niĝar(ĝar/mar-ra)* takes her name from the (*e₂*) *niĝar(ĝar/mar-ra)*, probably a shrine as part of cult places known from various localities and of which the *e₂ ni₃-ĝa₂-ra* in Sulgi Y 23, part of Ningal's temple complex in Nippur, is a non-standard writing (cf. Sjöberg, *TCS* 3 [1969] 92f. ad 206 and Black, *ibid.*).

42 The genitive in *ki-aĝ₂-ĝa₂-na-ke₄* is awkward (cf. also Urnamma E 35'). In view of *nin e₂(-)[...]* "the lady of [...]" in Urnamma E 37', Urnamma F may have omitted a syntagm in the process of transmission (cf. also lines 34-35 above).

44 *a nu-n-na* "the one(s) of noble stock" follows Edzard, *ZA* 78 (1988) 142.

Is "she determines the fate" included in this line or do we have a line omission?

45-46 The translation offered is very tentative in view of the strange word order.

47 *ku₇-ku₇-da m-nu* is unclear (*-nu* as negative copula *after* the copula!).

49 As *u₃-du₂.d* "to give birth" is constructed with the absolutive, the ablative *-ra-* infix in the verbal chain stands perhaps for {T A} but is still difficult to explain. Another possibility is to translate "[Ni]nsumun has indeed given birth to [...] for you", in which case *za-e* is an error for *za-ra*.

6. URNAMMA G

6.1 Introduction

Manuscript

The only source for this *b a l b a l e* of Enlil is an unnumbered text of unknown provenance in the Oriental Institute, columns ii-iii. J.A. Brinkman kindly permitted me to collate this text and a description of the tablet and a transliteration of the lines have been made available to me by M. Civil (letter 1/26/94). This is what he writes: "Lower part of a tablet of unknown origin. The convex side has two columns ca. 50 mm wide, the flat side has three columns of 27 to 29 mm. The column length can be estimated at ca. 34 lines, at least on the flat side, judging from the duplicate text (see below). The convex side has to be considered the obverse and the flat one the reverse.

On the convex side, the left column contains a text almost identical to Šulgi Z (S.N. Kramer, *Iraq* 31 [1969] 18-23), but substitutes Šu-Suen's name for that of Šulgi; the right column contains the Urnamma text which apparently ends in the rightmost column of the flat side, leaving the rest of this column uninscribed. The two left columns of the flat side must have been ca. 34 lines long and duplicate the Nanna song published by Åke Sjöberg in *MNS* 1 13ff. (Nanna A:3-9, 38-56)."

This tablet then seems to have contained at least two *b a l b a l e* compositions of different deities, namely Enlil and Nanna, and possibly a third, probably of Inana: the subscript for Šulgi Z is missing but it is very likely that this hymn about Inana and Šūsu'en, respectively Šulgi, was a *b a l b a l e*¹ of Inana. Additional, indirect evidence comes from the entries in the literary catalogue *TMH NF* 3 54 (HS 1504) which lists Nanna A, the *b a l b a l e* of Nanna in *TMH NF* 4 7 ii 67-iii 106 in lines 2-3, followed by the *incipit* of Šulgi Z.²

Structural Analysis

The first six lines of this short *b a l b a l e* of Enlil are broken but must have contained a kind of narrative introduction (in 3rd person) that continues to line 8.

¹ Cf. already Wilcke, *Kollationen* 41 ad III 54: HS 1504 ad line 4.

² Cf. also IV 3.1, p. 76, fn. 211.

Enlil has supplied Urnamma with agricultural prosperity. Lines 9ff. set off a praise (in 2nd person) of Urnamma as the faithful farmer who keeps his fields well. This section which presumably continues to the end of the composition shows a formal pattern with line pairs exhibiting the alternation epithet/PN, e.g. lines 13-14, 16-17, 19-20, 22-23. Note that between every line pair falls one line of a descriptive, rather than poetic nature, though line 15 takes up the refrain $G A N A_2 (-) \hat{g} a r - z u d u_{10} - g a - a m_3$ "your *prepared* field is good" which is introduced in line 10 and repeated in lines 13-15. Refrains are a common feature in *b a l b a l e* compositions.³

Source

Unknown:

A/ unnumbered, columns ii-iii

convex side ii 7'-23' = **7-23**

flat side iii 1'-2' = **26-27**

collation: E. Flückiger-Hawker, cf. pl. 25.

photos could not be made available due to reconstruction work at the Oriental Institute Museum.

³ Cf. Wilcke's chart of *b a l b a l e* compositions in AS 20 (1975) 274-80.

6.2 Transliteration and Translation⁴

- 1-6 ii 1'-6' [...]
- 7 ii 7' den-lil₂-le dur[!]-dnamma-ra m[u-...]
- 8 ii 8' a-eštub dezina₂ še gu-nu saĝ-e-eš ħe₂-^Γmu-rig₇^Γ
- 9 ii 9' dur-dnamma uĝ₃-e nam-ħe₂-a gu₂ ħu-mu-u₈-di-ni-ib-mar-re
- 10 ii 10' ĝeš[!]apin še du₁₀-ga bi₂-ĝar-^Γra^Γ GANA₂(-)^Γĝar-zu du₁₀-ga-am₃
- 11 ii 11' ĝeš numun še⁵ du₁₀ ĝeš[!]apin⁶ GANA₂ nam ^Γbi₂^Γ-du₁₀-ge
- 12⁷ ii 12' ĝeš[!]apin še du₁₀-ge ki[?] kur[?] x (x) GANA₂ nam ^Γbi₂-x-x^Γ
- 13 ii 13' lugal gud-de₃ GANA₂ ĝar-am₃-ma GANA₂(-)^Γĝar^Γ-zu du₁₀-ga-am₃
- 14 ii 14' dur-dnamma GANA₂ ĝar-am₃-ma ^ΓGANA₂^Γ(-)^Γĝar-zu du₁₀-ga-am₃
- 15 ii 15' GANA₂ ĝar-ra-za gud-de₃ ba-sa₆ GANA₂(-)^Γĝar-za du₁₀-ga-am₃
- 16 ii 16' lugal-ĝu₁₀ GANA₂ den-lil₂-la₂-ka a₂ šu ħa-ba-e-ni-du₇
- 17 ii 17' ur-dnamma GANA₂ den-lil₂-la₂-ka a₂ ^Γšu ħa^Γ-ba-e-ni-du₇
- 18 ii 18' ab-sin₂ gub-ba-zu im an-na si ħe₂-em^Γ-ma-ni-in-sa₂
- 19 ii 19' lugal engar zi GANA₂ daĝal-la eg₂ pa₅-re ki ^Γx^Γ [...]
- 20 ii 20' ur-dnamma engar zi GANA₂ daĝal-la eg₂ pa₅-re k[i...]
- 21 ii 21' eg₂ pa₅-re dutu e₃-gin₇ igi-bi m[u-...]
- 22 ii 22' ^Γlugal-ĝu₁₀ sa-ra^Γ du₁₀-du₁₀-ge sa-ra-z[u[?]...]

⁴ Due to many difficulties encountered in this text the translation given here is very provisional.

⁵ Written over an erasure.

⁶ Between apin and GANA₂ probably erasure or gap where at least two signs could have been placed.

⁷ This line in smaller script has been squeezed in after finishing the text.

- 1-6 [six lines not preserved]
- 7 Enlil has for Urnamma [...].
- 8 He has indeed presented (him) with the early flood, wheat and *mottled* barley.
- 9 O Urnamma, may he⁸ make the people *thrive*? in abundance with you!⁹
- 10 The plough that you have prepared for? the good barley and your *prepared* field are good.
- 11 Wood, seeds, good barley, the plough and the field - (*all*) *these* you? make good,
- 12 The plough *making the barley good*,¹⁰ the ground? . . . , and the field - (*all*) *these* you? . . .
- 13 O Lord, *prepare* the field for the oxen, your *prepared* field is good,
- 14 O Urnamma, *prepare* the field, your *prepared* field is good!
- 15 In the field which you have prepared the oxen are doing well, in your *prepared* field they are good!
- 16 O my lord, you have indeed done all necessary work for/in the field of Enlil,
- 17 O Urnamma, you have indeed done all necessary work for/in the field of Enlil.
- 18 He¹¹ indeed directed the rain of heaven right into the furrow which you have drawn.
- 19 O Lord, faithful farmer of the broad fields, [you] . . . [...] embankments and ditches,
- 20 O Urnamma, faithful farmer of the broad fields, [you...] embankments and ditches.
- 21 (For) embankments and ditches, like the rising sun, [you] have . . . [...].¹²
- 22 O my lord, making the . . . good, your? . . . [...],

⁸ i.e. Enlil.

⁹ Or: "O Urnamma, he (= Enlil) verily makes the people *thrive*? in abundance with you!".

¹⁰ Or: "The plough for the good barley (...)".

¹¹ i.e. Enlil.

¹² Or: "Embankments and ditches, like the rising sun, have . . . [...]".

23 ii 23' [ur-^dnamma sa-ra du₁₀-d]u₁₀-ge sa-ra-^rzu[?] x^r [...]

24 ii 24' [...]

25 ii 25' [...]

26 iii 1' [...] si i[n-...]

27 iii 2' ^rx-mu^r-ra-an-gur ^rx^r [...]¹³

^rba^r-bal-e den-lil₂-[la₂-kam] / 27 [mu[?]-bi[?]]

¹³ Civil notes that "it seems unlikely that the line has to be read ^rx-mu^r-ra ^dur!-^ru^r[namma...]; the sign GUR is here quite different from the preceding URs".

23 [O Urnamma, making the . . . g]ood, your? . . . [...].

24-27 [Four lines not preserved or too broken to translate]

(It is a b a l b a l e of Enlil, [it has?] 27 [lines?])

6.3 Philological Commentary

8 For this topos, cf. the commentary ad Urnamma C 20-23. As Urnamma is presumably the receiver, one expects a prefix chain - m u - n i - instead of the awkward - m u -.

9 For this line with the enigmatic g u₂ m a r (- m a r), cf. the commentary ad Urnamma B 14-16 where we encounter the same verbal form.

10 G A N A₂ (-) ḡ a r, here probably a "compound noun" (of the sa₂-du₁₁-type), is attested in Enlil and Ninlil 9 (= *mēreštu*) and designates a certain quality of field. G A N A₂ ḡ a r is also found in SP Coll. 2 159 (cf. Falkowitz, *Sumerian Rhetoric Collections* 281f., 487, 544) where ḡ a r refers to an action preceding ploughing (u r u₄).

18 Compare the similar content in Urnamma C 20-21.

19-20 e n g a r z i . d "faithful farmer" as an epithet of a king is attested in royal inscriptions (cf. also Falkenstein, *SGL* 52 ad 60 with previous literature) of Lipiteštar (*RIME* 4.1.5.1:4-6 ||), Nūradad (*RIME* 4.2.8.5:3) and Rīmsīn (*RIME* 4.2.14.17:27 ||). It is used as an epithet of Ninurta in Farmer's Almanac 109, Lugale 727 and possibly in the Song of the Plowing Oxen 4, restored according to Civil, *AOAT* 25 (1976) 87.

22-23 s a - r a as a noun appears also in Išmedagān A 320 (unpub. sources) *d i š - m e - d a - g a n - m e - e n s a - r a - ḡ u ḥ e₂ - s a₆* "I am Išmedagān, may my . . . be pleasant!". It may be the same noun as in the term s a (-) r a A K which is found in connection with rites during the cutting of barley, in Salla-berger, *Kalender* 267, and fn. 1252.

7. URNAMMA H

7.1 Introduction

Previous studies¹ and manuscripts

The fragmentary source A was mistakenly considered as a royal inscription of Urnamma and numbered 37 in W.W. Hallo, *HUCA* 33 (1962) 28. I. Kärki transliterated and translated the fragment in *StOr.* 58 (1986) 24. H. Steible defines source A as possibly literary and Old Babylonian in *FAOS* 9/2 (1991) 143. It is not clear if source B, also in a fragmentary state, is actually part of the composition. The last line of source B could be the catchline of A. In the following transliteration, source B follows source A. Both sources were kindly collated by Ph. Jones and S. Tinney.

Sources

Nippur:

A CBS 15046

obv. 1-4 = **1-4**

copy: A. Poebel, *PBS* 5 (19) 40.

collations: Ph. Jones, S. Tinney.

B N 1511 (unpub.)

obv. 1'-6' = **5-10**

collations: Ph. Jones, S. Tinney.

¹ Cf. also II 2., p. 21.

7.2 Transliteration and Translation

- 1 A obv. 1 ur-dnamma lugal [kalam-ma (...)]
- 2 A obv. 2 sud-ra₂ bad-DU ʾxʾ [...]
- 3 A obv. 3 ġešesi ʾSARʾ-x(-)[...]
- 4 A obv. 4 ʾKAʔ-ge-zuʾʾ [...]
- [break of unknown length]
- 5 B obv. 1' [...] ʾHURʾ [...]
- 6 B obv. 2' [...k]u₃ za-gin₃-na n[am...]
- 7 B obv. 3' [...k]u₃-gin₇ kalam-ma [...]
- 8 B obv. 4' [...] x ʾHUʔ.UDʾ [x] edin-n[a...]
- 9 B obv. 5' [piri]ġʔ ʾušumgal! iġiʾʳ² il₂ KA-ni [...]
- 10 B obv. 6' [ur-d]namma luga[l] ʾkalamʾ-ma ʾsud-ra₂ʾ [bad-DU]

² Surface broken away, very unclear.

- 1 Urnamma, king [of the land (...)],
2 [...] long and remote [...].
3 Ebony . . . [...].
4 . . . [...].
- 5 [...] . . . [...].
6 [...] of silver and lapis lazuli [...],
7 [...] like silver/. . . in the land [...].
8 [...] . . . of/in the steppe [...].
9 [Lio]n(s)? and dragon(s), *looking at* . . . [...].
10 [Ur]namma, king of the land, long and [remote...].

A LEXICAL INDEX OF URNAMMA COMPOSITIONS

The following lexical index is a list of all words and idiomatic expressions or compounds found in compositions pertaining to Urnamma. These include the hymns, the royal inscriptions, the year names, the prologue of Codex Urnamma, and the so-called Cadaster text. Also included are *ISET* 1 119 (p. 177) = Ni. 4375 and IB 1537 rev. v'-vi', an Old Babylonian copy of a royal inscription, published by C. Wilcke in B. Hrouda (ed.), *Isin-Išān Baḫrīyāt III, Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 1983-84*, ABAW NF 94, München (1987) 109 and pl. 44. The indexing of the royal inscriptions is based on H. Steible, *Die neusumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften, Teil 2: Kommentar zu den Gudea-Statuen, Inschriften der III. Dynastie von Ur, Inschriften der IV. und "V." Dynastie von Uruk, Varia*, FAOS 9/2, Stuttgart (1991) 93-152, with the addition of Al-Rawi, *Sumer* 46 (1989-90) 84f., that of the year names on M. Sigrist, T. Gomi, *The Comprehensive Catalogue of Published Ur III Tablets*, Bethesda (1991) 319f., except that the numbers 1-17 appear in quotation marks (cf. I 1., p. 5, fn. 37). The indexing of the prologue of Codex Urnamma follows the latest edition of D.R. Frayne, *RIME* 3/2 (1997) 46-49. The Cadaster text is cited according to F. Kraus, "Provinzen des neusumerischen Reiches von Ur", *ZA* 51 (1955) 46-48 (copies tbls. I-IV). Alphabetization follows common practice as e.g. apparent in the *PSD*. Syntagms composed of noun + adjective and noun + genitive have been indexed alphabetically under their initial word and indented. The genitive (-k) has been noted only if attested in the text. For practical reasons the syntagm noun + verb has generally not been treated as the above mentioned syntagms but rather as separate entry, except in some cases with one or only a few noun + verb syntagms under the initial word, where it seemed appropriate to index the syntagm under the noun and indent it. In these cases convention rather than consistency is followed. Subsequent words are referred to (→) the initial word and in turn listed alphabetically if there are numerous entries. References are also made to non-standard writings and variants. Postpositions (except the absolutive) are generally given in the translation of verbs to show their grammatical construction. A, B, C, D, E, F, G, and H refer to the hymns followed by the line number. The Susa version of Urnamma A is specifically marked with (Susa) after the line number, as are the recensions of Urnamma D with (Ni) and (Ur) respectively. A capital letter in parenthesis, referring to the source, gives the textual variant (if noteworthy) to the line of the specific hymn in question. CU followed by the line number refers to Codex Urnamma. Bold numbers followed by (column and) line numbers indicate royal inscriptions. "year name" followed by a number stands for "Urnamma year name

x". An asterisk * after the line number indicates that the entry is discussed in the commentary to that line.

Note further the following abbreviations:

abl.	ablative
abs.	absolutive
broken	sign(s) broken or restored
CN	canal name
com.	comitative
dat.	dative
DN	divine name
ep. x	epithet of x
ES	Emesal
GN	geographical name
<i>ḥ</i> .	<i>ḥamtu</i>
loc.	locative
loc.-term.	locative-terminative
<i>m</i> .	<i>marû</i>
obscure	context broken and therefore obscure
pl.	plural
PN	proper name
poss.	possessive
sg.	singular
suff.	suffix
term.	terminative
TN	temple name
var.	variant
→	refer to x
	parallel with x
x	unreadable sign
x*	word discussed in the commentary to that line

a A	1. "water, drink":
	2. "offspring, seed, semen":
a kur-ra	"the drink of the netherworld": A 83
a maḥ	"flood": F 7
a ^d nin-tu.r	"Nintur's water": → i ₇ -a- ^d nin-tu.r
a nun	"noble stock": → munus a nun-na(-k)
a B	"O!" (exclamation): → non-standard a ₂ A
a lu ₂ /lugal-ḡu ₁₀	"O my man/lord!": A 186
a ša ₃ -ḡu ₁₀ du ₁₁ .g	"to say 'O my heart!': A 16; → var. a ₂ ša ₃ -ḡu ₁₀ du ₁₁ .g
a-a	"father": → kur-gal a-a ^d en-lil ₂
a-ab(-ba)(-k)	"sea waters": 28, 1:14; → gaba a-ab-ka(-k)

a-ba(-a)	"who?": A 208 209; D (Ni) 1-4; D (Ur) 1' (broken)-5'; 7'; 9'
a-ba- ^d nanna-gin ₇	"Who-is-like-Nanna?" (name of embankment): 27, 2:7 (broken)
a-ba-a	"back side": Cadaster A ii 18; iii 13; iv 2
a-da-ab	"a d a b-instrument": A 187*
a DU(ra ₂ ?)	"to carry water": D (Ni) 25 26*; 33 (broken) 34; D (Ur) 32'; 34'
a-eštub	"early flood": A 22; C 23*; G 8
a-ga-de ₃ ki	GN Agade: → ma-da a-ga-de ₃ ki
a-gar ₃	"arable tracts, fields": A 23
a-gar ₃ gal	"large arable tract(s)": D (Ur) 37'
a-gar ₃ gal-gal maḥ	"all the large and grand arable tracts": A 226
a-gin ₇	"thus": A 58* (broken)
a GUB	uncertain meaning: A 203
a ġar	"to irrigate": D (Ur) 4'; → i ₇ (-)-ĜEŠ.BI.ĜEŠ(-)a(-)ġar-ra
a-la	"vitality, happiness": A 51; → var. alan
a-la ge ₄	"to bring pleasure": A 151*; → var. la-la-bi ge ₄
a-ma-ru A	"storm, flood": A 237; C 57*
a-ma-ru B	non-standard "quiver": A 88* (Susa); → e ₂ -mar-uru ₅
a-na	"what?": A 162
a-na-aš	"why?": A 213 (C, F)
a-ne-di	→ ki a/e-ne-di/de ₃ ġal ₂ -la; → e-ne-di ḥul ₂ -la; → non-standard e-ne-de ₃
a-ne ḥul ₂ -la du ₁₁ .g	"to follow joyfully, to relax": C 81*
a-nir	"lament": A 193; 220; 242; → i-lu a-nir niġ ₂ gig-ga; → u ₂ a-nir
a-nir ġar	"to set up laments": A 10
d ^a -nun-na(-k)	DN Anuna(-gods): A 53; 131 (broken); 135 (Susa); 158; F 17 (broken)
a-pi ₅ -ak ^{ki}	GN Apiak: Cadaster A ii 21
a-r(i)	non-standard "fame": B 62 64; → ar ₂
a-ra-li	GN Arali: A 62; → dumu [?] a-ra-li
a-ra ₂ kalam-ma	"the state of the land": A 46 (Susa); 46a (Susa); → var. me-dim ₂
a-ra ₂ -ab diġir-re-ne	non-standard "shackles of the gods": E 7*; → rab diġir-re-e-ne
a ru	"to make a votive gift": 47, 2:6 (broken); → nam-til ₃ -la-ni-še ₃ a ru; → nam-til ₃ ur-dnamma(...)-še ₃ a ru
a-RU.b/-ub	"pitfall": A 184
a-ša ₃ .g	"field": C 52; 55; CU 88; 27, 1:11
a-ša ₃ - ^d nu-muš-da kiri ₈ -tab ^{ki} (-k)	GN Field of Numušda of Kiritab: Cadaster A i 13
a-ša ₃ - ^d su'en	GN Field of Su'en: Cadaster A iv 8; 9
a ša ₃ ku ₃ -ge ri	"to ejaculate semen into the pure womb": C 43
a šu ba.r	"to release water": C 83

a-ta DU	"to drain": 27 , 2:1-2 (broken)
a-ta e ₃ /e ₁₁ .d	"to drain" (said of canebrakes): A 227 (broken)
a-wa-alki	GN Awal: IB 1537 rev. v' 16'
da-zi-mu ₂ -a	DN Azimua: → nin(-)da-zi-mu ₂ -a
a-ZAR	GN: Cadaster A iii 25; 26
a-zu	→ d ₁₁ n-a-zu
A	obscure: A 31 ; 32; 69; 117; 203; 204; C 40 ; → IGI.
A(.)KA IGI(.x).LA ₂	MIN/A?; → LA ₂ .A.BA
A.LUM	uncertain meaning: C 52
A.NE.RU(-)gal ₂	→ udu A.LUM
a ₂ A	→ gu ₂ A.NE.RU(-)gal ₂
a ₂ ša ₃ -gu ₁₀ du ₁₁ .g	non-standard "O!" (exclamation): → var. a B
a ₂ B	"to say 'O my heart!': A 16 (Susa); → var. a ša ₃ -gu ₁₀ du ₁₁ .g
a ₂ aḡ ₂	"side, arm, strength, might": Cadaster A ii 17
a ₂ niḡ ₂ -ḥul dim ₂ -ma aḡ ₂	"to give instructions, to commission (+ loc.): A 31 ; B 10
a ₂ -aḡ ₂ -ḡa ₂	"to give an order to commit a sacrilege": 29 ,b 2:5'-6' (broken); 47 , 2:7-8
a ₂ -dam	"instruction": C 81* ; CU 176 (broken)
a ₂ gabu ₃ ^{bu} gub	"settlement": A 229
a ₂ maḥ	"to stand at the left side": A 122 (Susa); → var. za ₃ -ga gub
a ₂ nam-ur-saḡ-ḡa ₂	1. "to grant enormous power": B 38
a ₂ nun ge ₄ -a	2. "mighty arm": A 178
a ₂ -še	"valorous arm": A 93*
a ₂ šu du ₇	"of indomitable strength" (ep. Urnamma): C 14
a ₂ šum ₂	"now, alas": A 166 (broken)
a ₂ -person-ta	"to be well equipped, to do all necessary work": G 16 17
a ₂ tuku	"to give strength": C 29
a ₂ tumu-ḡar ₇ -du ₂	"by the might of somebody": CU 82-83 ; 108-109; 131-132
a ₂ tumu-mir-ra	"mighty": → lu ₂ a ₂ tuku
a ₂ tumu-sa ₁₂ -ti-um-ma	"western side": Cadaster A i 12; <ii 19a>; iii 11; B ii 16; iv 28
a ₂ tumu-ulu ₃	"northern side": Cadaster A i 9 (broken); 31; iii 6
a ₂ zi.g	"eastern side": Cadaster A i 6; ii 3; iv 18-19
a ₂ zi-da gub	"southern side": Cadaster A i 3; ii 10; iii 30; B iii 20
-ab	→ niḡ ₂ -a ₂ -zi.g
ab	"to stand at the right side": A 122 (Susa); → var. za ₃ -ga gub
ab-ša ₃ .g	non-standard copula: D (Ur) 32' 33' 34' ; → -am ₃
	"sea": → a-ab(-ba)(-k)
	"depths of the sea": C 9*

- ab-sin₂ gub "to draw a furrow": **G** 18
 AB obscure: **A** 26 (Susa, broken)
 ab₂ "cow": **A** 29; 30; **D** (Ni) 29 || 30
 ab₂ dugud "heavy cow": **A** 29 (Susa)
 ab₂-gal → i₇-ab₂-gal
 abulla "(city-)gate": **E** 1' (broken) || **F** 7; → KA₂(.)GAL
 abzu-ta mu₂ "to grow from the Abzu": **C** 3
 ad ge(-ge) non-standard "to confer, to consult": **F** 17
 ad-da "father": **35**:8 (broken)
 addir "ferry (traffic)": **CU** 154 (broken)
 aga "crown": **D** (Ur) 16'
 AGA ġar "to set axes?": **A** 47* (Susa); → var. GIN₂ ġar
 aġ₂ → a₂ aġ₂; → a₂-aġ₂-ġa₂; → ki(-)aġ₂; → sud-ra₂-aġ₂
 AĠ₂ obscure: **A** 78a (Susa, broken)
 AK "to make, to do, to treat, *to rage*": **A** 156; 195; **B** 52 ||
 53; Ni. 4375 v 9' (obscure); → dag-si AK; → eg₂ AK;
 → ġi₁₆-sa-aš AK; → in kur₂ AK; → nam-ra-aš AK; →
 nam-urdu AK; → niġ₂-ku₅ AK; → (niġ₂-si-sa₂-e) pa-e₃
 AK; → saġ AK; → u₄ nam-ĥe₂-a AK; → non-standard ra
 (?); → non-standard ša-aš; → (var.) non-standard ša-ša
 GN Akšak: **CU** 126
 akšakki "figure, appearance": **A** 51* (Susa); → var. a-la
 alan "bison": **A** 121
 alim "wild bull": **A** 170
 am copula: → non-standard -ab; → muš₃?-am₃
 -am₃ "mother": **A** 15; **CU** 173
 ama "to exempt from obligations": **C** 56
 ama-ar ge₄-ge₄ "to release": **CU** 133-134
 ama-ar ge₄ ġar "great mother Ninlil": **B** 32
 ama gal ^dnin-lii₂ "mother of the king" (ep. Ninsumun): **A** 16
 ama lugal-la "mother of Ninazu" (ep. Ereškigal): **A** 100
 ama ^dnin-a-zu "mother Ninsumun": **C** 48
 ama ^dnin-sumun₂(-k) "calf": **A** 30
 amar "impetuous calf of An" (ep. Nanna): **25**:2; → var. amar
 amar banda₃^{da} an-na banda₃^{da} SES.KI
 amar banda₃^{da} SES.KI "impetuous calf . . .": **25**:2; → var. amar banda₃^{da}
 an-na
 amaš "sheepfold": **C** 26; → tur₃ amaš daġal
 amaš tab "to devastate the sheepfold": **A** 206*; 237
 AMBAR → URU.AMBAR
 an 1. DN An: **A** 8; 54; 207; **C** 20; **CU** 31; **47**, 1:5
 2. "heaven(s), sky": **A** 212 (C, F); **C** 114 (broken); →
 amar banda₃^{da} an-na; → e₂-duru₅ BI.BI-an-na; → e₂-
 TU.NI-ga-an-na; → en-nir-ġal₂-an-na; → enim ku₃?! an-
 na(-k); → (eš₃) e₂-an-na; → dġeštin-an-ka; → dġeštin-an-

an ku ₃ .g	na; → i-mi-tum/ġeš mitum piriġ an-na; → im an-na; → im an-ta šeġ ₃ ; → ki-tuš an den-lil ₂ -la ₂ ; → lugal an(/-ne ₂) ub-da limmu ₂ -ba(/bi); → nin an-na; → nin gal e ₂ -an-na; → saġ an-še ₃ il ₂ ; → USAR.x.GABA-an-na
an lugal	"brilliant heaven": F 50
an sa ₇ .g	"king An": A 209
an dub ₂	"azure heaven": E 9' F 14*; → an-ġin ₇ sa ₇ .g
an-ġin ₇ sa ₇ .g	"to make heaven tremble": A 205
an-ġin ₇ su ₃ -ud	"to be azure like the heavens": C 4*; → an sa ₇ .g
an-ki	"to be far as heaven": A 161
	"heaven and earth, universe": C 30; → diġir an-ki(-k); → dur-an-ki; → mar-uru ₅ an-ki
an-ki lugal [...]	"lord of heaven and earth [...]" (ep. Enlil/Nunamnir): B 3
an-ki šu ₂	"to cover heaven and earth": C 30
an-na e ₃	"to rise in the sky" (said of Utu): A 14
an-ša ₍₄₎ -anki	GN Anšan: CU 130
an-ša ₃ .g	"midst of the sky": C 8
an-še ₃	"heavenward": → saġ an-še ₃ il ₂
an-še ₃ gu ₂ us ₂	"to raise the neck heavenward": B 42 48
an-še ₃ mu ₂	"to grow heavenward": B 20
an-ta	"from heaven, above": C 114 (broken); → gu ₂ an-ta; → im an-ta šeġ ₃
an-ur ₂	"horizon": E 10' F 15
an-ur ₂ -ta e ₃	"to rise from the horizon" (said of Utu): F 38
an-za-gar ₃	"fortified village": A 229
an-za-gar ₃ -dumu-lugal-ka	GN: Cadaster B iv 5; 6
an-za-gar ₃ -ĥu-wu-um-ma	GN: Cadaster B iv 13; 14
an-za-gar ₃ -ĥur-saġ-ġa ₂	GN: Cadaster A i 20; 21
an-za-gar ₃ -dnu-muš-da-ka	GN: Cadaster A i 1; 11; 17; ii 19
an-za ₃ .g	"horizon": B 45 51
AN	obscure: C 94 95; F 46; CU 9; 14; 71; Ni. 4375 iv 15'; → LAGAR.AN.ṬIGI ⁷
AN.BIR	GN: Cadaster B iii 9; 10
AN.USAN	"evening, twilight": → ša ₃ usan _x ? (AN.USAN)
anše	"donkey, ass": A 70 71; 116; 173; → anšenisku(m) (PIRIĠ)
anše dab ₅	"to hold asses": CU 95 (broken); 121
anše edin-na	"wild ass": A 183
ANŠE.KI	". . . donkey": A 115
ANŠE.LIBIR	type of mule: IB 1537 rev. vi' 3'
ANŠE.NITA ⁷	type of mule: A 116 (Susa, broken)
ANŠE.PIRIĠ	"thoroughbred donkey": → anšenisku(m)(PIRIĠ)
anzumušen.d	"Anzû-bird": B 24

ġeš ₁ apin	"plough": G 11; 12
ġeš ₁ apin ġar	"to prepare the plough": G 10
ar ₂	"fame": B 62 ll 64; → non-standard a-r(i)
asil ₃ -la ₂ , asila ₃	"(cries of) joy, jubilation": B 16; F 3
AŠ(aš, dili)	"(to be) alone, unique, the same": B 25; → us ₂ AŠ-a dab ₅
^d AŠ-im ₂ -babbar ₍₂₎	DN AŠimbabbar: E 26' ll F 29; → en ^d AŠ-im ₂ -babbar ₍₂₎
aš ₂ du ₁₁ -ga	"cursed": → lu ₂ aš ₂ du ₁₁ -ga
dašnan	→ dezina ₂
(ġeš)az-la ₂	"(dog's) cage": A 185
ba A	"to split, to allot": → niġ ₂ -ba; → ka ku ₃ (+ poss. suff.) ba
ba B	non-standard "to dig" (?): D (Ur) 30*; → ba-al
ba.r	"to let go, to open": → a šu ba.r; → bar A
ba-al	"to dig" (said of a canal): D (Ni) 1 (broken); 2; 4; 5; 6; 22; 23; D (Ur) 2' (broken); 4' (broken); 6'; 8'; 22 :10; 23 :11; 24 :9; 28 , 1:13; 29 ,b 1:1" (broken); 4"; 8"; 12"; 16"; Al-Rawi, <i>Sumer</i> 46 (1989-90) 84:10; year name "15"; "16"; → i ₇ ba-al; → non-standard ba B
urudaba-an dim ₂	"to fashion a b a n-measure": CU 138
urudaba-an si-sa ₂ lugal-la dim ₂	"to fashion the standard royal b a n-measure": CU 140-141
ba-da-ra	"pin":
ba-da-ra ku ₃ me-a	"pin of pure silver": A 120* (Susa)
ba-da-ra la ₂	"to hang from a pin": A 120
ba-ra.g	non-standard "to spread": A 159 (Susa); → bara ₃ .g
ba-ri ₂	GN: Cadaster B iv 7; 8
urudaba-ri ₂ -ga gub	"to place a b a r i g a-vessel": CU 135
BA	→ LA ₂ .A.BA
babbar ₍₂₎	"white": → ^d AŠ-im ₂ -babbar ₍₂₎ ; → dungu babbar; → ku ₃ -babbar
bad	1. "to open, to spread wide": → du ₁₀ bad 2. "(to be) remote, distant": H 2 ll 10 (broken)
bad ₃	"(city-)wall, fortress": Ni. 4375 iv 14'
bad ₃ gal	"great wall": C 3
bad ₃ gal kur-ra(-k)	"big fortress of the k u r": C 81*
bad ₃ ge ₄	"to restore the wall": C 92*
bad ₃ ? ku ₃ .g	"splendid wall?": F 1
bad ₃ nibru ^{ki}	"wall of Nippur": 45 :8
bad ₃ uri _{2/5} ki-ma	"(city-)wall of Ur": A 148*; 9 , 2:3; year name "11"
bal-bal-e den-lil ₂ -la ₂ (-k)	"b a l b a l e of Enlil" (subscript): G 28

bala	"to turn (over), to cross over (a canal), to pass, to uproot": A 46a (Susa); 48; 57; 72; D (Ur) 30'* (obscure); Cadaster A i 27; ii 7; iii 22; iv 6; B i 10; → ki-bala; → nam bala; → šu lul bala
balaĝ-di	"dirge singer": → i-lu balaĝ-di
banda ₃ ^{da}	"impetuous": → amar banda ₃ ^{da} an-na; → amar banda ₃ ^{da} SES.KI
ĝešbansur sikil	"pure (offering) table": C 11 12
bar A	"to let go": → eš-bar; → igi zi bar; → ka-aš bar; → saĝ-ki zalag bar; → za ₃ (-)bar-ra; → ba.r
bar B	"exterior, outskirts, façade": E 2' F 8
bar su ₃ .g	"desolate exterior": → edin bar su ₃ -ga(-k)
bar-ta gub	"to stand aside": A 176
bar tam	"to clear up the matter": 28, 1:17
bara ₂ .g	→ para ₁₀ .g
bara ₃ .g	"to spread": → ĝeš-nu ₂ u ₂ za-gin ₃ bara ₃ .g; → non-standard ba-ra.g
BI	obscure: CU 8 (broken); → i ₇ (-)ĜEŠ.BI.ĜEŠ(-)a(-)ĝar-ra; → NAGAR.BI
BI.BI	→ e ₂ -duru ₅ BI.BI-an-na
dbil _{3/4} -ga-mes	PN Gilgameš: A 95; 143; 40:14; → ses dbil ₃ -ga-mes
dbil ₃ -ga-mes	EN.DIM ₂ .GIG _{ki} PN Gilgameš of ENDIMGIG: 40:1-2
BIR	→ AN.BIR
bu-ul	GN: Cadaster B iv 9; 10
BU(bu.r?) A	"to uproot, to tear (out)": A 38 (obscure); 212 (Susa, obscure); → var. ge ₄ (?)
BU B	→ su ₁₃ (BU)
BU kalam-ma(-k)	". . . of the land": A 27 (Susa); → var. umuš kalam-ma
buluĝ ₃	"to grow up": A 153
bur-šagan šu du ₇ -a	"š a g a n-bowl of perfect make": A 97*
i ₇ buranun	CN Euphrates: E 35' F 37; → gu ₂ i ₇ buranun
buru ₁₄ maḥ	"enormous harvest": C 80
-da	→ gu ₂ -da la ₂ ; → gu ₂ -da šu ₂ ; → ĝi ₆ -da gub; → itu-da; → lugal an(/-ne ₂) ub-da limmu ₂ -ba(/bi); → u ₄ -da gub; → u ₁₈ -lu-da dul; → ur ₅ -bi-da
da-a-ri	non-standard "lasting": → lugal mu da-a-ri; → da-ri ₍₂₎
da-na	"d a n a" (measuring unit): 27, 2:3 (broken)
da-ri	non-standard "lasting": → mu da-ri
da-ri ₂	"lasting": → mu da-ri ₂
DA	obscure: A 210 (Susa); → NIĜ ₂ .DA.TAG.GA
DA.RA.g	uncertain meaning: C 10
da ₆ .g	→ lu ₂ nam-da ₆ -ga
dab ₅	"to take hold of (+ loc.(-term.)), to catch, to snatch a-way, to seize": A 21*; 185; B 25; F 19 (broken, read perhaps → dib); F 40; 46; → anše dab ₅ ; → gud dab ₅ ; →

	maš ₂ -e dab ₅ ; → šu dab ₅ ; → udu dab ₅ ; → us ₂ AŠ-a dab ₅ ; → var. DI
dadag	"(to be) bright": C 52
dag	→ ġa ₂ -la nu-dag
dag-dag	uncertain meaning: 28, 2:12
dag-si AK	"to make for the saddle(-hook)": A 92*
DAG	uncertain meaning: C 41
daġal	"(to be(come)) vast, large, broad, wide, to spread out, to expand": C 26; F 39; → engar zi GANA ₂ daġal-la; → ġeštu ₂ daġal; → iri [?] daġal; → niġ ₂ -daġal; → sila daġal; → še daġal; → tur ₃ amaš daġal; → uġ ₃ daġal
daġal tag	"to stretch out wide": B 28
dalla	"resplendent": A 99
dalla e ₃	"to be/make resplendent": B 41 47; 43 49
dam A	"spouse, husband, wife": A 50; 151; 193; → var. nitadam
dam ki-aġ ₂ dīnana	"beloved husband of Inana" (ep. Dumuzi): A 104; → var. nitadam ki-aġ ₂ dīnana
dam (d)nam-tar-ra	"Namtar's wife" (ep. Hušbisag): A 112
dam B	→ a ₂ -dam
de	→ si si-DI(sa ₂ /de)
de ₂	"to pour out, to pour into (+ loc.), to libate": A 22; → gu ₃ zi de ₂ ; → gurun ₆ la ₃ de ₂ ; → i ₃ de ₂ ; → u ₂ -gu de ₂ ; → ug-gu de ₂ ; → var., non-standard de ₆
de ₆	→ DU A; → var., non-standard de ₂
di.d A	→ du ₁₁ .g (<i>h.</i>), e (<i>m.</i>), di.d; → balaġ-di; → ġeš-gu ₃ -di; → u ₆ di-še ₃ gub
di.d B	"judgment, case, verdict": A 196
di niġ ₂ ge-na dūtu	"just verdict of Utu": 28, 1:15-16; 47, 2:1-2
di ku ₅ .r	"to pronounce judgment, to render a verdict": C 28; 34
di gal ku ₅ .r	"to render important verdicts": B 31
di kur-ra ku ₅ .d/r	"to pass the judgment of the netherworld": A 144
di si-sa ₂ ku ₅ (-ku ₅ .r)	"to render just judgment(s)": A 239; E 12* F 16
di zu	"to know judgment": B 13
DI	obscure: A 185 (Susa); 186* (broken); → di ku ₅ .r; → si si-DI(sa ₂ /de); → var. dab ₅
di ₄ -di ₄ .l	"young(sters)": → nin ₉ di ₄ -di ₄ .l
dib	"to pass, to tread, to have access to (+ loc.)": E 27'; F 19 (broken, read perhaps → dab ₅); → var. dib ₂
dib ₂	"to pass, to tread": F 32; → ġiri ₃ dib ₂ ; → var. dib
diġir	"(personal) god(dess)": A 157; 160; 15 obv. 2; → a-ra ₂ -ab diġir-re-ne; → gaba diġir-re-e-ne; → lugal diġir-re(-e)-ne; → ki nam tar-ra/(re) (diġir-re(-e)-ne); → ki u ₄ e ₃ diġir-re-e-ne; → NIN-diġir; → rab diġir-re-e-ne
diġir an-ki(-k)	"gods of heaven and earth" (ep. Anuna): F 17*

diġir gal-gal	"all the great gods": E 16' F 22 (broken)
diġir-ŠE ₃ du ₂ .d	"to be born as/to be a god": A 238* (A); C 70
DIĠIR- <i>ba-ni</i>	→ i ₇ -DIĠIR- <i>ba-ni</i>
dili	"(to be) alone, unique": → AŠ(aš, dili)
dilmunki	GN Dilmun: A 65*
dim	→ ^d nu-dim ₍₂₎ -mud
DIM	obscure: E 15'
dim ₂ (-dim ₂)	"to create, to form (meticulously), to fashion": A 157 (Susa, obscure); C 24*; → a ₂ niġ ₂ -hul dim ₂ -ma aġ ₂ ; → uruda ₂ -an (si-sa ₂ lugal-la) dim ₂ ; → me-dim ₂ ; → ^d nu-dim ₍₂₎ -mud; → sila ₃ zabar dim ₂
DIM ₂	→ ^d bil ₃ -ga-meš ₃ EN.DIM ₂ .GIG _{ki}
^d dim ₃ -pi(-me)-ku ₃ .g	DN Dimpi(me)kug: A 122*
ġešdimgul	"mooring pole": A 182
diri.g	1. "to set adrift" (said of a boat), "to glide" (said of birds): A 182; D (Ni) 25 26*; → non-standard te-li
diri ġal ₂	2. "to exceed something (+ loc.)": → kur-kur-ra diri.g
DIŠ	"to increase": → udu diri ġal ₂
DIŠ gud ġeššudul ₄ -a	"one, single": → gi(-)DIŠ-ninda
DIŠ DIŠ	"single bull under a yoke": C 10*
du A	"on the one hand - on the other hand": A 220
du B	"to go, to come (from)": → ġen
du C	non-standard "to sweep away": B 59 61; → su-ub
du D	non-standard "(to be) perfect, worthy, to perfect": → du ₇ A; → ka-ke du; → maš ₂ du-du
du E	non-standard in → sa ₂ du "to arrive, to reach": → sa ₂ du ₁₁ .g
du-di-da	non-standard in → igi du "to see": → igi du ₈ .r
DU A (de ₆ /tum ₂) (<i>h</i> . sg.), tum _{3/4} (<i>m</i> . sg.), laḫ _{4/5} (pl.)	"toggle pin": A 121* (Susa); → var. tu-di-da; → var. tu-di-tum
	"to bring, to carry, to lead, to come upon, to line up (+ term.), to deliver, to hover, to settle in, to lay out (said of a garden, a pit), to stand, to come forth (said of abundance)": A 6; 30 (obscure), 54 (Susa); 63, 69; 87 (+ Susa); 128a (Susa, broken); 161 (Susa, obscure); 183; 199* (broken, read perhaps → ku ₄ .r; → gur A); 238 (A, obscure); B 63 65; C 21; 66; 92 (obscure); D (Ur) 18'; D (Ni) 33 (broken) 34; D (Ur) 35'; Cadaster A i 29; IB 1537 rev. vi' 9'; → a-ta DU; → ġeš-la ₂ -bi DU; → ki tum ₂ ; → ġeškiri ₆ DU; → me ₃ -še ₃ DU; → nindan _x (NINDA.DU); → nir-ġal ₂ -bi DU; → ša ₃ (-ge/ga) DU; → ul DU; → non-standard ša-aš; → var. TUŠ
DU(ra ₂ ?) B	"to carry": → a DU(ra ₂ ?)

- du₂.d, u₃-du₂.d "to be born, to bear, to give birth, to create, to produce, to procreate": C 20; 47*; E 19'; F 48; 49*; → digir-ŠE₃ du₂.d; → dumu du₂-da (dnin-sumun₂-ka); → zi u₃-du₂.d
- du₃ "to build, to (im)plant, to fix": A 8; 9; 149; C 108; D (Ni) 27 || 28; 1:4; 2:4; 3:5; 4:6; 5:8; 6:7; 7, 2:4; 8:7; 9, 2:2; 9, 2:4; 10:12; 11:8; 12:8; 13 rev. 2; 14 rev. 1; 15 rev. 2; 16:10; 17:10; 18:8; 19:8; 21:8; 23:8; 25:10; 26, 1:10; 28, 1:9; 38:6 (broken); 40:9; 45:9; 46:8; 47, 1:13; year name "6"; "11"; → en-nu(-uĝ₃) du₃; → ezem-gin₇ du₃; → ki ku₃-ga du₃; → peš du₃
- du₃-a "all": → gu₂ i₇ du₃-a
- DU₃ obscure: A 66
- du₆-gu-zu-ma-ka GN: Cadaster B iv 17; 18
- du₆-lugal-iri-ka GN: Cadaster B iii 28; 29
- du₇ A "(to be) perfect, worthy, to perfect": → gud du₇; → ħe₂-du₇; → ka-ge du₇; → maš₂ du₇; → non-standard du C
- du₇ B → šu du₇
- du₈ A → šu urin-na du₈
- du₈ B → tuḥ
- du₈.r → igi du₈.r; → non-standard du E
- DU₈ → ME(.)ME(.)DU₈
- du₁₀.b "knee":
- du₁₀-ba/be₂ peš "to raise on the knees": A 152; C 25*
- du₁₀-ba ŠA₃(peš_x?) non-standard "*to raise*" on the knees": A 152 (Susa)
- du₁₀ bad "*to go swiftly*, to spread the talons": A 170 (broken); B 24
- du₁₀ ġal₂ "to relax, to prosper": B 33*
- du₁₀.g, dug₃ "(to be(come)/make) sweet, good, pleasant, well, to please": C 82; 96 (broken, obscure); 115; D (Ni) 37; (Ni) 41 || (Ur) 41'; F 47; G 10; 11; 13 || 14; 15; 22 || 23 (broken); Ni. 4375 vi 6'; → iri me du₁₀-du₁₀-ga; → ki-nu₂ du₁₀.g; → mu du₁₀ še₂₁; → nam du₁₀.g; → nam du₁₀ tar; → NI₃(inda₃/niġ₂) maḥ du₁₀.g; → sizkur₂ niġ₂ du₁₀.g; → še du₁₀.g; → u₃ du₁₀ ku-ku; → u₄ du₁₀-du₁₀.g; → uš₍₈₎ dug₃
- du₁₁.g (*ḥ*), e (*m*), di.d "to say, to utter": A 19 (A); 60; 194; 209 (Susa); → a₍₂₎ ša₃-ġu₁₀ du₁₁.g; → a-ne ħul₂-la du₁₁.g; → balaġ-di; → enim du₁₁.g; → gu₂-guru₅ du₁₁.g; → gu₂ nun du₁₁.g; → gur₅-ru-uš du₁₁.g; → ġeš-gu₃-di; → ġiri₃-saga₁₁ du₁₁.g; → i-lu niġ₂(-)me-ġar du₁₁.g; → maš-gi-i du₁₁.g; → maškim du₁₁.g; → mi-ri-e-zi-ka du₁₁.g; → mi₂ zi du₁₁.g; → sa₂ du₁₁.g; → sa₂-du₁₁-še₃ ġar; → si du₁₁.g; → še-er-ka-an du₁₁.g; → u₆ du₁₁.g; → a-ne-di; → e-ne-de₃; → e-ne-di

du ₁₁ -ga	"spoken, appointed, utterance, command": → enim du ₁₁ .g; → lu ₂ aš ₂ du ₁₁ -ga; → niĝ ₂ du ₁₁ -ga; → šu-du ₁₁ -ga; → u ₄ du ₁₁ -ga
du ₁₁ -ga eš-bar zi.d	"proper utterance and decision": B 40 46
du ₁₂	"to chant": A 194
dub A	"to pile up": → saĝ saĝar-re-eš dub; → non-standard (-e)d-b(u); → non-standard tu.b B
dub B	"tablet": → gi dub-ba
DUB	"(treasure) chest": A 110*; → var. dub-šen
dub-ba-an	"fence": C 110*
dub-la ₂	"d u b l a": C 7*
dub-la ₂ -maḥ	"d u b l a m a ḥ": E 16' F 21 (broken)
dub-sar	"scribe": → niĝ ₂ -nam dub-sar-ra(-k)
dub-sar maḥ	"chief scribe" (ep. Ninazimua/Ĝeštinana): A 127* (broken)
dub-šen	"treasure chest": A 110* (Susa); → var. DUB
dub ₂ (-dub ₂)	"to (make) tremble, to hurl": C 32; → an dub ₂ ; → igi dub ₂ -dub ₂ ; → in-ŠE ₃ dub ₂
(ĝeš)dubsig _x	"(work) basket": C 89; D (Ni) 33 34; F 45
dug gaz	"broken jar": A 58
dug ₃	→ du ₁₀ .g
dugud	"heavy": → ab ₂ dugud; → šu dugud
tu ₂ dugud	"heavy garment": A 98
dul	"to cover something (+ loc.) with something (+ abs./com.)": → me-lim _x kalam-ma dul; → u ₁₈ -lu-da dul
dul ₃	"protective": → šu dul ₃ ra
dumu	"child, son, citizen, denizen": A 15; 152; 193; 240
dumu? a-ra-li	"denizen? of Arali" (ep. Ninazimua/Ĝeštinana): A 127 (broken)
dumu du ₂ -da ^d nin-sumun ₂ -ka	"natural son of Ninsumun" (ep. Urnamma): C 113 (broken); CU 37-38
dumu gal ^d su'en-na	"eldest child of Su'en" (ep. Inana): A 204
dumu ki-aĝ ₂	"beloved child": 35:11
dumu ^d nin-sumun ₂ (-ka)	"son of Ninsumun" (ep. Urnamma): A 63; E 6' F 12; F 40* (broken)
dumu saĝ den-lil ₂ -la ₂	"first-born (child) of Enlil" (ep. Nanna): 10:2-3; 25:3-4; 26, 1:2-3; 27, 1:2-3; 28, 1:2
dumu ur- ^d namma lugal	"son of king Urnamma": year name "8"
dumu KIĜ ₂ ?	"working? citizen": C 89* (broken)
dumu lugal	"prince": → an-za-gar ₃ -dumu-lugal-ka
dumu-uku ₂ -ra	"poor": C 56
^d dumu-zi.d	DN Dumuzi: A 104
dungu babbar	"white clouds": C 8
dur-an-ki	GN Duranki: B 20
dur ₂ (m. sg.)	→ tuš, dur ₂ , durun

dur ₂ -ru-n (durun)	→ tuš, dur ₂ , durun
dur ₁₁	"to suffer, to fall ill": A 35*; 36; 37; → TU
duru ₅	"sappy": → e ₂ -duru ₅ BI.BI-an-na; → e ₂ -duru ₅ e[nsi ₂ ...]; → e ₂ -duru ₅ i-bi ₂ -lum-ma; → ġešeren duru ₅
durun (m., h. pl.)	→ tuš, dur ₂ , durun
dusu ₂	→ ANŠE.LIBIR
e A	→ du ₁₁ .g (h.), e (m.), di.d
e B	non-standard "dynasty, house": B 62 64; → e ₂
e C	non-standard e ₃ in → pa e ₃ AK: B 67
e.g	→ eg ₂
(-e)d-b(u)	non-standard "to pile up": B 52 (broken) 53; → dub; → non-standard tu.b B
e ki-ib-la	non-standard "dynasties of rebellious lands": B 62 64; → e ₂ ki-bala
e-ne	personal pronoun 3rd sg. animate "he, him": A 144; B 54; → non-standard i-ni-ir (dat.); → var. e-ne-ne
e-ne-de ₃	non-standard → a-ne-di; → ki a/e-ne-di/de ₃ ġal ₂ -la
e-ne-di	→ ki a/e-ne-di/de ₃ ġal ₂ -la
e-ne-di ħul ₂ -la	"merry playing": C 102; → ki a/e-ne-di/de ₃ ġal ₂ -la
e-ne-eš ₂	non-standard "now": A 164 (broken); → i/i ₃ -ne-eš ₂
e-ne-ne	personal pronoun 3rd pl. "they": A 144* (Susa); → var. e-ne
E	obscure: A 66
kušE.IB ₂ (.UR ₃)	"shield": A 93*
e ₂	"house(hold), home, temple, dynasty": A 150; B 19; 27; C 89; 102 (broken, obscure); E 15'; E 37' (obscure); F 10; 13; 6:6; 7, 2:3; 8:6; 9, 2:1; 11:7; 12:7; 13 rev. 1; 18:7; 23:7; 38:5; 46:7; → non-standard e B
e ₂ den-ki	"temple of Enki": 4:3-4
e ₂ den-lil ₂ -la ₂	"temple of Enlil": C 103; 3:4; 28, 1:8
e ₂ ki-aġ ₂	"beloved temple": 10:11; 14 obv. 8 (broken); 15 rev. 1; 16:9; 17:9
e ₂ ki-bala	"dynasties of rebellious lands": B 62 64; → non-standard e ki-ib-la
e ₂ nam-nar-ra(-k)	"conservatory of music": A 188
e ₂ dnanna	"temple of Nanna": 1:3; 26, 1:9; 40:8; 47, 1:12 (broken)
e ₂ dnin-gubla ₂	→ uš e ₂ dnin-gubla ₂
e ₂ dnin-sumun ₂	"temple of Ninsumun": 2:3; year name "6"
e ₂ dsu'en-na	"temple of Su'en": E 33' F 36*; 45
e ₂ -an-na	TN Eana: A 202; → eš e ₂ -an-na; → nin (gal) e ₂ -an-na
e ₂ -duru ₅ BI.BI-an-na	GN: Cadaster B iv 11; 12
e ₂ -duru ₅ e[nsi ₂ ...]	GN: Cadaster B i 12 (broken); 14 (broken)
e ₂ -duru ₅ i-bi ₂ -lum-ma	GN: Cadaster A i 24; 25

e ₂ -gal	"palace" : A 2; 42; 48; 91 96 101 105 109 113 119 122a (Susa) 128 131a (Susa); 224; C 108*; → ^d nin-e ₂ -gal
e ₂ -gal mah	"magnificent palace, greatest palace": B 31; C 6
e ₂ -gal-gibil	"New Palace": A 149*
e ₂ -gar ₈	"wall": → za ₃ e ₂ -gar ₈ -e us ₂
e ₂ ?-keš(i) ₃ ki	TN Ekeš(i): 14 obv. 7 (broken)
e ₂ -kiš-nu-ġal ₂	TN Ekišnuġal: C 6; 12; 42; 109; D (Ur) 35'; E 3' (broken) F 9; E 14'; Ni. 4375 v 5' (broken)
e ₂ -kur	TN Ekur: B 8; 10; 35; 16:8; → šeg ₁₂ e ₂ -kur-ra(-k)
e ₂ -kur mah	"magnificent Ekur": B 20; 41 47
e ₂ -kur-re	GN: Cadaster B iii 3; 4
e ₂ -kur-za-gin ₃	TN Shining Ekur: A 199
e ₂ -mah	TN Emaḥ: 15 obv. 7
e ₂ -mar-uru ₅	"quiver": A 88; → non-standard a-ma-ru B
e ₂ -mud-kur-ra(-k)	TN Emudkura: D (Ni) 14* D (Ur) 14'
e ₂ - ^d nin-SAR-ka	GN: Cadaster B iii 5; 6
e ₂ -sag ₃ -ga	TN Esaga: E 22*
e ₂ -sumur-ra	TN "Furious House": A 40*
e ₂ -šu-tum ki-aġ ₂	"beloved storeroom (?)": 21:7
e ₂ -temen-ni ₂ -guru ₃ (ru)	TN Etemenniguru: 10:10; 25:9
e ₂ -temen-ni ₂ -guru ₃ ^{ru} tum ₂	"to be worthy of the Etemenniguru" (ep. Ur- namma): E 18'
e ₂ -TU.NI-ga-an-na	GN: Cadaster B iv 3; 4
e ₂ -zu ₂ -ra-aḥ	TN ". . . House": A 41*
E ₂ ×KASKAL?	uncertain meaning: CU 155-156
e ₃ , Ø/.d	"to come out/forth, to bring out, to emerge from (+ abl., + loc., + term.), to make leave, to loose, to es- cape, to rise" (said of the sun): A 6 7; 18; 23 (Susa); 51; 180; 201 (broken, read perhaps → e ₁₁ .d); 202; C 30; 49; F 6; 7; → a-ta e ₃ /e ₁₁ .d; → an-na e ₃ ; → an-ur ₂ -ta e ₃ ; → dalla e ₃ ; → ki sur-ra ^d mes-lam-ta-e ₃ -a; → pa e ₃ ; → u ₄ e ₃ (- a); → ^d utu e ₃ ; → ^d utu-gin ₇ kalam-ma e ₃ ; → var. e ₁₁ .d; → var. mu ₂ , mu ₂ -mu ₂ ; → non-standard (t)i
e ₄	→ a
e ₁₁ .d	"to ascend, to descend, to come forth, to bring out": A 201 (broken, read perhaps → e ₃ , Ø/.d); 236; C 114; → a- ta e ₃ /e ₁₁ .d; → var. e ₃ , Ø/.d
edin, edim _x (EDIN)	"steppe": A 5 (broken, read perhaps → ki); 28; 214; C 54*; H 8; → anše edin-na; → i ₇ -edin-maḥ; → KI.KAL- edin
edin bar su ₃ -ga(-k)	"steppe of the desolate exterior, i.e. open, desolate step- pe": A 192

eg ₂	"embankment": 27 , 2:7
eg ₂ AK	"to make embankments": 27 , 2:3-4 (broken)
eg ₂ (-)gibil	"new embankment", GN: Cadaster B iii 11; 12
eg ₂ pa ₅ .r	"embankments and ditches": A 25; G 19 20; 21; → lugal eg ₂ pa ₅ -ra
egir	"rear side": → niĝ ₂ -egir
elam	GN Elam, Elamites: IB 1537 rev. v' 8'; → ma-da kur-elamki-ma
emedu ₂ ki-aĝ ₂	"beloved house-born slave": CU 39-40
en	"lord, e n-priest" (ep. Urnamma): B 2 (ep. Enlil); C 69; Ni. 4375 iv 7'; → gu ₂ -en; → ki-en-gi.r (?); → nam-en; → EN
en dAŠ-im ₂ -babbar ₍₂₎	"lord AŠimbabbar": A 179* 235 (broken); D (Ni) 7 8; 18
en ĝeštu ₂ daĝal-la	"lord of broad understanding" (ep. Urnamma): B 13 (broken)
en d _{in} ana	"e n-priest of Inana": year name "8"
en d _{na} anna	"e n-priestess of Nanna" (ep. Ennirĝalana): 35 :10 (broken)
en d _{nin} -ĝeš-zi-da	"lord Ningēšzida": A 217 (broken); 240
en d _{nu} -nam-nir	"lord Nunamnir" : A 232; B 54 56
en sa ₇ .g	"comely lord" (ep. Urnamma): E 5' F 11; E 20'
en su _{ku} d	"eminent lord" (ep. Urnamma): F 6*
en unu _{ki} -ga	"e n of Uruk" (ep. Urnamma): 10 :7; 34 :5
en uru ₁₆ .n	"unswerving lord" (ep. Urnamma): B 44* 50
den-[...]	C 14 (broken, obscure)
den-ki(-k)	DN Enki: A 11; 180 236; B 19; C 23; D (Ni) 21; 12 :1; 46 :1
den-ki-im-du	DN Enkimdu: A 25; C 75
den-lil ₂	DN Enlil: A 9; 197; 208; B 1; 14; 33; 69; C 22; 46; 58; 72; 106; D (Ni) 7 8*; 19*; E 15' (broken); G 7; CU 32; 16 :1; 22 :1; 23 :1; 45 :1; 47 , 1:6; IB 1537 rev. v' 7'; rev. vi' 6'; → bal-bal-e den-lil ₂ -la ₂ (-k); → dumu saĝ den-lil ₂ -la ₂ ; → e ₂ den-lil ₂ -la ₂ ; → enim den-lil ₂ -la ₂ du ₁₁ -ga; → GANA ₂ den-lil ₂ -la ₂ ; → ĝuruš? gu ₂ tuku den-lil ₂ -la ₂ ; → i ₇ -me-den-lil ₂ -la ₂ ; → kar-ĝeštin-na den-lil ₂ -la ₂ ; → ki-aĝ ₂ den-lil ₂ -la ₂ ; → ki-tuš an den-lil ₂ -la ₂ ; → kur-gal (UD) den-lil ₂ ; → kur-gal a-a den-lil ₂ ; → saĝ-ki ħuš den-lil ₂ -la ₂ ; → ša ₃ den-lil ₂ -la ₂ ; → še-ga den-lil ₂ -la ₂ ; → tigi ₂ den-lil ₂ -la ₂ (-k)
den-lil ₂ kur-ra	"Enlil of the Netherworld" (ep. Nergal): A 90
en-na (+ verb-a)	"so far as, as many as": A 87*; 139; 140; → non-standard in-na
en-nir-ĝal ₂ -an-na	PN Ennirĝalana: 35 :9
en-nu(-uĝ ₃) du ₃	"to set up a guard, to guard": A 184*

EN(ur ₁₆ .n)	"valiant, obstinate": C 14*; E 31'; → i ₇ -EN (.EREN ₂).NUN; → i ₇ -EN.URU ₃ .GAL; → me-e(-)EN; → nam-EN-na tag; → en; → uru ₁₆ .n
EN.DIM ₂ .GIG _{ki}	GN: → d _{bil} ₃ -ga-mes EN.DIM ₂ .GIG _{ki}
EN×GANA ₂ -t.	"staff": → šibir
d _{EN} .ZU	DN Su'en: → d _{su} 'en
engar	"farmer": A 24
engar zi GANA ₂ daġal-la	"faithful farmer of the broad fields" (ep. Ur-namma): G 19* 20
enim	"word, speech, matter, pronouncement": → KA(enim) ge ₄
enim gal-gal	"very important matter": A 197
enim ge-na d _{utu}	"firm pronouncement of Utu": CU 110-111 (broken)
enim ku ₃ .g	"precious pronouncement: A 8*
enim ku ₃ ?! an-na(-k)	"An's precious? pronouncement": A 13*
enim du ₁₁ .g	"to utter words":
enim du ₁₁ -ga dereš-ki-gal-la-ka	"command of Ereškigal": A 138
enim den-lil ₂ -la ₂ du ₁₁ -ga	"Enlil's command": A 55
enim maḥ du ₁₁ .g	"to utter the sublime word": A 209
enim ge/i.n	→ KA ge/i.n
enim ḡal ₂	"to let orders be, to put orders into something (+ loc.)": C 27; → KA(enim?) ḡal ₂ ku ₃ zi.d
enim kur ₂	"to change the word": A 208 209; 47, 2:9-10 (broken)
enim šu ge ₄	"to answer, to respond": A 181
enim zu	"eloquent": E 31'
enkum	"e n k u m": B 18
ensi ₂	"e n s i ₂ " (independent ruler): 28, 2:5; → e ₂ -duru ₅ e[nsi ₂ ,...]; → ur-ab-ba ensi ₂
ensi ₂ gal irigal ₍₂₎ -la(-k)	"the great e n s i ₂ of the underworld" (ep. Anuna): A 134 (broken)
ensi ₂ gal kur-ra	"the great e n s i ₂ of the netherworld" (ep. Anuna): A 131
ensi ₂ lagaš _{ki} (-k)	"e n s i ₂ of Lagaš": CU 76-77
der ₃ -ra	DN Erra: → i ₇ -š _i -ma-at-der ₃ -ra
ḡeš _{eren}	"cedar tree": → kur šem ḡeš _{eren} -na
ḡeš _{eren} duru ₅	"sappy cedar tree": A 48*
ḡeš _{eren} ? kalam-ma	"cedar tree? of the land": A 46a* (Susa)
EREN	→ PUZUR ₄ .d _{MUŠ} ₃ .EREN(-k)
eren ₂	"troops, soldiers": A 64; 139; → lu ₂ eren ₂ -e ki-aḡ ₂ ; → var. lu ₂ ḡeš _{eren} tukul-la
eren ₂ silim-ma	"vigorous troops": C 72
EREN ₂	→ i ₇ -EN.EREN ₂ .NUN; → sig?("EREN ₂ ")
dereš-ki-gal	DN Ereškigal: A 100; → enim du ₁₁ -ga dereš-ki-gal-la-ka; → niḡ ₂ ki-aḡ ₂ dereš-ki-gal-la

eri ₁₁	→ ^d ne ₃ -eri ₁₁ -gal
eriduki	GN Eridu: 4:5; → i ₇ -gu ₂ -bi eriduki-ga; → ġeš ₁ ig gal eriduki-ga; → lugal eriduki-ga
erim ₂ -ġal ₂	"enemy, hostile": → kur erim ₂ -ġal ₂ ; → lu ₂ erim ₂ -ġal ₂ ; → non-standard i-ri-ġa ₂ -al; → non-standard i-ri-im-ma-(ġa ₂ -l(a))
ġeš ₁ esi	"ebony": H 3
eš-bar	"decision": → du ₁₁ -ga eš-bar zi.d
eš ₂ -gana ₂ za-gin ₃	"surveying tape made of lapis lazuli": A 125*
eš ₂ -nun-na ^{ki}	GN Ešnuna: → ma-da eš ₂ -nun-na ^{ki}
eš ₃	"sanctuary, shrine":
eš ₃ e ₂ -an-na	"sanctuary Eana": A 212
eš ₃ maḥ	"magnificent shrine" (ep. Ekur): B 8
eš ₃ uri _{2/5} ^{ki}	"sanctuary Ur": C 2; 5; 92; E 2' (broken) F 8
eš ₃ -bur	TN Ešbur: 17:8
ešgiri(U.EN×GANA ₂ -t.)	"nose-leash": A 103a (Susa); D (Ni) 17 (Ur) 18' (broken)
eštub	"carp": → a-eštub
ezem-gin ₇ du ₃	"to prepare something as for a festival": C 54*
dezina ₂	"wheat": C 23; G 8
ga-eš ₈	→ nam-ga-eš ₈
ga-ri nu-tuku	"to have no equal": C 24*; → gaba-ri nu-tuku
ġešga-rig ₂	"comb":
ġešga-rig ₂ nam-munus-a	"comb of womanly fashion": A 111
ġešga-rig ₂ imin [?] nam-munus-a	"seven [?] combs of womanly fashion": A 111 (Susa)
gaba	1. "coast":
gaba a-ab-ka(-k)	"coast of the sea waters": 26 , 2:2
	2. "chest": C 55
gaba diġir-re-e-ne	"chest of the gods": A 107
gaba-ri nu-tuku	"to have no equal": C 77; → ga-ri nu-tuku
gaba-šu-ġar nu-tuku	"to have no counterpart": F 7
GABA	→ USAR.x.GABA-an-na
gabub ₃ ^{bu}	"left": → a ₂ gabub ₃ ^{bu} gub
gada la ₂	"to put on a linen garment": C 73
ġešgag	"peg": A 125 (Susa)
ġešgag-pana	"arrow": A 88; → var. ġešgag(-)ti
ġešgag(-)ti	"arrow": A 88 (Susa); → var. ġešgag-pana
gal	"big, large, important, great": F 43 (obscure); → a-gar ₃ gal; → ama gal ^d nin-lil ₂ ; → bad ₃ gal; → di gal ku ₅ ,r; → diġir gal-gal; → dumu gal ^d su'en-na; → e ₂ -gal(-gibil); → enim gal-gal; → ensi ₂ gal irigal ₍₂₎ -la(-k); → ensi ₂ gal kur-ra; → gu ₂ -gal; → ġeš-nu ₁₁ -gal; → ġiri ₂ -zu ₂ gal; → ġišbun gal-gal; → ħur-saġ gal-gal; → i ₃ -du ₈ gal; → i ₇ -ab ₂ -gal; → (i ₇ -) ^d nanna-gu ₂ -gal; → ġeš ₁ ig gal eriduki-ga; → irigal, irigal ₂ gal; → KA ₂ (.)GAL; → ki-gal; → ki-gal-2-

	kam-ma; → kur-gal; → ma ₂ -lah ₃ gal; → maš ₂ -gal kur-ra; → me gal; → nam gal tar; → nam-nun gal; → d _{ne} ₃ -eri ₁₁ -gal; → ni ₂ gal ri; → d _{nin} -gal; → nin gal e ₂ -an-na; → ġeš ₃ pana gal; → para ₁₀ gal kur-ra(-k); → UL ₄ -gal ki-en-gi-ra; → unu ₂ gal
gal-bi	"in grandiose fashion": A 59
GAL	→ i ₇ -EN.URU ₃ .GAL; → KA ₂ (.)GAL
galam	"(to) skilfully built(/d), (to) artfully fashion(ed), cunning": → ġiri ₂ -zu ₂ galam; → ħur-saġ(-)galam(-ma); → nam(-ġeš)-šub galam
GAM	"to bend down": A 38 (Susa, obscure); 201; 238
gana ₂	→ eš ₂ -gana ₂ za-gin ₃ ; → maš-gan ₂
GANa ₂	1. "g a n a" (field measuring unit): 27, 1:12 2. "field, ground": C 53; G 11
GANa ₂ daġal	"broad field": → engar zi GANa ₂ daġal-la
GANa ₂ den-lil ₂ -la ₂	"the field of Enlil": G 16 17
GANa ₂ zi.d	"cultivated field": A 24
GANa ₂ (-)ġar	"to prepare a field, prepared field": G 10*; 13 14; 15
GARA ₂	uncertain meaning: 47, 3:1 (obscure)
gaz	"to break, to smash, to slaughter, to kill": → dug gaz; → gud gaz - udu šar ₂
ge	non-standard "to send, to return": A 170 (obscure, read perhaps → ge ₄); → ad ge(-ge); → kiġ ₂ -ge ₄ -a ge ₄ ; → ge ₄
ge.n	"(to be/make/hold) firm, to support, to confirm, to standardize": A 215; 222 (broken, obscure); → di niġ ₂ ge-na d _{utu} ; → enim ge-na d _{utu} ; → gi ₁₆ -sa ge.n; → KA ge/i.n; → ma-na ge.n; → na ₄ ge.n; → niġ ₂ ge-na; → saġ-ġa ₂ ge.n; → sila ₃ ge.n; → suħuš ge.n; → ur ₂ ge.n
ge-rin(ġeġerin _x)	"flowered, blossoming, blooming": → ġeš-nu ₂ ge-rin; → kur ge-rin
ge ₄ , ge ₄ -ge ₄	"to send, to (make) return to somewhere (+ loc. (-term.)), to recede": A 170 (obscure, read perhaps → ge); 212 (A, broken, obscure); 226; C 57; 87*; 88; 89; 91; CU 84; 116; Ni. 4375 iv 6' (broken); 29, b 2:4' (obscure); → a-la ge ₄ ; → a ₂ nun ge ₄ -a; → ama-ar ge ₄ -ge ₄ ; → ama-ar ge ₄ ġar; → bad ₃ ge ₄ ; → enim šu ge ₄ ; → gu ₂ -bi ge ₄ ; → KA(enim) ge ₄ ; → ki-bi ge ₄ ; → kiġ ₂ -ge ₄ -a ge ₄ ; → la-la-bi ge ₄ ; → šu-a ge ₄ (-ge ₄); → non-standard ge; → var. BU
gi	(bu.r?) A (?)
gi ħulu	"reed": A 238; → ġeš-gi
gi.r	"bad reeds": C 53
gi dub-ba	→ ki-en-gi.r; → d _{sul} -gi.r
gi-gun ₄ -na	"stylus": A 124
	"g i g u n a": B 29; C 8; 110; E 15' F 20 (broken)

- gi-ir-za-[...]
 gi-KA
 ġeš gi-muš
 gi-nindan
 gi(-)DIŠ-nindan
 gi[?]-sa₂
 gi-SU₃
 gi-ša₃
 gi-zi
 GI
 gi₆.g
 gi₁₆.b
 gi₁₆-sa
 gi₁₆-sa-aš AK
 gi₁₆-sa ge.n
 gi₁₆-sa ġar
 gi₁₆-sa šu du₇-a
 gibil
 GIBIL
 ḡgibil₆
 gid₂
 ġeš gid₂-da
 gig
 GIG
 ġeš gigir
 ḡgilgameš
 gin₂
 gin₂ ku₃.g
 GIN₂ ġar
 -gin₇
 gir₅
 gir₁₇-zal
 (-i)g-ru
 gu-la
 gu-nu
 gu-ti-um^{ki}
 non-standard "delight": B 71; → gir₁₇-zal
 uncertain meaning: 28, 2:11
 "punting pole": A 67
 "(n i n d a n) measuring rod": A 125 (Susa)
 "measuring rod of one n i n d a n": A 125*
 non-standard "platform?": F 16* (broken); → var. gi-ša₃
 "... flute": A 187*
 non-standard "platform?": E 11*; → var. gi[?]-sa₂
 "reed fodder": D (Ni) 29* || 30
 obscure: D (Ur) 25*; 29,b 2:3" (broken)
 "black": → (uḡ₃) saḡ gi₆.g
 "to block, to bolt": F 31
 "jewellery, treasures":
 "to make permanent": 27, 2:5-6 (broken)
 "to firmly place treasures": A 159 (Susa)
 "to place treasures": A 159
 "perfectly wrought jewellery": A 106
 "new": → e₂-gal-gibil; → eg₂(-)gibil
 uncertain meaning: 28, 2:10
 DN Gibil: C 39
 "to stretch out, to make long": → sa-gid₂-da; → saḡ-ki
 gid₂; → šu gid₂
 "spear": A 92*
 "sick, bitter": A 169 (broken); → (i-lu a-nir) niḡ₂ gig-
 ga; → ir₂ gig še₈-še₈/ši-ši; → šu gig gid₂
 → ḡbil₃-ga-meš₃ EN.DIM₂.GIG^{ki}
 "chariot": A 74 || 75*
 → ḡbil₄-ga-mes
 "shekel": → lu₂ 1 gin₂
 "pure shekel (weight)": CU 147
 "to set axes against something (+ loc.(-term.))": A
 47*; → AGA ġar
 → a-ba-dnanna-gin₇; → a-gin₇; → an-gin₇ sa₇.g; → an-
 gin₇ su₃-ud; → ezem-gin₇ du₃; → ġeš tir-gin₇ su; → u₂-
 šem-gin₇ mu₂; → u₄-gin₇ kar₂; → ur₅-gin₇; → ḡutu-gin₇
 kalam-ma e₃
 → lu₂ gir₅-ra
 "delight(ful), proud one": B 71; C 82; → ki-tuš gir₁₇-
 zal; → munus zi gir₁₇-zal; → non-standard gi-ir-za-...]
 → non-standard ni(-i)g-ru
 "eldest": C 112
 "mottled": → še gu-nu
 GN Gutium, the Guti: C 90; Ni. 4375 iv 4'

- ġeš gu-za
 ġeš gu-za za-ġin₃
 gu-zu-ma
 gu₂
 gu₂ i₇buranun
 gu₂ i₇ du₃-a
 gu₂ i₇idigna
 gu₂ A.NE.RU(-)ġal₂
 gu₂ an-ta
 gu₂-da la₂
 gu₂-da šu₂
 gu₂-en
 gu₂-gal
 gu₂-bi ge₄
 gu₂-guru₅ du₁₁.g
 gu₂(-)ġal₂
 gu₂ mar(-mar)
 gu₂ NE.RU(-)ġal₂
 gu₂ nun du₁₁.g
 gu₂ peš
 gu₂ tuku
 gu₂ us₂
 gu₂ zi.g
 gu₃ teš₂-a si₃.g
 gu₃ zi de₂
 ġeš gu₃-di
 gu₄
 gu₄-ul
 gu₇
 gub
 GUB
 gublaga
- "throne": **A** 189; **D** (Ni) 15 (broken) || **D** (Ur) 15'; **47**, 4:5 (broken)
 "lapis lazuli throne": **A** 159 (Susa)
 → du₆-gu-zu-ma-ka
 "neck, bank (of a canal)": **C** 35; 83; **D** (Ur) 36'; Ca-
 daster A ii 5; 24; iii 12; 29; iv 1; 14; B i 4; 13; 15;
 16; 21; → i₇-gu₂-bi eriduki-ga; → i₇-gu₂-[x]-ur₂?(-)dnin-
 ġir₂-su; → nam-gu₂ maḥ
 "banks of the Euphrates": **CU** 152
 "the banks of all rivers": **CU** 153
 "banks of the Tigris": **CU** 151
 "(to be) rebellious, hostile": **B** 52 || 53 (D); → gu₂ NE.
 RU(-)ġal₂; → var. kur erim₂-ġal₂
 uncertain meaning: **B** 44 || 50
 "to embrace, to join": **A** 50
 uncertain meaning: **D** (Ur) 28'*
 "assembly": **F** 6
 "foremost": **C** 2; → (i₇-)dnanna-gu₂-gal
 "to close hermetically": **A** 11
 "to (be) strip(ped)": **A** 67
 → saġ(-)gu₂(-)ġal₂
 "to thrive?": **B** 16*; **G** 9
 "(to be) rebellious": **B** 14 (C₂); → ki-bala NE.RU-ġal₂
 non-standard "to bray loudly": **A** 116* (Susa)
 "to stiffen the neck": **F** 18
 "perfect": → ġuruš? gu₂ tuku den-lil₂-la₂
 "to raise the neck": → an-še₃ gu₂ us₂
 "to lift the neck": **A** 43; → var. ur₅ zi.g
 "to make of one mind, to make obedient": **C** 28*; 39
 "to speak authoritatively to something, somebody (+
 loc.(-term.))": **C** 59
 "musical instrument": → ġeš-gu₃-di
 → gud
 non-standard "to destroy": **B** 58 || 60; → gul
 "to eat, to eat of (+ loc.-term.)": **C** 75; **D** (Ni) 29 || 30;
D (Ur) 36'
 "to stand (by), to stand on (+ loc.(-term.)), to place, to
 establish, to serve somebody (+ dat.)": **A** 24*; 54; 157;
 210; **C** 40 (obscure); 47; **D** (Ur) 29'; **CU** 176a (bro-
 ken); → a₂ gabu₃^{bu} gub; → a₂ zi-da gub; → ab-sin₂ gub;
 → urudaba-ri₂-ga gub; → bar-ta gub; → ġi₆-da gub; →
 ġiri₃ gub; → ki-a gub; → ki-gal-la gub; → u₄-da gub; →
 u₆ di-še₃ gub; → za₃-ga gub
 → a GUB; → KI.LUGAL.GUB.l
 → dnin-gublaga

- gud "ox(en), bull, cattle": **G** 13; 15; → DIŠ gud ġeš šudul₄-a;
→ lu₂ 1 gud
- gud dab₅ "to hold cattle": **CU** 94 (broken); 120
- gud du₇ "perfect bulls": **A** 87; → var. gud sa₇.g
- gud gaz - udu šar₂ "to slaughter numerous bulls and sheep"(hendiadys): **A** 81
- gud mah "mighty bull": **A** 171
- gud sa₇.g "magnificent bulls": **A** 87 (Susa); 128a (Susa, broken); 129 (Susa, broken); → var. gud du₇
- na₄gug "carnelian-stone": **A** 107 (D)
- na₄gug ku₃.g? "pure? carnelian-stone": **A** 107
- gul, gul-gul 1. "to (completely) destroy": **A** 5; 29; **B** 58 || 60; **C** 92 (obscure); → tur₃ gul; → non-standard gu₄-ul
2. "to cut away": **A** 45*
- gun₄ → gi-gun₄-na
- gunu₃ "(to be) iridescent, multicoloured, dappled, painted with (+ abl.)": **C** 4; → ku₃-sig₁₇-ta gunu₃; → kušlu-ub₂ gunu₃; → ur₂ gunu₃-gunu₃
- gur A "to (re)turn": **A** 199* (broken, read perhaps → ku₄.r; → DU A); **G** 27 (obscure); → ša₃ gur; → ur₂ gur-ra
- gur B "g u r" (measuring unit): **CU** 26
- gur₅-ru-uš du₁₁.g "to rush forth against somebody (+ com.)": **C** 37*
- gur₈ → ma₂-gur₈(-ra)
- gur₁₁ → niġ₂-gur₁₁
- guru₃(ru) "to carry, to be laden with, to imbue with, to be full of": **D** (Ur) 26' (broken, obscure); → e₂-temen-ni₂-guru₃; → ħi-li guru₃^{ru}; → ni₂ guru₃^{ru}; → su-zi guru₃^{ru}; → non-standard ni(-i)g-ru
→ gu₂-guru₅ du₁₁.g
- guru₅ "to libate liquors and syrup": **C** 106*
- gurun₆ lal₃ de₂ personal pronoun 1st common sg. "I, me": **A** 156; 213; **B** 40 || 46; **C** 24; 51; 59; 62; **D** (Ni) 11; 22; 25; 27; 29; 31; 33; **D** (Ur) 32'; Ni. 4375 v 6'; → non-standard me B; → non-standard na(-)
- ġa₂, ġe₂₆-e non-standard "to exist, to cause to be": → ġal₂; → i-ri-ġa₂-al; → kur i-ri-im-ma(-ġa₂-l(a))
- ġa₂-ġeš-šu₂-a TN Ġaġeššua (in the Ekur complex in Nippur): **B** 31
- ġa₂-la nu-dag "to cease not, to be incessant": Ni. 4375 iv 9' (broken)
- ġa₂-nun "granary": **C** 88
- ĠA₂ obscure: **E** 40'
- ġal₂ "to exist, to cause to be, to wear at, to reach (+ term.)": **A** 55; 67; 211; **B** 45 || 51; **C** 26 (broken, obscure); **D** (Ur) 25' (obscure); **CU** 89; 92; 96 (broken); Ni. 4375 v 9' (broken); → du₁₀ ġal₂; → e₂-kiš-nu-ġal₂; → enim ġal₂; → ħe₂-ġal₂; → ħul-ġal₂; → ib₂-ba ġal₂; → igi-ġal₂; → ka

- mud-ġal₂ ki-en-gi-ra; → kalam-ma ġal₂; → KA(enim?)
 ġal₂ ku₃ zi.d; → ki a/e-ne-di/de₃ ġal₂-la; → ki-ur₃ ġal₂; →
 ku₃-ġal₂; → nam-ġe₂(-ġal₂); → NE.RU(-)ġal₂; → nir(-)
 ġal₂; → saġ(-)gu₂/ku₃(-)ġal₂; → saġ-ġa₂ ġal₂; → su-zi
 ġal₂; → šu zi ġal₂; → udu diri ġal₂; → usu ġal₂; → non-
 standard ġa₂(-l), ġa₂-al
 "to open": **C** 77
 "openings": **E** 10' || **F** 15
 obscure: **A** 238
 "to set, to put aside, to lay, to organize": **A** 37 (Susa);
 60; 69; 183; **C** 102; **F** 30; **CU** 165; 168; 171; → a
 ġar; → a-nir ġar; → ama-ar ge₄ ġar; → ġeš^šapin ġar; →
 gaba-šu-ġar nu-tuku; → GANA₂(-)ġar; → gi₁₆-sa ġar; →
 GIN₂ ġar; → i₇(-)ĠEŠ.BI.ĠEŠ(-)a(-)ġar-ra; → igi ġar; →
 ki ġar; → ki šub-ba ġar; → ki-tuš ġar; → ki-ur₃ ġar; →
 kiġ₂ ġar; → me-a ġar; → niġ₂-ba-a ġar; → niġ₂(-)me-ġar;
 → niġ₂-si-sa₂ ġar; → sa-ġar-ra; → sa₂-du₁₁-še₃ ġar; → u₄
 ġar; → za-pa-aġ₂(-ŠE₃) ġar; → var. TAR
 obscure: **D** (Ur) 40'
 → a₂ tumu-ġar₇-du₂
 "the cultic norms of the netherworld": **A** 84; 84a (Susa)
 → ġa₂, ġe₂₆-e
 "to go with somebody (+ dat.), to arrive, to come
 from": **A** 41 (Susa); 59; 64; 79 || 80; **C** 56; → DU A
 (de₆/tum₂); → var. šeġ₃
 "wood, tree": **C** 83; **G** 11; → ġa₂-ġeš-šu₂-a; → dnin-ġeš-
 zi-da
 "canebrake": **A** 227
 "musical instrument": **A** 188*
 "rules, plan, scheme": **A** 210; → var. ʾx^l-bur₂
 "sacred plans": **F** 19; → var. ġeš-ġur zi.d
 "righteous plans": **E** 13'; → var. ġeš-ġur ku₃.g
 "container": **A** 97*
 "to pay heed": **A** 186*
 "to settle in (said of) deathly silence": **A** 44*
 "bed": **A** 191
 "flowered bed": **C** 74
 "to spread a bed with fresh herbs": **A** 159*
 "light": **A** 103* (Susa)
 "alabaster": **A** 123
 → i₇-ġeš-šub-ba; → nam-ġeš-šub galam
 "to sacrifice, to offer as a sacrifice": **A** 85 || 86; 91* ||
 96 || 101 (broken) || 105 || 109 || 113 || 119 || 122a
 (Susa, broken) || 128 || 131a (Susa)
- ġal₂ taka₄
 ġal₂-TAKA₄.TAKA₄-ga
 ĠAL₂
 ġar (*h.*), ġa₂-ġa₂ (*m.*)
- ĠAR
 ġar₇-du₂
 ġarza kur-ra(-k)
 ġe₂₆-e
 ġen (*h.*), du (*m.*), re₇ (*h.* pl.)
- ġeš
 ġeš-gi
 ġeš-gu₃-di
 ġeš-ġur
 ġeš-ġur ku₃.g
 ġeš-ġur zi.d
 ġeš-keš₂-da
 ġeš la₂
 ġeš-la₂-bi DU
 ġeš-nu₂
 ġeš-nu₂ ge-rin
 ġeš-nu₂ u₂ za-gin₃ bara₃.g
 ġeš-nu₁₁
 ġeš-nu₁₁-gal
 ġeš-šub
 ġeš tag

ĠEŠ.BI.ĠEŠ	→ i ₇ (-)ĠEŠ.BI.ĠEŠ(-)a(-)ġar-ra
ġeštin	"wine": → kar-ġeštin-na den-lil ₂ -la ₂
dġeštin-an-ka	GN: Cadaster B iii 15; 16
dġeštin-an-na	DN Ġeštinana (wife of Ningēšzida): A 127a* (Susa); → KA ₂ -dġeštin-an-na-ka
dġeštin-an-na-ġi-ba-ri ₂ -tum-ma-ka	GN: Cadaster A ii 29-30; 31-32
ġeštu ₂	"wisdom, ears":
ġeštu ₂ daġal	"broad wisdom, broad understanding": C 60; D (Ni) 21; → en ġeštu ₂ daġal-la
ġeštu ₂ maḥ lu ₂ zu	"great ears of a sage": A 123
ġi ₆ -da gub	"occupied with the night, serving by night": A 163*
ġi ₆ -par _{3/4}	"ġ i p a r": C 5*; 73; 29,b 2:2' (broken)
ġi ₆ -par ₄ ku ₃ .g	"precious ġ i p a r" (part of the Eana): A 212
ġi ₆ -par ₃ -ku ₃ .g	TN Ġiparku (in Ur): 19:7
(ġeš)ġidri	"sceptre":
(ġeš)ġidri ku ₃ .g	"dazzling sceptre": A 223 (broken); D (Ni) 16 D (Ur) 17
ġidri ku ₃ -sig ₁₇ nam-en-na	"golden sceptre of e n-ship": A 103; → var. ġešma-nu nam-en-na(-k)
ġir ₂	→ nim ġir ₂ -ġir ₂
ĠIR ₂ -ka ^{ki}	GN ĠIRka ^l : CU 127
ĠIR ₂ .NITA ₂	"general": CU 172
ġiri ₂	"dagger":
ġiri ₂ -zu ₂ gal	"large . . . dagger": A 88 (Susa); → var. ġiri ₂ -zu ₂ galam
ġiri ₂ -zu ₂ galam	"artfully fashioned . . . dagger": A 88*; → var. ġiri ₂ -zu ₂ gal
ġiri ₃ dib ₂	"to tread with the feet": A 37*
ġiri ₃ gub	"to put the foot on something (+ loc.)": C 35
ġiri ₃ -saga ₁₁ du ₁₁ .g	"to trample": B 55 ll 57; → non-standard mi-ri-e-zi-ka du ₁₁ .g
ġiri ₃ si sa ₂	"to put the roads in order": C 19; 54; year name "4"
ġiri ₃ [ki?] us ₂	"to make one's way": A 70 (Susa, broken)
ġešġisal	"oar": A 67
ġišbun	"banquet, festive meal": C 101*
ġišbun gal-gal	"huge banquet-tables": A 82
ġiškim sa ₆ .g	"favourable portent": A 161
-ġu ₁₀	possessive pronoun 1st common sg. "my": → a lu ₂ /lugal-ġu ₁₀ ; → a ₍₂₎ ša ₃ -ġu ₁₀ du ₁₁ .g; → lu ₍₂₎ -ga-al-ġu ₁₀ ; → lugal-ġu ₁₀ ; → nam-ġu ₁₀ ; → nin-ġu ₁₀
ġuruš? gu ₂ tuku den-lil ₂ -la ₂	"perfect workman? of Enlil": C 93
ḥa-šu-ur ₂	"ḥ a š u r-tree": → (ġeš)tir ḥa-šu-ur ₂ (-ra)
ḥa-za	→ saġ(-ġa ₂) ḥa-za
ḥar ku ₃ -sig ₁₇	"golden ring": A 106
ḥar-ra-an	"road": A 74 ll 75

- ʰe₂-a "may he/it be(come)!" : **B** 6*; **C** 107; **28**, 2:4-5 (broken); **47**, 4:12; → var. ʰe₂-na
 ʰe₂-du₇ "adornment" (ep. Urnamma): **C** 13
 ʰe₂-em "may he/it be": **B** 44* || 50
 ʰe₂-ġal₂ "abundance": **C** 21; 103; **D** (Ur) 35'; **E** 2'; **F** 2*; → i, ʰe₂-ġal₂-la; → kur ʰe₂-ġal₂; → nam-ʰe₂(-ġal₂); → u₄ ʰe₂-ġal₂-la
 ʰe₂-ġal₂-la pa e₃ "to reveal abundance": **A** 158; → var. ʰe₂-ġal₂ pa e₃ AK
 ʰe₂-ġal₂ pa e₃ AK "to reveal abundance": **A** 158 (Susa); → var. ʰe₂-ġal₂-la pa e₃
 ʰe₂-na "may he/it be(come)!" : **28**, 2:8 (broken); 2:14; → var. ʰe₂-a
 ʰi-ba-ri₂-tum GN: Cadaster A ii 26; iv 12; 13; 16-17; → dġeštīn-an-na-ʰi-ba-ri₂-tum-ma-ka
 ʰi-li "(sexual) charm, attractiveness, luxuriance, physical prime": **A** 63; **F** 47
 ʰi-li guru₃ru "to be full of charms, to be full of luxuriance": **C** 4; **F** 1; **E** 25' || **F** 25 || 28
 ʰi-li-a/e ku₄r 1. "to turn somebody into a darling": **C** 45
 2. "to bring in sexual charm": **A** 213
 ʰi-li til "to bring the attractiveness (of a person) to maturity, to exhaust the luxuriance (of something)": **A** 153*; 189
 GN: Cadaster A iii 14; 15
 ʰi-ri₂-tum obscure: **C** 68
 ʰII uncertain meaning: **A** 240
 ʰIIr "eagle": **B** 25
 ʰu-ri-in non-standard "frightful": **B** 62 || 64; → ʰuš
 ʰu-š(a) non-standard "evil": **B** 58 || 60; → ʰul-ġal₂
 ʰu-ur-ġa₂-l(a) → an-za-gar₃-ʰu-wu-um-ma
 ʰu-wu-um obscure: **H** 8 (broken)
 ʰU? UD "evil(-doer)": **A** 6*; **B** 58 || 60; **E** 13' || **F** 19; **E** 14'; → lu₂ ʰul-ġal₂; → non-standard ʰu-ur-ġa₂-l(a)
 ʰul-ġal₂ "to sit? in a wretched state": **A** 15 (Susa); → var. ʰulu til₃
 ʰul-ġal₂-la tuš?
 ʰul₂ "(to be) glad, joyful, to delight in, to enjoy, to rejoice": **A** 149; 174; **B** 35; **C** 42; → a-ne ʰul₂-la du₁₁.g; → e-ne-di ʰul₂-la; → ki-tuš ša₃ ʰul₂-la; → var. ša₃ ʰul₂
 ʰulu "(to be) bad, perilous, evil, to destroy": **A** 174; → a₂ niġ₂-ʰul dim₂-ma aġ₂; → gi ʰulu; → PU₂ ʰulu; → dūdug ʰulu
 ʰulu til₃ "to be miserable": **A** 15; → var. ʰul-ġal₂-la tuš?
 ʰur "to trace, to draw, to device": **B** 7*; → ġeš-ʰur

- ħur-saġ 1. "mountain (range)": **A** 45; 212; → var. an
 2. GN: Cadaster A ii 16; 17; 18; → an-za-gar₃-ħur-saġ-
 ġa₂; → ^dnin-ħur-saġ(-ka)
 ħur-saġ gal-gal "all the big mountain ranges": **A** 197 (Susa); → var.
 kur-kur
 ħur-saġ galam "skilfully built mountain (range)": **E** 3' (broken) || **F** 9
 ħur-saġ sa₇.g "verdant mountain": **C** 109
 ħur-saġ-galam-ma Ĥursaġgalama (ziggurat in Nippur): **B** 22*; 29
 ħur-saġ-nam-til₃-la(-k) TN (?) Ĥursaġnamtila: **D** (Ni) 12* || **D** (Ur) 13'
 ħur-ši-tum GN: Cadaster A iii 16; 17
 ĤUR obscure: **H** 5
 ħuš "frightful, fierce, terrible": **B** 62 || 64; → ni₂ ħuš ri; →
 saġ-ki ħuš den-li₂-la₂; → u₄ ħuš; → non-standard ħu-š(a)
 DN Ĥušbisag (wife of Namtar): **A** 112
 → e₂-duru₅ i-bi₂-lum-ma
 i₇-i-da-um-ma
 dħuš-bi-sa₆.g "to reveal?", to praise, to extoll": → mi₂ zi-de₃-eš i-i; →
 me-teš₂ i-i; → teš₂ mu i-i
 i-i
 i-lu "lament, wail, lamentation": **A** 21; 241
 i-lu a-nir niġ₂ gig-ga "bitter wailing and lamentation": **A** 167* || 175
 i-lu balaġ-di "lamentation and dirge singers": **A** 194
 i-lu kur-ku-ku "to observe attentively a lament": **A** 216*
 i-lu niġ₂(-)-me-ġar du₁₁.g "to utter a silence-imposing lament": **A** 155*
 i-mi-tum piriġ an-na "i m i t u m-weapon (with) a celestial lion": **A** 92*; →
 ġešmitum piriġ an-na
 i/i₃-ne-eš₂ "now": → non-standard e-ne-eš₂
 i-ni-ir non-standard personal pronoun 3rd sg. dat. "him": → e-ne
 i-ri-ġa₂-al non-standard "evil": → lu i-ri-ġa₂-al; → erim₂-ġal₂
 i-ri-im-ma(-ġa₂-l(a)) non-standard "enemy, hostile": → kur i-ri-im-ma(-ġa₂-l(a))
 i-si-iš "wail, sorrow":
 i-si-iš ki-en-gi-ra "wails of Sumer": **A** 146 || 147
 i-si-iš la₂ "to be full of sorrow": **A** 14
 i-ti non-standard "moonlight": **C** 57; → iti₆
 i-dutu "cry of the oppressed": **C** 91; **CU** 179; → lu₂ i-dutu-ka
 i₃ "oil":
 i₃ de₂ "to pour oil": **A** 97; → var. i₃ SAR
 i₃ SAR obscure: **A** 97* (Susa); → var. i₃ de₂
 i₃-du₈ gal "chief porter": **A** 76a (Susa)
 i₃-du₈ gal kur-ra imin-bi "the seven chief porters of the netherworld": **A** 76*
 i₃-li₂ → me-en-i₃-li₂
 i₃/i-ne-eš₂ → i-ne-eš₂
 i₃-nun "butter": **CU** 28

i ₇ d	"river, canal": A 22; C 83; D (Ni) 24; 27; 33 34; → i ₇ buranun; → gu ₂ i ₇ du ₃ -a; → i ₇ idigna; → (ġeš)ma ₂ i ₇ -da
i ₇ ba-al	"to dig canal(s)": A 225; D (Ni) 1 (broken); 3; 4; D (Ur) 1' (broken); 3'; 5'; 7'; 9'
i ₇ ġe ₂ -ġal ₂ -la	"canal of abundance": D (Ni) 22 (broken) 23; → var. u ₄ ġe ₂ -ġal ₂ -la
i ₇ ki-aġ ₂	"beloved canal": 24:8 ; Al-Rawi, <i>Sumer</i> 46 (1989-90) 84:9
i ₇ nidba(-k)	"canal of/for sacrificial offerings": 22:9 ; 23:10
i ₇ -a- ^d nin-tu.r	CN: year name "15"
i ₇ -ab ₂ -gal	CN: Cadaster A i 26; 27; ii 5; 7
i ₇ -DIĠIR- <i>ba-ni</i>	CN: Cadaster A ii 5-6
i ₇ -edin-maġ	CN: Cadaster B i 12 (broken); 15
i ₇ -EN.EREN ₂ .NUN	CN: 23:9 ; → var. i ₇ -EN.NUN
i ₇ -EN.NUN	CN: → var. i ₇ -EN.EREN ₂ .NUN
i ₇ -EN.URU ₃ .GAL	CN: Al-Rawi, <i>Sumer</i> 46 (1989-90) 84:8
i ₇ -gu ₂ -bi-eriduki-ga	CN: 29 ,b 1:13"
i ₇ -gu ₂ -[x]-ur ₂ ?(-) ^d nin-ġir ₂ -su	". . . of Ningirsu-Canal", or CN?: 29 ,b 1:14"-15"
i ₇ -ġeš-šub-ba	CN: year name "16"
i ₇ (-) ^Ġ ĖŠ.BI. ^Ġ ĖŠ(-)a(-)ġar-ra	"canal, which has irrigated . . .", or CN?: D (Ur) 4*"; → a ġar
i ₇ -i-da-um-ma	CN: Cadaster A ii 8
i ₇ -IM.NI-a	CN: Cadaster A ii 9; 11
i ₇ -ir-ni-na	CN: Cadaster A iii 10; 12; 22; iv 5 (broken); 6; 7
i ₇ -ka-zal-luki(-k)	CN: Cadaster A i 5; 7
i ₇ -KEŠ ₂ -ku ₃ .g	CN: D (Ni) 2* (broken); 22 23; D (Ur) 30'; 33'
i ₇ ki sur-ra(-k)	"boundary canal": 28 , 1:12
i ₇ ki sur-ra ^d nin-ġir ₂ -su	"boundary canal of Ningirsu": 29 ,b 1:10"-11"
i ₇ -lugal(-la(-k))	CN Royal Canal: C 103*
i ₇ (-) ^x -x [?] (-) ^{ma} ġ(-) ^d nanna	"Great...Canal (of) Nanna", or CN?: 29 ,b 1:6"-7" (broken)
i ₇ -me-den-lil ₂ -la ₂	CN: Cadaster B i 4; 9
i ₇ - ^d nanna-gu ₂ -gal	CN: 29 ,b 1:9"
i ₇ -nun	CN: 24:7
i ₇ -pa _{4/5} -bi-luġ	CN: D (Ur) 2* (broken); 31'; 34'; → luġ; → pa ₅ .r
i ₇ -saġar	CN: Cadaster B iv 15; 16
i ₇ -še-er-us ₂ -sa	CN: Cadaster A i 22; 23
i ₇ -ši-ma-at[...]	CN: Cadaster A iii 23
i ₇ -ši-ma-at- ^d er ₃ -ra	CN: Cadaster A iv 25-26
i ₇ -ur-ša-tum	CN: Cadaster A i 28
i ₇ -uri ₅ ki-ma	CN: 22:8
i ₇ -zubi	CN: Cadaster A ii 25; iii 29; iv 1; 15
ia ₂	"five": → u ₄ ia ₂
ib ₂ -ba ġal ₂	"to wear at the hip": A 89

id ₂	→ i ₇ .d
i ₇ idigna	CN Tigris: E 35' F 37; → gu ₂ i ₇ idigna
ġeš ₃ ig	"door": B 26
ġeš ₃ ig gal eriduki-ga	"great door of Eridu": A 11
igi	"eye, face": G 21 (obscure); → u ₂ ig ₂ -igi
igi du	non-standard "to see": A 202 (Susa, broken); → igi du ₈ .r
igi du ₈ .r	"to see": A 202 (broken); → non-standard igi du
igi dub ₂ -dub ₂	uncertain meaning: A 200*
igi-ġal ₂	"insight, intelligence": A 56; C 60
igi(-)ġal ₂ kur-kur-ra	"overseer of all (the foreign) lands" (ep. Urnamma): A 44
igi ġar	"to set the gaze": A 198
igi il ₂	"to look at somebody, something (+ loc.(-term.)), to select": B 4*; D (Ni) 10 D (Ur) 11'; H 9
igi nim	"above": Cadaster A ii 25; iv 15; B i 6; → sig-ta igi nim-še ₃
igi (+ poss. suff.)-še ₃	"before, in front of": C 71; E 27' F 32
igi zi bar	"to look at somebody (+ dat.) approvingly": B 36
IGI	obscure: A 173 (broken); Ni. 4375 v 8'; → A(.)KA IGI (.x).LA ₂ ; → KA.IGI; → LAGAR.AN.IGI ⁷¹
IGI.MIN/A?	obscure: A 69
il ₂	"to lift, to promote, to gather": CU 78; → igi il ₂ ; → ni ₂ -bi il ₂ ; → saġ il ₂ ; → u ₂ il ₂
IL ₂	→ (ġeš)dubsig _x
im	"rain": → den-ki-im-du
im an-na	"rain of heaven": G 18
im an-ta šeġ ₃	"to make rain fall from the skies": A 164*
IM	obscure: 29, b 1:3'
IM.A	"rain(storm)": C 20*
IM.NI	→ i ₇ -IM.NI-a
IM.UD sir ₂ -da	"cumulated cloud": A 59*
im ₂	"to run": → dAŠ-im ₂ -babbar ₍₂₎
imin	"seven": CU 73; → ġeš ga-rig ₂ imin? nam-munus-a; → i ₃ -du ₈ gal kur-ra imin-bi; → u ₄ imin
in-di ₃	"stretch of road": A 73; → var. ki-in-du
in-dub ki-en-gi-ra	"(border) territory of Sumer": Ni. 4375 v 12'
in kur ₂ AK	"to gravely insult": A 207 (Susa); → var. in-ŠE ₃ dub ₂
in-na	non-standard "so far as": A 139*; 140; → en-na
in-ŠE ₃ dub ₂	"to hurl as an insult": A 207; → var. in kur ₂ AK
dinana	DN Inana: A 196; 199; 204; 206; 216; 6:1; 7,1:1; 8:1(!); 13 obv. 1; 17:1; Al-Rawi, <i>Sumer</i> 46 (1989-90) 84:1; → en d ₁ inana; → lu ₂ -maḥ d ₁ inana; → nitadam/dam ki-aġ ₂ d ₁ inana
inda ₃	"food, offerings": → NI ₃ (inda ₃ /niġ ₂)
inda ₃ -ba	"offerings": F 20*; → var. nidba

inim	→ enim
ir-ni-na	→ i ₇ -ir-ni-na
ir ₂	"crying, tears": A 187 (Susa, obscure); 193; 220 (broken); 241; 242
ir ₂ gig še ₈ -še ₈ /ši-ši	"to weep bitter tears": A 19 (/Susa); 154 (broken)
ir ₂ -ra ku ₄ .r	"to turn into tears": A 187*
ir ₂ us ₂	"to shed tears": A 64*
iri(ki)	"city": A 5*; 43* (Susa); 239; C 3; 4; 15; 31; 82; 92 (obscure); 101; D (Ni) 22; 25; 29; D (Ur) 32'; 33*; 28, 2:11; 47, 4:2; 4:7 (broken); → du ₆ -lugal-iri-ka; → d ₁ amma iri-ĝa ₂
iri? daĝal	"broad city?": C 15 (broken)
iri me du ₁₀ -du ₁₀ -ga	"city of all good m e": C 1
iri-maš-tab	GN: Cadaster B iii 17; 18
irigal, irigal ₂ gal (Susa)	"grave, underworld": → ensi ₂ gal irigal ₍₂₎ -la(-k); → niĝ ₂ -nam irigal ₍₂₎ gal)-(l)a
ĝešisimu ₃ SAR	"shoot": A 172
IŠ	obscure: F 20; → saḥar
išib	"i š i b-priest": A 78
iti ₆	"moonlight": D (Ur) 40' (broken); → non-standard i-ti
iti ₆ -ŠE ₃	"as the moonlight": D (Ni) 39
itimama(-k)	"bedchamber": A 12
ITIMA-šeššig	uncertain meaning: C 87*
itu-da	"on a monthly basis": CU 25
ka.k	"mouth, outlet (of a canal)": C 27; 91; Cadaster A i 28; ii 5; 7; iii 23 (broken); iv 25; B i 5; 11
ka-aš bar	"to render decisions": A 144* (Susa)
ka-aš kur-ra bar	"to render decisions of the netherworld": A 144
ka-ge du ₇	"(to be made) worthy to be praised": D (Ni) 20* (broken); 24; → non-standard ka-ke du
ka-ke du	non-standard "(to be made) worthy to be praised": D (Ur) 31'; → ka-ge du ₇
ka ku ₃ (+ poss. suff.) ba	"to open the pure mouth": C 20
ka mud-ĝal ₂ ki-en-gi-ra	"advocate of Sumer" (ep. Urnamma): A 33 34* (broken)
ka-na-m(a)	non-standard "land"; → lu ₂ ?-gal ka-na-ma(-k); → kalam
ka tab	"to block": → ša ₃ (-)-ka-tab
ka-zal-luki	GN: CU 128; Cadaster B i 2; iv 26; → i ₇ -ka-zal-luki(-k)
KA	obscure: C 40; H 4 (broken); 9; → A.KA IGI(.x).LA ₂ ; → gi-KA
KA×MAŠ	uncertain meaning: C 77*
KA(enim) ge ₄	"to reject (+ loc.(-term.))": A 53*; → var. šu gid ₂
KA ge/i.n	"to confirm" (in connection with border regions): 28, 1:18; 47, 2:3; Ni. 4375 v 13'; Cadaster A i 15 ii 22 iv 22 (broken) iv 31

KA(enim?) ġal ₂ ku ₃ zi.d	"to let spendid and proper <i>notions</i> be": B 9*
KA.IGI	GN: Cadaster B iii 7; 8
KA ₂ .n	"gate, door": E 9' F 14
KA ₂ (.)GAL	"Great Gate": B 22*; → abulla
KA ₂ - ^d ġeštin-an-na-ka	GN: Cadaster A iii 5 (broken); 7
KA ₂ -maḥ	"August Gate": B 22*
KA ₂ -silim-ma	"Gate of Salvation": B 22*
KA ₂ (-)še-nu-ku ₅ .d	"Gate That Does Not Hold Off Grain": B 22
KAD [?] .n	uncertain meaning: A 125 (Susa)
kadra ₂ ^a	"gift": A 53
kala.g, kalag	"(to be) strong, to strenghten": A 182; 214; 217; → nita ₍₂₎ kala.g; → si-ġar kala.g
KAL	A 238 (G, obscure); → KI.KAL-edin
KALAG	→ ri ₂ -ig-mu-uš-KALAG
kalam	"land": A 27 (broken); 72 (obscure); 210; B 11; 43 49; C 51; 65 (obscure); 72*; H 7; CU 24 (broken); 113 (broken); 181; → a-ra ₂ kalam-ma; → BU kalam-ma(-k); → ġešeren [?] kalam-ma; → ki(-)saġ-ki kalam-ma; → lugal kalam-ma(-k); → teš ₂ kalam-ma; → umuš kalam-ma; → ^d utu-gin ₇ kalam-ma e ₃ ; → zi kalam-ma; → non-standard ka-na-m(a)
kalam-ma dul	"to cover the land": → me-lim _x kalam-ma dul
kalam-ma ġal ₂	"to be positioned over the land" (said of shackles): E 8'; → var. kalam-ma la ₂
kalam-ma la ₂	"to be suspended over the land" (said of shackles): F 13; → var. kalam-ma ġal ₂
kalam teš ₂	"even land": A 1*
kar A	"to take away from (+ abl.)": A 25; → lu ₂ kar
kar B	"harbour, quay":
kar si.g	"calm harbour": A 215
kar-ġeštin-na ^d en-lil ₂ -la ₂	"Wine Quay of Enlil": C 104*
kar-za-gin ₃ (-) ^d nanna(-k)	"Shining Quay of Nanna": C 105*
kar ₂ , kar ₂ -kar ₂ (m.)	"to (make) shine forth, to radiate": → suḥ ₁₀ kar ₂ -kar ₂ -ka; → u ₄ -gin ₇ kar ₂
kaskal kur-ra	"journey to the netherworld": A 71 (Susa); 73 (broken)
KASKAL	→ E ₂ ×KASKAL [?]
KAŠ ₄	→ lu ₂ KAŠ ₄
KEŠ ₂	→ i ₇ -KEŠ ₂ -ku ₃ .g
keše ₂ .d	"to fix, to attach": → ġeš-keš ₂ -da
keš(i) ₃ .ki	GN Keš(i): → e ₂ [?] -keš(i) ₃ .ki
ki	"earth, ground": A 5* (broken, read perhaps → edin); G 12; 19 20 (broken, obscure); → an-ki; → diġir an-ki(k); → ^d en-ki(-k); → mar-uru ₅ an-ki; → saġ-ki
ki sa ₆ .g	"good place": A 177 (E, obscure)
ki sikil	"untouched ground": 5 :7

- ki-person(-ak)-a "in the presence of somebody": **B** 69
 ki-a gub "to assist": **A** 160; → ki gub
 ki-a us₂ "to firmly found, to set firmly on the ground": **B** 66*;
 → ki us₂
 ki a/e-ne-di/de₃ ḡal₂-la "place where merriment reigns": **A** 19 (/Susa); → e-ne-di ḡul₂-la
 ki(-)aḡ₂ "to love (+ loc.-term.), beloved": **A** 56; **F** 42*; →
 dumu ki-aḡ₂; → e₂ ki-aḡ₂; → e₂-šu-tum ki-aḡ₂; → emedu₂
 ki-aḡ₂; → i₇ ki-aḡ₂; → lu₂ eren₂-e ki-aḡ₂; → niḡ₂ ki-aḡ₂
 dereš-ki-gal-la; → nin niḡ₂-gur₁₁-e ki-aḡ₂; → nitadam/
 dam ki-aḡ₂ dīnana; → ses ki-aḡ₂; → u₆-e ki-aḡ₂
 ki-aḡ₂ den-lil₂-la₂ "beloved of Enlil" (ep. Urnamma): **D** (Ur) 39'
 ki-aḡ₂ d'su'en-na "beloved of Su'en" (ep. Ekišnuḡal): **C** 11 || 12
 ki-bala "rebellious land(s), enemy land(s)": **B** 52 || 53; **F** 20;
 35; → e₂ ki-bala; → non-standard ki-ib-la
 ki-bala NE.RU-ḡal₂ "hostile and rebellious land(s)": **B** 14
 ki-bi ge₄ "to restore": **10**:13; **13** rev. 3
 ki-bi-še₃ "there": **A** 142
 ki-bi-ta "from there": **A** 198
 ki-en-gi.r GN Sumer: **A** 4; **B** 15; **C** 2; 59; 62 (broken); 83; Ni.
 4375 vi 8'; → i-si-iš ki-en-gi-ra; → in-dub ki-en-gi-ra; →
 ka mud-ḡal₂ ki-en-gi-ra; → ki sur-ra ki-en-gi-ra; → mas-
 su ki-en-gi-ra; → UL₄-gal ki-en-gi-ra
 ki-en-gi ki-uri GN Sumer and Akkad: **A** 224 (broken); **C** 28; 34; **D**
 (Ni) 11; **F** 23; **CU** 123 (broken); → lugal ki-en-gi ki-
 uri(-k); → ma-da ki-en-gi ki-uri; → u₂-a ki-en-gi ki-uri
 ki-en-gi uri GN Sumer and Akkad: **D** (Ur) 12'
 ki-gal 1. (building) platform, foundation platform, post-
 ament": **C** 4*
 2. "Great Place": → dereš-ki-gal
 3. GN: Cadaster B i 1; iv 21; 22; 25
 ki-gal-la gub "to erect something on a foundation platform": **C** 109
 ki-gal-2-kam-ma GN: Cadaster B iv 23; 24
 ki ḡar "to (firmly) found" (said of constructions), "to settle"
 (said of persons): **C** 3; 5; **CU** 175 (broken); year name
 "17"
 ki-ib-la non-standard "enemy land(s), rebellious land(s)": **B** 52
 (broken) || 53; 62 || 64; → e ki-ib-la; → ki-bala
 ki-in-du "stretch of road": **A** 73 (Susa); → var. in-di₃
 ki-is-ma-arkī GN: IB 1537 rev. v' 17'
 ki ku₃-ga du₃ "to build on splendid ground": **C** 2*
 ki-lul-la "Place of Treachery": **A** 58*
 ki nam tar-ra/(re) (diḡir-re(-e)-ne) "place of fate determined (by the gods), place
 where fate is determined (by the gods)": **E** 11'* || **F** 16;
E 16' || **F** 21
 ki nu-zu "unknown place": **A** 65*

- ki-nu₂ "resting place, sleeping place": A 49; 191
 ki-nu₂ du₁₀-g "sweet resting place": C 74
 ki-ri₂-LUM GN: Cadaster A iv 10; 11
 ki sag₃ "to make the earth shake": A 205
 ki(-)saĝ-ki kalam-ma ". . .-place of the land" (ep. Arali): A 62*
 ki(-)SAR uncertain meaning: CU 79; 26, 2:3
 ki-sikil "young woman" (ep. Inana): A 196 (Susa); → var. saĝ-
 kal
 ki sur-ra "(demarcated) territory, region": Cadaster A i 30; ii 1; B
 i 1; iv 25; → i₇ ki sur-ra(-k)
 ki sur-ra ki-en-gi-ra "region of Sumer": C 82*
 ki sur-ra ^dlugal-mara₂-da(-k) "(demarcated) territory of Lugalmarada": Cadas-
 ter B iv 29
 ki sur-ra ma₂ ma₂-ganki "(demarcated) territory of the Magan-boats": 47,
 1:3-4
 ki sur-ra ^dmes-lam-ta-e₃-a "(demarcated) territory of Meslamtaea": Cadaster
 A ii 20
 ki sur-ra ^dsu'en(-k) "(demarcated) territory of Su'en": Cadaster A iv 20
 ki-še₃ "into the earth": C 21
 ki šub-ba ĝar "to establish abandoned places": A 4
 ki tag "to put on the ground, to plant": A 26
 ki tum₂ "to bury": A 70 ll 71
 ki-tuš "dwelling place":
 ki-tuš an ^den-lil₂-la₂ "dwelling place of An and Enlil": C 5*
 ki-tuš gir₁₇-zal "delightful dwelling place": A 47
 ki-tuš ĝar "to set up a dwelling place": A 137
 ki-tuš ku₃ kur-gal-la "precious dwelling of Great Mountain": B 29
 ki-tuš ^dnanna(-k) "dwelling place of Nanna": 28, 2:9
 ki-tuš ša₃ ĥul₂-la "dwelling of the joyful heart" (perhaps ep. Etemen-
 niguru): D (Ur) 26'
 ki u₄ e₃(-a) "place where daylight breaks": → non-standard ki ut-ti
 ki u₄ e₃ diĝir-re-e-ne "place of the gods where daylight breaks": A 211*
 ki-ur₃ "home":
 ki-ur₃ ĝal₂ "to provide somebody with a home": A 157
 ki-ur₃ ĝar "to install a home": A 157 (Susa)
 ki ur₅ sa₆-g "source of happiness": C 51
 ki-uri GN Akkad: → ki-en-gi ki-uri
 ki us₂ "to touch the ground, to (firmly) press to the ground"
 (said of a shield), "to be firmly secured": A 93; B 30;
 F 2*; → ĝiri₃ [ki?] us₂; → ki-a us₂
 ki ut-ti non-standard "place where daylight breaks": E 4*; → ki
 u₄ e₃(-a)
 KI obscure: 29, b 2:1'; → ANŠE.KI
 KI.KAL-edin GN: Cadaster B iii 1; 2
 KI.LUGAL.GUB.1 uncertain meaning: C 13*

- kiĝ₂ ĝar
 kiĝ₂-ge₄-a ge₍₄₎
 KIĜ₂
 ĝeš₆kiri₆ DU
 kiri₆ maḥ DU
 kiri₈-tab_{ki}
 ĝeš₆kirid
 ĝeš₆kirid ku₃.g
 kisal(-)maḥ
 KISIM₂-ur-mara₂-da_{ki}-ka
 kiš
 kiš_{ki}
 na₄kišib za-gin₃
 KIŠIB
 ku
 KU
 ku₂
 ku₃.g
 ku₃ me(-a)
 ku₃-babbar
 ku₃-ĝal₂
 ku₃ ^dnin-sumun₂(-na-k)
 ku₃-sig₁₇, ku₃-si₂(ZI).g
 ku₃-sig₁₇-ta gunu₃
 ku₃ tuku
 ku₃-zu
 ku₄.r
 "to impose work": CU 176b
 "to send a message": A 197 (/Susa)
 → dumu KIĜ₂
 "to lay out gardens": CU 158-160 (broken)
 "to lay out huge gardens": 5:5-6
 GN: → a-ša₃ ^dnu-muš-da kiri₈-tab_{ki}(-k)
 "hair clasp": A 111* (Susa)
 "silver hair clasp": A 111
 "main courtyard": C 13*
 GN: Cadaster B iii 26, 27
 → e₂-kiš-nu-ĝal₂
 GN: Cadaster B i 2; iv 27
 "lapis lazuli seal": A 120
 uncertain meaning: A 68
 → i-lu kur-ku-ku; → u₃ ku
 obscure: A 193 (Susa)
 → gu₇
 "splendid, brilliant, precious, dazzling, pure, silver": A 172 (broken, obscure); 238 (A, broken, obscure); C 10 (obscure); 70; H 6 (broken); 7 (broken); → a ša₃-ku₃-ge ri; → an ku₃.g; → bad₃? ku₃.g; → ^ddim₃-pi(-me)-ku₃.g; → enim ku₃.g; → enim ku₃?! an-na(-k); → gin₂ ku₃.g; → na₄gug ku₃.g?; → ĝi₆-par_{3/4}(-)-ku₃.g; → (ĝeš)ĝidri ku₃.g; → ĝeš-ḥur ku₃.g; → i₇-KEŠ₂-ku₃.g; → ka ku₃ (+ poss. suff.) ba; → KA(enim?) ĝal₂ ku₃ zi.d; → ki ku₃-ga du₃; → ki-tuš ku₃ kur-gal-la; → ĝeš₆kirid ku₃.g; → nin ku₃ nun-na; → saĝ(-)ku₃(-)-ĝal₂; → ša₃ ku₃-ge pa₃.d; → temen ku₃ sig₉
 "pure silver": B 23; → ba-da-ra ku₃ me-a
 "silver": D (Ur) 29'; → tu-di-da ku₃-sig₁₇ ku₃-babbar
 "(canal-)inspector": A 22; → saĝ(-)ku₃(-)-ĝal₂
 "dazzling Ninsumun": A 16*; F 49 (broken); → ^dnin-sumun₂(-na-k)
 "gold": A 120 (Susa); C 110; D (Ur) 29* (broken); → ĝidri ku₃-sig₁₇ nam-en-na; → ḥar ku₃-sig₁₇; → tu-di-da ku₃-sig₁₇ ku₃-babbar
 "to be painted with gold" (said of a chariot): A 114
 "wealthy one": D (Ni) 5* || (Ur) 6'
 "wise ": → sipa ku₃-zu
 "to enter (+ loc./term.), to turn into (+ loc.), to bring in": A 12; 41; 131 (Susa); 199* (broken, read perhaps → gur; → DU A); 213; C 103; → ḥi-li-a/e ku₄.r; → ir₂-ra ku₄.r; → var. šum₂; → TU

ku ₅ (-ku ₅).r/.d, kud	1. "to cut off, to break, to decide" (said of judgments): A 66, 68; → di ku ₅ .r; → nam ku ₅ .d/.r; → niĝ ₂ -ku ₅ AK
ku ₆	2. "to hold off": → KA ₂ (-)še-nu-ku ₅ .d "fish": D (Ni) 25 ll 26; 31 (obscure); D (Ur) 32' ll 33' ll 34'; 35'*; → suḥurku ₆
ku ₇ -ku ₇ .d	"to be sweet": F 47*
kud	→ ku ₅ (-ku ₅).r/.d, kud
kuĝ _x	"outlet (of a canal)": Cadaster A iv 5; 7
kuĝ _x la ₂	"to make the outlet reach": B 28, 1:14
kul	→ ĝeš saĝ-kul
kum _x (PA)-kum _x (PA)	"to sparkle": C 9*
kur	1. "netherworld": A 79 ll 80; 132 (obscure) ll 133 (obscure); 137; 161 (Susa); → a kur-ra; → di kur-ra ku ₅ .d/.r; → den-lil ₂ kur-ra; → ensi ₂ gal kur-ra; → ġarza kur-ra(-k); → i ₃ -du ₈ gal kur-ra imin-bi; → ka-aš kur-ra bar; → kaskal kur-ra; → lugal kur-ra; → me kur-ra; → nidba kur-ra(-k); → para ₁₀ gal kur-ra(-k); → u ₂ kur-ra 2. "mountain, (foreign) land": A 65*; C 85 (obscure); 87; G 12 (obscure); Ni. 4375 iv 6'; → e ₂ -kur(-za-ġin ₃); → e ₂ -kur-re; → e ₂ -mud-kur-ra(-k); → kur-kur; → maš ₂ -gal kur-ra → bad ₃ gal kur-ra(-k)
kur erim ₂ -ġal ₂	"enemy lands": B 52* ll 53; → var. gu ₂ A.NE.RU-ġal ₂ ; → non-standard kur i-ri-im-ma(-ġa ₂ -l(a)); → kur NE.RU.m
kur ġe-rin	"blossoming mountain": F 10
kur i-ri-im-ma(-ġa ₂ -l(a))	non-standard "enemy lands": B 52* ll 53; → kur erim ₂ -ġal ₂
kur NE.RU.m	"enemy land": F 34; → kur erim ₂ -ġal ₂
kur? šem? ġeš eren-na	"mountain? of fragrant? cedar": E 4* (broken)
kur-elam ^{ki}	GN land of Elam: → elam; → ma-da kur-elam ^{ki} -ma
kur-gal	DN Great Mountain (ep. Enlil): B 29; 37; → ki-tuš ku ₃ kur-gal-la
kur-gal den-lil ₂	DN Great Mountain Enlil: B 5; 8; D (Ni) 10; → var. kur-gal UD den-lil ₂
kur-gal a-a den-lil ₂	DN Great Mountain, father Enlil: B 46
kur-gal UD den-lil ₂	"shining Great Mountain Enlil": D (Ur) 11'*; → var. kur-gal den-lil ₂
kur ġe ₂ -ġal ₂	"mountain (of) abundance": F 8
kur-ku-ku	"to observe attentively"; → i-lu kur-ku-ku
kur-kur	"all (the foreign) lands": A 197; C 41; F 30; → ġi(-) ġal ₂ kur-kur-ra; → lugal kur-kur-ra; → me-te kur-kur-ra; → var. ġur-saġ gal-gal
kur-kur-ra diri.ġ	"to exceed all (the foreign) lands": C 7
kur tu.b	non-standard "to heap up the foreign land": B 55 ll 57; → kur tu ₁₁ .b

kur tu ₁₁ .b	"to heap up the foreign land": B 55 57; → non-standard kur tu.b
kur-ur ₂	"foot of the mountains": B 45 51
kur ₂	"(to be) different, (to be) inimicable, to act inimicably (against somebody), to change, to be altered": A 8; 46; 46a (Susa); 56; 72; 209; B 40 46; 28 , 2:3; → enim kur ₂ ; → in kur ₂ AK; → var. suh ₃
la-l(a)	non-standard "wind": B 59 61; → lil ₂
la-ba	→ šar-ru-la-ba
la-la-bi ge ₄	"to bring pleasure": A 151 (Susa); → var. a-la ge ₄
la ₂	1. "to hang (from), to be suspended over something (+ loc.), to stretch": A 210 (Susa, obscure); 219 (obscure); → (ġeš)az-la ₂ ; → ba-da-ra la ₂ ; → gada la ₂ ; → gu ₂ -da la ₂ ; → i-si-iš la ₂ ; → kalam-ma la ₂ ; → kuġ _x la ₂ 2. "to bind together" (said of a fence): C 110 3. "to load" (said of barley on to ships): → še la ₂ 4. "to place at the disposal of somebody (+ dat.)": D (Ni) 33* 34 → ġeš la ₂ ; → ġeš-la ₂ -bi DU; → dub-la ₂ (-maḥ) → A.KA IGI(.x).LA ₂ ; → ZA ₃ .LA ₂ obscure: A 10 (broken) GN: Cadaster B ii 1; 2 → ensi ₂ laġaški(-k) "to bring, to lead": → DU A (de ₆ /tum ₂); → ma ₂ -laḥ ₅ gal "honey-)sweet, syrup": D (Ni) 29 30; → gurun ₆ la ₃ de ₂ ; → u ₂ -lal ₃ → dmes-lam-ta-e ₃ -a "guardian-spirit" (ep. Urnamma): C 50 "guardian-spirit of my city" (ep. Urnamma): C 31 "benevolent guardian-spirit": A 177* (broken) "bliss(fulness)": A 20*; → var. lib "daze, illusion": A 20* (Susa) ; → var. li.b "(to become) old": → ma-za-ru-um-libir "wind": B 59 61; → den-lil ₂ ; → dnin-lil ₂ ; → non-standard la-l(a) obscure: E 15' → me-lim _x "four": → lugal an(/-ne ₂) ub-da limmu ₂ -ba(/bi) "to multiply, to be numerous, plentiful, many": C 53; D (Ni) 17 (Ur) 18' (broken); → non-standard lu ₂ B non-standard "person": → non-standard lu i-ri-ġa ₂ -al; → lu ₂ A non-standard "king, lord": → lu ₍₂₎ -ga-al-ġu ₁₀ ; → pa-ra na-lu-ga-la(-k); → lugal non-standard "evil person": B 63 65; → lu ₂ erim ₂ -ġal ₂
LA ₂	
LA ₂ .A.BA	
LAGAR.AN.IGI ⁷	
laġaški	
laḥ ₄ (-laḥ ₄), laḥ ₅	
lal ₃	
lam	
dlamma	
dlamma iri-ġa ₂	
dlamma sa ₆ .g	
li.b	
lib	
libir	
lil ₂	
LIL ₂	
lim _x	
limmu ₂	
lu A	
lu B	
lu-ga-l(a)	
lu i-ri-ġa ₂ -al	

- kuš₁lu-ub₂
 kuš₁lu-ub₂ gunu₃
 lu₂ A
- lu₂ a₂ tuku
 lu₂ aš₂ du₁₁-ga
 lu₂ eren₂-e ki-aġ₂
 lu₂ erim₂-ġal₂
- lu₂ 1 gin₂
 lu₂ gir₅-ra
 lu₂ 1 gud
 lu₂ ħul-ġal₂
 lu₂ i-^dutu-ka
 lu₂ kar
 lu₂ KAŠ₄
 lu₂ 1 ma-na
 lu₂ nam-da₆-ga
 lu₂ nam tar-tar-ra
 lu₂ NE.RU
 lu₂ niġ₂ tuku
 lu₂ nu-zu
 lu₂ ġeš^ttukul-la
 lu₂ 1 udu
 lu₂ zu
- lu₂ B
- lu₍₂₎-ga-al-ġu₁₀
 lu₂[?]-gal ka-na-ma(-k)
- lu₂-maḥ
 lu₂-maḥ diⁿana
 LU₂.LU₂
 LU₂.ŠA₃×TAR[?].A(-k)
 lugal
- "leather-bag": A 92*
 "multicoloured leather-bag": A 89
 "man, person, somebody, they (impersonal), who": A 43 (Susa); 183; 184; 185; 190; 192; 194; C 30; 55; E 3' (broken) || F 9; 1:3; 2:3; 3:4; 4:3; 26,1:9; 28, 2:1; 29,b 2:5'; 40:12; 47, 2:7; 2:9; → a lu₂/lugal-ġu₁₀; → nam-lu₂-ulu₃/u₁₈-lu₇; → non-standard lu B
 "mighty person": CU 164
 "cursed person": 28, 2:6
 "beloved of troops" (ep. Urnamma): A 43*
 "evil person": B 63 || 65; → lu₂ NE.RU; → non-standard lu i-ri-ġa₂-al
 "person with one *shekel*": CU 166
 uncertain meaning: CU 122 (broken)
 "man with one ox": CU 170
 "evil person, evil one": Ni. 4375 iv 5' (broken)
 "oppressor": C 35
 "fugitive": C 37
 uncertain meaning: CU 122 (broken)
 "person with one m a n a": CU 167
 "sinner": A 140
 "who holds all the decreed fates" (ep. Namtar): A 108
 "malefactor": B 25; → lu₂ erim₂-ġal₂
 "wealthy person": CU 162
 "stranger": A 57
 "man of arms": A 139 (Susa); → var. eren₂
 "person with one sheep": CU 169
 "sage": → ġeš^tu₂ maḥ lu₂ zu
 non-standard "to be numerous, plentiful": D (Ur) 36'; → lu A
 non-standard "my lord": B 52 (broken); → lugal-ġu₁₀
 non-standard "king of the land": B 68; → lugal kalam-ma(-k)
 "I u m a ḥ-priest": A 78
 "I u m a ḥ-priest of Inana": year name "9"
 IB 1537 rev. v' 23' (broken)
 "captive": C 90*
 "king, lord": A 33; 39; 64; 70; 74; 79; 81; 84 (Susa); 85; 99 (Susa, obscure); 132 (broken); 141; 146 (Susa); B 11; 69 (ep. Enlil); C 13; 61; D (Ni) 9; 35 (ep. Enki); E 25' || F 25; E 29'; F 31; E 33' || F 36; E 35'; G 13; 19; CU 161; 5:2; 9,1:2; 10:4; 11:2; 12:2; 16:3; 22:3; 23:3; 24:2; 25:5; 26,1:4; 27,1:4; 28,1:3; 2:4; 29,b 2:3" (broken); b 2:5"; b 2:7"; 30:2; 32:2; 33:2; 34:2; 40:3; 44:2; 45:3; 46:2; 47,1:2;

- Ni. 4375 iv 3'; iv 7'; v 9'; IB 1537 rev. v' 14'; year name "4"; → ama lugal-la; → an lugal; → an-ki lugal [...]; → an-za-gar₃-dumu-lugal-ka; → urudaba-an si-sa₂ lugal-la dim₂; → du₆-lugal-iri-ka; → i₇-lugal(-la(-k)); → nam-lugal; → nin₉ lugal-la; → ur-dnamma lugal; → non-standard lu-ga-l(a)
- lugal an(/-ne₂) ub-da limmu₂-ba(/bi) "king of the four corners" (ep. Urnamma): **D** (Ni) 37 || (Ur) 38'
- lugal diġir-re(-e)-ne "lord of the gods" (ep. An): **A** 207; **5**:1
- lugal eg₂ pa₅-ra "lord of embankments and ditches" (ep. Enkimdu): **A** 25
- lugal eridu^{ki}-ga "lord of Eridu" (ep. Enki): **A** 180 || 236; **D** (Ni) 35 || 36
- lugal-ġu₁₀ "my lord" (ep. Urnamma): **A** 146; 154; 241; **B** 52; **C** 108 (ep. Nanna); **D** (Ni) 7 (ep. Nanna-Su'en); **G** 16; 22; **CU** 83 (ep. Nanna); 109 (broken) (ep. Nanna); 132 (ep. Nanna); IB 1537 rev. vi' 7' (ep. Enlil); → a lu₂/lugal-ġu₁₀; → non-standard lu₍₂₎-ga-al-ġu₁₀
- lugal kalam-ma(-k) "king of the land" (ep. Urnamma): **A** 40; **B** 68; **C** 25; **H** 1 (broken) || 10; → non-standard lu₂[?]-gal ka-na-ma(-k)
- lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri(-k) "king of Sumer and Akkad" (ep. Urnamma): **CU** 13; 107 (broken); **3**:3; **7**, 2:2; **10**:9; **11**:6; **12**:6; **13** obv. 7; **14** obv. 6; **15** obv. 6; **16**:7; **17**:7; **18**:6; **19**:6; **21**:6; **22**:7; **23**:6; **24**:6; **26**, 1:8; **27**, 1:8; **28**, 1:7; **31**:6; **32**:6; **33**:6; **34**:7; **35**:7; **40**:7; **45**:7; **46**:6; **47**, 1:11; Al-Rawi, *Sumer* 46 (1989-90) 84:7; IB 1537 rev. v' 4'
- lugal kur-ra "king of the netherworld" (ep. Gilgameš): **A** 95
- lugal kur-kur-ra "king of all (the foreign) lands" (ep. Enlil): **16**:2; **22**:2; **23**:2; **45**:2
- lugal mu da-a-ri "king with a lasting name" (ep. Urnamma): **D** (Ur) 41'
- lugal mu tuku "famous king": **A** 77
- lugal uri_{2/5}^{ki}-ma "king of Ur" (ep. Urnamma): **C** 19; 31; **D** (Ni) 41; **CU** 12 (broken); 106 (broken); **1**:2; **2**:2; **3**:2; **4**:2; **5**:4; **6**:5; **7**,2:1; **8**:5; **9**,1:4; **10**:8; **11**:5; **12**:5; **13** obv. 6; **14** obv. 5; **15** obv. 5; **16**:6; **17**:6; **18**:5; **19**:5; **21**:5; **22**:6; **23**:5; **24**:5; **25**:8; **26**,1:7; **27**,1:7; **28**,1:6; **29**, a:2; **31**:5; **32**:5; **33**:5; **34**:6 (broken); **35**:6 (broken); **38**:4 (broken); **39**:4' (broken); **40**:6; **42**:4' (broken); **43**,2:1; **45**:6; **46**:5; **47**,1:10; Al-Rawi, *Sumer* 46 (1989-90) 84:6; IB 1537 rev. v' 3'
- lugal-mara₂-da(-k) DN Lugalmarada: → ki sur-ra lugal-mara₂-da(-k)
- LUGAL IB 1537 rev. vi' 1' (obscure); → KI.LUGAL.GUB.1; → maš-kan₂-LUGAL^{ki}
- luḥ "to (be) clean": **D** (Ni) 4*; 24; → i₇-pa_{4/5}-bi-luḥ
- lul "treacherous, deceitful": → ki-lul-la; → šu lul bala

- ma-da "land, territory": C 41
 ma-da a-ga-de₃^{ki} GN territory of Agade: IB 1537 rev. v' 22'
 ma-da eš₂-nun-na^{ki} GN territory of Ešnunna: IB 1537 rev. v' 19'
 ma-da ki-en-gi ki-uri "Land Sumer and Akkad": C 50*
 ma-da kur-elam^{ki}-ma GN territory of the land of Elam: IB 1537 rev. v' 11'
 ma-da tu-tu-ub₂^{ki} GN territory of Tutub: IB 1537 rev. v' 20'
 ma-da zi-mu-dar^{ki} GN territory of Zimudar: IB 1537 rev. v' 21'
 ma-ḥe(/a) non-standard "great, magnificent, huge": → na-gu₄-u₈ ma-
 ḥ(a); → u₂-tu-ug ma-ḥe; → maḥ
 ma-na "m a n a": CU 148; → lu₂ 1 ma-na
 ma-na ge.n "to standardize as a m a n a": CU 145-146
 ġešma-nu "m a n u-wood":
 ġešma-nu nam-en-na(-k) "made of m a n u-wood of e n-ship": A 103
 (Susa); → var. ġidri ku₃-sig₁₇ nam-en-na
 ġešma-nu nam-sipa-da "(staff) made of m a n u-wood of shepherdship": A
 103a (Susa)
 ma-za-ru-um GN: Cadaster A ii 24; iv 14
 ma-za-ru-um-libir GN: Cadaster A ii 27; 28
 ma₂ "boat, ship": A 65; 182
 ma₂-gan(ki) GN Magan: → ki sur-ra ma₂ ma₂-gan^{ki}; → ma₂ ma₂-gan
 ma₂-gur₈(-ra) "cargo boat": A 106 (broken, obscure); C 88
 (ġeš)ma₂ i₇-da "river boat": A 215
 ma₂-lah₅ gal "chief sea-captains": CU 91; 118
 ma₂ ma₂-gan "Magan-boats": 26, 2:4; → ki sur-ra ma₂ ma₂-gan^{ki}
 ma₂ ma₂-gan^{ki}-na ḏnanna "Magan-boats of Nanna": CU 80-81
 ma₂ ri "to navigate a ship to (+ term.)": C 104 || 105
 maḥ "(to be) very big, huge, greatest, main, magnificent,
 enormous, sublime, to make eminent": B 1; 11; 26;
 27; → a maḥ; → a-gar₃ gal-gal maḥ; → a₂ maḥ; → buru₁₄
 maḥ; → dub-la₂-maḥ; → dub-sar maḥ; → e₂-gal maḥ; →
 e₂-kur maḥ; → enim maḥ du₁₁.g; → eš₃ maḥ; → gud
 maḥ; → ġeštu₂ maḥ lu₂ zu; → i₇-edin-maḥ; → i₇(-)x-x[?](-)
 maḥ(-)ḏnanna; → KA₂-maḥ; → kiri₆ maḥ DU; → kisal(-)
 maḥ; → lu₂-maḥ; → mu maḥ pa₃.d; → nam-gu₂ maḥ; →
 NI₃ maḥ du₁₀.g; → ḏnin-maḥ; → para₁₀ maḥ nam-lugal-
 la; → u₁₈-ru maḥ; → utug₂(tu_g₂) maḥ; → non-standard ma-
 ḥe(/a)
 mar → gu₂ mar(-mar)
 mar-ru₁₀/uru₅ "deluge, tempest": A 237 (G); → e₂-mar-uru₅
 mar-uru₅ an-ki "deluge (of) heaven and earth" (ep. Enki): 46:1
 mara₂-da^{ki} GN Marada: CU 127; Cadaster B iv 30; → ki sur-ra
 ḏlugal-mara₂-da(-k); → KISIM₂-ur-mara₂-da^{ki}-ka
 mas-su ki-en-gi-ra "leader of Sumer" (ep. Urnamma): A 35
 maš-gan₂ "settlement": CU 128a

maš-gi-i du ₁₁ .g	non-standard "to be in charge": E 30'* 32'; → var.
maš-kan ₂ -LUGAL _{ki}	maškim du ₁₁ .g
maš-tab	GN Maškanšarrum: IB 1537 rev. v' 18'
MAŠ	→ iri-maš-tab
maš ₂	→ KA×MAŠ
maš ₂ du-du	"buck":
maš ₂ du ₇	non-standard "perfect bucks": A 87 (Susa); 128a (Susa, broken); 129 (Susa); → var. maš ₂ du ₇
maš ₂ -e dab ₃	"perfect bucks": A 87; → non-standard maš ₂ du-du
maš ₂ -e pa ₃ .d	"to choose by extispicy": A 78*
maš ₂ -gal kur-ra	"to designate by extispicy": C 58; year name "8"; "9"
maškim du ₁₁ .g	"mountain he-goats": A 102 (Susa)
me A	"to be in charge": F 35; → var., non-standard maš-gi-i du ₁₁ .g
me B	"to be": 27, 1:10
me C	non-standard personal pronoun 1st common sg. "me": D (Ur) 12'*; → var. ġa ₂ , ġe ₂₆ -e; → na(-)
me du ₁₀ -du ₁₀ .g	"m e": B 7; → ddim ₃ -pi(-me)-ku ₃ .g
me gal	"all good m e": → iri me du ₁₀ -du ₁₀ -ga
me-den-lil ₂ -la ₂	"great m e": E 7' F 13
me kur-ra	→ i ₇ -me-den-lil ₂ -la ₂
me D	"m e of the netherworld": A 99
me-a ġar	"silence": → niġ ₂ (-)me-ġar
me(-a) E	"to reduce to silence, to silence": A 185
me-e(-)EN	"pure" (said of silver): → ku ₃ me(-a)
me-en-i ₃ -li ₂	obscure: F 26*
me-dim ₂	GN: Cadaster A ii 2; 4; B iv 1; 2
me-li-e-a	"appearance": A 46; → var. a-ra ₂ kalam-ma
me-lim _x	"alas!": A 61; 165 (broken); 193
me-lim _x tuḫ-tuḫ	"radiance, awe": D (Ur) 16*
me-lim _x kalam-ma dul	"to (be) laden with radiance": C 7
me-te	"to cover the land with radiance": E 25' (broken) F 25 28
me-te kur-kur-ra	"adornment": → me-teš ₂ B
me-te? unken-na	"adornment of all (the foreign) lands" (ep. Urnamma): E 6' F 12
me-teš ₂ A	"adornment? of the assembly" (ep. Urnamma): A 33 (broken) 34*
me-teš ₂ i-i	"appeal and vigour":
me-teš ₂ B	"to duly praise": B 18
me-teš ₂ nam-lugal-la	non-standard "adornment": → me-te
ME	"adornment of kingship": D (Ur) 16'
ME(.)ME(.)DU ₈	→ SAĜ?.ME
	obscure: C 40

me ₃	"battle": A 196; C 30
me ₃ -še ₃ DU	"to line up for battle": IB 1537 rev. v' 12'-13'
me ₃ šen-šen	"battle and combat": A 32 (broken)
mes	→ ^d bil _{3/4} -ga-mes
^d mes-lam-ta-e ₃ -a	DN Meslamtaea: → ki sur-ra ^d mes-lam-ta-e ₃ -a
mi-ir-mi.r	uncertain meaning: D (Ur) 29*
mi-ri-e-zi-ka du ₁₁ .g	non-standard "to trample": B 55 57; → ġiri ₃ -saga ₁₁ du ₁₁ .g
MI	(non-standard) "to be sweet": → nam MI
mi ₂	→ za ₃ -mi ₂ ; → za ₃ -za ₃ .m(/-mi ₂)
mi ₂ zi du ₁₁ .g	"to praise deservedly, to approve of, to duly look after (+ abl.) ": A 239; C 18; 22; 23
mi ₂ zi-de ₃ -eš	"appropriately": E 39' (obscure)
mi ₂ zi-de ₃ -eš i-i	"to extoll rightfully": F 26-27*
ġešmiddu ₂	"mace": A 88
MIN	→ IGI.MIN/A?
mir	→ a ₂ tumu-mir-ra
ġešmitum piriġ an-na	"m i t u m-weapon (with) a celestial lion": A 92 (Susa); → var. i-mi-tum piriġ an-na
mu A	"line": F 52; G 28 (broken)
mu B	"year": year names "1-17"
mu C	"name, renown, reputation": B 45 51; E 4' F 10; 27, 2:8; 28, 1:11; Ni . 4375 v 10' (obscure); → teš ₂ mu i-i
mu da-a-ri	non-standard "lasting name": → lugal mu da-a-ri; → mu da-ri ₍₂₎
mu da-ri	non-standard "lasting name": D (Ur) 31'; → var. mu da-ri ₂
mu da-ri ₂	"lasting name": D (Ni) 20; 24; → non-standard mu da-ri; → non-standard mu da-a-ri
mu ... -a-še ₃	"because": A 18
mu i-i	"to reveal? the name": → teš ₂ mu i-i
mu pa ₃ .d	"to call the name, to mention, to call by name": A 231; B 34; E 5' F 11; 14
mu maḥ pa ₃ .d	"to call the sublime name": A 222*
mu sar-ra (+ loc.) šu ur ₃ /uru ₁₂	"to erase an inscription": 29,b 2:7'-8' (broken); 40:12-13
mu-su-ur	non-standard "liquorice": D (Ur, C) 36'; → u ₂ munzer (UD. ^d NANNA)
mu še	non-standard "to name": D (Ur) 30'; 31'; → mu še ₂₁
mu-še-n(a)	non-standard "bird, fowl": D (Ur, B) 32' 33' 34'; → mušen; → non-standard mu-ši-x
mu še ₂₁	"to name": D (Ni) 22 23*; → non-standard mu še
mu du ₁₀ še ₂₁	"to give a good name": C 46
mu-ši-x	non-standard "bird, fowl": D (Ur, C) 33' 34'; → mušen; → non-standard mu-še-n(a)

mu_tuku	"famous": → lugal mu_tuku
mu ₂ , mu ₂ -mu ₂	"to grow (tall), to sprout": A 23; 28; C 53; D (Ur) 37'; → abzu-ta mu ₂ ; → an-še ₃ mu ₂ ; → nin(-)da-zi-mu ₂ -a; → u ₂ -šem-gin ₇ mu ₂ ; → var. e ₃ .Ø/d; → SAR
mud	"to bring forth, to produce": A 140 (Susa); → e ₂ -mud-kur-ra(-k); → dnu-dim ₍₂₎ -mud; → var. zu
mud-ġal ₂	→ ka mud-ġal ₂ ki-en-gi-ra
mul	"ramifying": → pa mul
mun ₄ (-na)	"bitter, salty": A 83; → ses B
munus	"woman": → ġeš ga-rig ₂ (imin?) nam-munus-a
munus a nun-na(-k)	"woman of noble stock": E 39' F 44* (broken)
munus zi gir ₁₇ -zal	"good and proud woman": F 18*
u ₂ munzer(UD.dNANNA)	"liquorice": D (Ur, B) 36'*; → non-standard mu-su-ur
muš	"snake": C 36; → ġeš gi-muš
muš ₃ ?-am ₃	exclamation used to express or seek compassion: A 54* (broken)
dMUŠ ₃ .EREN	→ PUZUR ₄ .dMUŠ ₃ .EREN(-k)
mušen	"bird, fowl": D (Ni) 24; 25 26; D (Ur) 35'*; → non-standard mu-še-n(a); → non-standard mu-ši-x
na(-)	non-standard personal pronoun 1st common sg. "me" (?): D (Ur) 30'* (obscure); → ġa ₂ , ġe ₂₆ -e; → me B
NA	obscure: E 40' (broken)
na-gu ₄ -u ₈ ma-ĥ(a)	non-standard "great oppression": B 59 61; → nam-gu ₂ maĥ
na-lu-ga-l(a)	non-standard "kingship": → pa-ra na-lu-ga-la(-k); → nam-lugal
na ₂	→ nu ₂
na ₄ ge.n	"to standardize a (weight) stone": CU 147-149
NAGAR.BI	GN: Cadaster A ii 12; 13
NAGAR.BI-4-kam-ma	GN: Cadaster B iii 13; 14
naġ-ġa ₂	"watering places": → u ₂ naġ-ġa ₂
nam	"quality, state, (all) these": C 16 (broken, obscure); G 11; 12; H 6 (broken, obscure); → niġ ₂ -nam
nam bala	"to overturn (somebody's) destiny": A 17* (Susa); → var. nam tar
nam-da ₆ .g	"sin": → lu ₂ nam-da ₆ -ga
nam du ₁₀ .g	"to make the destiny pleasing": D (Ni) 12; → (non-standard) nam MI
nam-en	"e n-ship": Ni. 4375 v 2'; → ġidri ku ₃ -sig ₁₇ nam-en-na; → ġeš ma-nu nam-en-na(-k); → numun nam-en-na
nam-en-na tum ₂	"to be worthy of e n-ship": A 103a (Susa)
nam-EN-na tag	uncertain meaning: C 79*
nam-ga-eš ₈	"trade": CU 90; 117
nam-ga-eš ₈ silim	"to restore trade": 26 , 2:3

nam-gu ₂ maḥ	"great oppression": B 59 61; → non-standard na-gu ₄ -u ₈ ma-ḥ(a)
nam-ḡeš-šub galam	"cunning spell": B 19*; → var. nam-šub galam
nam-ḡu ₁₀	"what is it to me? what is it that?": A 61
nam-ḥa-ni	PN Namḥani: CU 75
nam-ḥe ₂ (-ḡal ₂)	"abundance, prosperity": A 211; G 9; → u ₄ nam-ḥe ₂ -a AK; → non-standard nam-ḥi-i
nam-ḥi-i	non-standard "abundance": B 71; → nam-ḥe ₂ (-ḡal ₂)
nam ku ₅ .d/r	"to curse": 29 , b 2:10" (broken); 40 :15
nam-lu ₂ -ulu ₃ /u ₁₈ -lu ₇	"people, mankind": A 20; 56 (broken); 230; F 39 (broken)
nam-lugal	"kingship": B 44 50; C 114; Ni 4375 iv 11'; → me-teš ₂ nam-lugal-la; → para ₁₀ (maḥ) nam-lugal-la(-k); → non-standard na-lu-ga-l(a)
nam-lugal šum ₂	"to give kingship": D (Ni) 13
nam-lugal uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma šum ₂	"to give kingship of Ur": CU 34-35
nam MI	(non-standard) "to make the destiny pleasing": D (Ur) 13'; → var. nam du ₁₀ .g
nam-munus	"womenly fashion": → ḡeš ga-rig ₂ (imin?) nam-munus-a
nam-nar	"activity of the musician, music": → e ₂ nam-nar-ra(-k)
nam-nin	"queenship, fit for a queen": → tuḡ ₂ pala ₃ nam-nin-a
nam-nir	"confidence": D (Ni) 9 D (Ur) 10'; → (en) dnu-nam-nir
nam-nun gal	"great nobility": B 2
nam-ra-aš AK	"to take as booty": IB 1537 rev. vi' 4'-5'
nam-sipa.d	"shepherdship": → ḡeš ma-nu nam-sipa-da
nam-šub	"spell, lot": → šir ₃ -nam-šub-dnanna(-k)
nam-šub galam	"cunning spell": B 19* (C ₂); → var. nam-ḡeš-šub galam
nam tar	"to determine, to decree, to allot fate": A 17*; 221; B 70; C 6; D (Ni) 9 D (Ur) 10'; E 17' F 22; E 36' F 37; E 38' F 42; → ki nam tar-ra/(re) (diḡir-re(-e)-ne); → lu ₂ nam tar-tar-ra; → šu nam tar-ra; → var. nam bala
nam du ₁₀ tar	"to determine an auspicious fate": C 19
nam gal tar	"to decree a great fate": B 37
nam(-)tar-ra	"decreed fate": A 9*; Ni. 4375 v 4'
nam tar-ra sa ₆ .g	"propitious fate": C 49
nam tar-tar-ra	"all the decreed fates": → lu ₂ nam tar-tar-ra
dnam-tar	DN Namtar: A 108; → dam (d)nam-tar-ra
nam-til ₃	"life": 28 , 2:13; → ḥur-saḡ-nam-til ₃ -la(-k)
nam-til ₃ -la-ni-še ₃ a ru	"to make a votive gift for his (= Urnamma's) life": 31 :7-8; 33 :7-8 (broken); 34 :8-9; 40 :10-11; IB 1537 rev. v' 5'-6'
nam-til ₃ ur-dnamma(...)-še ₃ a ru	"to make a votive gift for the life of Urnamma (...)": 35 :3-12

- nam-ur-saĝ
nam-urdu AK
nam-zi-um
^dnamma
^dnanna
- ^dnanna-gu₂-gal
^dNANNA
nar
-ne-e
NE
NE.RU-du, NE.RU.m
NE.RU(-)ĝal₂
^dne₃-eri₁₁-gal
ni(-i)g-ru
ni-is-kum
ni₂
 ni₂-ba
 ni₂-bi il₂
 ni₂-te
 ni₂ te-en-te
ni₂ guru₃^{ru}
ni₂ ri
 ni₂ gal ri
 ni₂ ĥuš ri
ni₂ su-e us₂
ni₂ te (ĥ.), te.ĝ (m.)
ni₂ zu
ni₂-zuĥ
NI₃(inda₃/niĝ₂)
 NI₃ maĥ du₁₀.g
 NI₃ šu tag
ni₁₀-ni₁₀
- "valour, warriorship": → a₂ nam-ur-saĝ-ĝa₂
"to enslave": CU 130
GN: Cadaster A iii 20; 21
→ (sipa) (^d)ur-^dnamma(-k)
DN Nanna: A 13; 179 || 235; C 42; 45*; 108; 111*;
CU 33; 82; 131; 9,1:1; 10:1; 25:1; 26, 1:1; 27, 1:1;
28, 1:1; 2:2; 2:7; 30:1; 33:1; 44:1 (broken); 47, 1:1;
2:11; → a-ba-^dnanna-gin₇; → e₂ ^dnanna; → en ^dnanna; →
i₇(-)^x-x[?](-)^{maĥ}(-)^dnanna; → kar-za-gin₃(-)^dnanna(-k); →
ki-tuš ^dnanna(-k); → ma₂ ma₂-gan^{ki}-na ^dnanna; → šir₃-
nam-šub-^dnanna(-k)
CN: 28, 1:11; → i₇-^dnanna-gu₂-gal
→ u₂munzer(UD.^dNANNA)
"musician": → e₂ nam-nar-ra(-k)
demonstrative pronoun: → niĝ₂-ne-e
obscure: A 156 (D)
"malefactor, evil, enemy": C 36; → lu₂ NE.RU; → kur
NE.RU.m; → niĝ₂-NE.RU
"(to be) rebellious": → gu₂ (A.)NE.RU-ĝal₂; → ki-bala
NE.RU-ĝal₂; → erim₂-ĝal₂
DN Nergal: A 90*
non-standard "to imbue with awe": B 68; → ni₂ guru₃^{ru}
"*nisku*-people": CU 88
1. "self (of a person)": A 41 (Susa), 200 (Susa, ob-
scure)
"by itself, spontaneously": A 168*; IB 1537 rev. v' 12'
"to raise itself high": C 80
"(him)self": A 155; C 18 (broken)
"to refresh oneself": E 34'
2. "awe, splendour, fear":
"to imbue with awe": B 68; → e₂-temen-ni₂-guru₃(^{ru});
→ non-standard ni(-i)g-ru
"to inspire awe, to be laden with splendor":
"to grandly inspire awe ": B 28
"to be laden with a terrible splendour, to invest some-
body with a terrible splendour": B 6
"to inspire fear": C 33*
"to be seized with panic, to spread panic, to be afraid":
A 3; 5
"to experience fear": A 156 (Susa)
"thief": C 35
"meals, offerings":
"to have huge quantities of food tastily prepared": B 35
"to seize offerings": A 135 (Susa)
→ šu ni₁₀-ni₁₀

nibru ^{ki}	GN Nippur: D (Ni) 12 D (Ur) 13'; IB 1537 rev. vi' 8'; → bad ₃ nibru ^{ki} ; → u ₂ -a nibru ^{ki}
nidba	"sacrifices, (sacrificial) offerings": C 42; 93* (obscure); E 15'; → i ₇ nidba(-k); → var. inda ₃ -ba
nidba kur-ra(-k)	"sacrifices for/of the netherworld": A 85 86
niga	"fattened": → udu niga
niĝ ₂	"thing(s), something, which, what, anything": A 107; 159 (Susa, obscure); 161; 194; B 40 46; CU 130
niĝ ₂ -a ₂ -zi.g	"violence": CU 178
niĝ ₂ -ba	"gift, present": C 107
niĝ ₂ -ba-a ĝar	"to make a present, to give as a present": IB 1537 rev. vi' 13'-14'
niĝ ₂ -ba šum ₂	"to give presents": A 76
niĝ ₂ -daĝal	"vastness": A 5*
niĝ ₂ du ₁₀ .g	"something pleasing": → sizkur ₂ niĝ ₂ du ₁₀ .g
niĝ ₂ -egir	"rest": IB 1537 rev. vi' 11'
niĝ ₂ ge-na	"truth": CU 42 (broken); → di niĝ ₂ ge-na ^{dutu}
niĝ ₂ gig-ga	"something bitter": 28 , 2:13; → i-lu a-nir niĝ ₂ gig-ga
niĝ ₂ -gur ₁₁	"property (matters), treasures": E 28' F 33; → nin niĝ ₂ -gur ₁₁ -e ki-aĝ ₂ ; → nin niĝ ₂ -gur ₁₁ -ra(-k)
niĝ ₂ -gur ₁₁ -e ki-aĝ ₂	"to love treasures": F 44; → nin niĝ ₂ -gur ₁₁ -e ki-aĝ ₂
niĝ ₂ -hul dim ₂ -ma	"committed sacrilege": → a ₂ niĝ ₂ -hul dim ₂ -ma aĝ ₂
niĝ ₂ ki-aĝ ₂ dereš-ki-gal-la	"Ereškigal's favourite": A 94
niĝ ₂ -ku ₅ AK	"to tax": C 80*
niĝ ₂ (-me-ĝar	"stillness, silence": → i-lu niĝ ₂ (-me-ĝar du ₁₁ .g
niĝ ₂ -nam	"everything":
niĝ ₂ -nam dub-sar-ra(-k)	"everything (concerning) the scribe": A 124*
niĝ ₂ -nam irigal _(2gal) -(1)a	"everything (concerning) the underworld": A 110*
niĝ ₂ -ne-e	"all this": A 156
niĝ ₂ -NE.RU	"evil, wickedness": E 27' F 32; CU 177
niĝ ₂ -NE.RU sa ₂ du ₁₁ .g	"to subdue evil": C 38
niĝ ₂ -si-sa ₂	"justice": CU 41
niĝ ₂ -si-sa ₂ ĝar	"to establish justice": CU 112-113 (broken); 180-181
niĝ ₂ -si-sa ₂ -e pa e ₃ AK	"to make justice appear": C 38
niĝ ₂ -si-sa ₂ sa ₂ du ₁₁ .g	"to impose justice": E 27'-28' F 33
niĝ ₂ ša ₃ .g	"desirable things": A 60
ĝeš niĝ ₂ -šu.k	"chariot": A 114
niĝ ₂ tuku	"rich one, wealthy" (ep. Urnamma): D (Ni) 6* D (Ur) 8'; → lu ₂ niĝ ₂ tuku
niĝ ₂ ul-li ₂ -a-ke ₄ pa e ₃	"to make the ancient/traditional things/rights manifest": 26 , 2:1
NIĜ ₂	→ NI ₃ (inda ₃ /niĝ ₂)
NIĜ ₂ .DA.TAG.GA	uncertain meaning: IB 1537 rev. v' 9'
NIĜ ₂ .ŠU(.)PI	obscure: A 99* (Susa)

nim	→ igi nim; → sig-ta igi nim-še ₃
nim ġir ₂ -ġir ₂	"flashing lightening": C 9
nin	"lady, mistress, queen": A 196*; E 37* F 41 (broken) 43; 46 (obscure); 6:3; 7,1:2; 8:3; 13 obv. 3; 14 obv. 2; 17:3; 18:2; 19:2; 21:2; 29,b 2:9"; 31:2; 35:2; 38:2; 42:1'; Al-Rawi, <i>Sumer</i> 46 (1989-90) 84:3; → ^{tu} g ₂ pala ₃ nam-nin-a
nin an-na	"queen of heaven" (ep. Inana): 8:2
nin e ₂ -an-na	"lady of the Eana" (ep. Inana): 14 obv. 2; Al-Rawi, <i>Sumer</i> 46 (1989-90) 84:2
nin gal e ₂ -an-na	"great lady of the Eana" (ep. Inana): A 201
nin-ġu ₁₀	"my lady" (ep. Inana): A 203
nin ku ₃ nun-na	"dazzling, princely lady"/Ninkununa (ep. Inana): 6:2; 17:2; → var. nin nun-na
nin niġ ₂ -gur ₁₁ -e ki-aġ ₂	"lady who loves treasures" (ep. Inana?): F 41* 43; → var. nin niġ ₂ -gur ₁₁ -ra(-k)
nin niġ ₂ -gur ₁₁ -ra(-k)	"lady of treasures" (ep. Inana?): E 37*; → var. nin niġ ₂ -gur ₁₁ -e ki-aġ ₂
nin nun-na	"princely lady" (ep. Inana): 17:2; → var. nin ku ₃ nun-na
nin(-) ^{da} -zi-mu ₂ -a	DN Ninazimua (wife of Ningēšzida): A 126*
^d nin-a-zu	DN Ninazu: → ama ^d nin-a-zu
^d nin-e ₂ -gal	DN Ninegal: 18:1
^d nin-gal	DN Ningal: 19:1; 31:1; 35:1
^d nin-gublaga	DN Ningublaga: C 29; → uš e ₂ ^d nin-gublaga
^d nin-ġeš-zi-da	DN Ningēšzida: A 217 (broken); → en ^d nin-ġeš-zi-da; → sul ur-saġ ^d nin-ġeš-zi-da
^d nin-ġir ₂ -su	DN Ninġirsu: → i ₇ -gu ₂ -[x]-ur ₂ ?(-) ^d nin-ġir ₂ -su; → i ₇ ki-sur-ra ^d nin-ġir ₂ -su
^d nin-ḥur-saġ	DN Ninḥursag: 14 obv. 1
^d nin-ḥur-saġ-ka	GN: Cadaster B iii 19; 21
^d nin-lil ₂	DN Ninlil: B 33; F 48 (broken); 21:1; → ama gal ^d nin-lil ₂
^d nin-maḥ	GN Ninmaḥ: A 10
^d nin-SAR	→ e ₂ - ^d nin-SAR-ka
^d nin-sumun ₂ (-na-k)	DN Ninsumun: A 178; 15 obv. 1; → ama ^d nin-sumun ₂ (-k); → dumu (du ₂ -da) ^d nin-sumun ₂ (-ka); → e ₂ ^d nin-sumun ₂ ; → ku ₃ ^d nin-sumun ₂ (-na-k)
^d nin-ša ₃ -ge-pa ₃ -da	DN Ninšagepada: 38:1
^d nin-tu.r	DN Nintur: C 24; 47; → i ₇ -a- ^d nin-tu.r
NIN-diġir	"N I N d i ġ i r-priestess": A 78*
nin ₉	"sister":
nin ₉ di ₄ -di ₄ .l	"young sisters": A 153; → var. nin ₉ tur
nin ₉ lugal-la	"the king's sister" (ep. Ninazimua/Ġeštinana): A 126* (Susa); 127a* (Susa)
nin ₉ tur	"young sister": A 153 (Susa); → var. nin ₉ di ₄ -di ₄ .l

nindan	"n i n d a n" (measuring unit): → gi-nindan
nindan _x (NINDA.DU)	"n i n d a n" (measuring unit)": 27 , 2:3 (broken)
ninkum	"n i n k u m": B 18
nir	→ nam-nir
nir(-)ġal ₂	"to put trust into someone (+ com.), to place confidence in something (+ com.), to trust, trusting, noble, tasty" (said of food): B 12; C 17; F 6; → en-nir-ġal ₂ -an-na; → u ₂ nir-ġal ₂
nir-ġal ₂ -bi DU	"to stand confidently" (said of people): C 55
anšenisku(m)(PIRIĜ)	"thoroughbred donkey": A 115*
nita ₍₂₎ kala.g	"strong man" (ep. Urnamma): CU 11 (broken); 105 (broken); 7 ,1:4; 10 :6; 11 :4; 12 :4; 13 obv. 5; 14 obv. 4; 15 obv. 4; 16 :5; 17 :5; 18 :4; 19 :4; 21 :4; 22 :5; 24 :4; 25 :7; 26 ,1:6; 27 ,1:6; 28 ,1:5; 31 :4; 32 :4; 33 :4; 34 :4; 35 :5 (broken); 39 :3' (broken); 40 :5; 42 :3'; 43 ,1:2 (broken); 45 :5; 46 :4; 47 ,1:9 (broken); Al-Rawi, <i>Sumer</i> 46 (1989-90) 84:5; IB 1537 rev. v' 2'
NITA	→ ANŠE.NITA?
NITA ₂	→ ĠIR ₂ .NITA ₂
nitadam	"spouse, wife, husband": A 49; 126 (broken); 166; 174; → var. dam A
nitadam ki-aġ ₂ dinana	"beloved husband of Inana" (ep. Dumuzi): A 104 (D); → var. dam ki-aġ ₂ dinana
ḏnu-dim ₍₂₎ -mud	DN Nudimmud: A 12; D (Ni) 36
nu-mu-un-KUŠ	"widow": A 166; CU 164
ḏnu-muš-da(-k)	DN Numušda: Cadaster A i 14; → a-ša ₃ ḏnu-muš-da kiri ₈ -tabki(-k); → an-za-gar ₃ -ḏnu-muš-da-ka; → para ₁₀ -ḏnu-muš-da-ka
nu-na-am-ni-r(a)	non-standard DN Nunamnir: B 54 56; → ḏnu-nam-nir
ḏnu-nam-nir	DN Nunamnir: B 3; 6; 12; 34; 40; D (Ni) 11 D (Ur) 12'; → en ḏnu-nam-nir; → non-standard nu-na-am-ni-r(a)
nu-siki	"orphan": CU 162
nu-tuku	→ ga-ri nu-tuku; → gaba-ri nu-tuku
nu-zu	"unknown": → ki nu-zu; → lu ₂ nu-zu
nu ₂	"to lie (down)": A 12; 35 36 37; 42; 44; 48 (broken); 192; C 74; → ġeš-nu ₂ ; → ki-nu ₂ ; → var. šub
nu ₁₁	→ ġeš-nu ₁₁ (-gal)
numun	"seed": G 11
numun nam-en-na	"seed of e n-ship": C 113; Ni. 4375 iv 12' (broken)
nun	"high, low, prince(ly), noble": → ḏa-nun-na(-k); → a ₂ nun ge ₄ -a; → eš ₂ -nun-na ^{ki} ; → gu ₂ nun du ₁₁ .g; → ġa ₂ -nun; i ₃ -nun; → i ₇ -nun; → munus a nun-na(-k); → nam-nun gal; → nin ku ₃ nun-na; → nin nun-na
NUN	→ i ₇ -EN(.EREN ₂).NUN

pa e ₃	"to make appear, to show, to reveal": C 16; → ħe ₂ -ġal ₂ -la pa e ₃ ; → niġ ₂ ul-li ₂ -a-ke ₄ pa e ₃
pa e ₃ AK	"to make appear, to reveal, to shine, to show": B 67; → ħe ₂ -ġal ₂ pa e ₃ AK; → niġ ₂ -si-sa ₂ -e pa e ₃ AK; → non-standard pe-e ša-aš
pa mul	"ramifying branch": E 29* 31'
pa-ra na-lu-ga-la(-k)	non-standard "dais of kingship": B 66; → para ₁₀ nam-lugal-la
PA-a	"PA-a-cry": D (Ni) 35* 36
PA.PA	→ kum _x (PA)-kum _x (PA)
PA.USAN	"herdsman": A 117*
pa ₃ .d	"to call, to choose, to appoint": A 224; B 5 (broken); → maš ₂ -e pa ₃ .d; → mu pa ₃ .d; → dnin-ša ₃ -ge-pa ₃ -da; → ša ₃ -ge pa ₃ .d
pa ₅ .r	"ditch": D (Ni) 4*; 24; → eg ₂ pa ₅ .r; → i ₇ -pa _{4/5} -bi-luĥ
pa ₅ -urdu-šum-ma	GN: Cadaster B iv 19; 20
u _g ₂ pa ₃ nam-nin-a	"p a l a-robe fit for a queen": A 98
pana	→ ġeš gag-pana
ġešpana gal	"large bow": A 88
par _{3/4}	→ ġi ₆ -par _{3/4}
para ₁₀ -g	"dais, throne": D (Ni) 7 8; 5 :7
para ₁₀ gal kur-ra(-k)	"great dais of the netherworld": A 136
para ₁₀ maĥ nam-lugal-la	"highest dais of kingship": C 1
para ₁₀ nam-lugal-la(-k)	"dais of kingship": B 66; → non-standard pa-ra na-lu-ga-la(-k)
para ₁₀ -dnu-muš-da-ka	GN: Cadaster A i 2; 4; 18; 19
para ₁₀ -dsu'en	GN: Cadaster A iii 27; 28
pe-e ša-aš	non-standard "to shine": B 67; → pa e ₃ AK
peš A	"to raise": → du ₁₀ -ba/be ₂ peš; → gu ₂ peš; → non-standard ŠA ₃ (peš _x ?)
peš B (?)	"to . . .": Ni. 4375 v 10' (obscure)
peš C	"young date-plants":
peš du ₃	"to plant with young date-plants": 27 , 1:9
peš _x ?(ŠA ₃)	non-standard "to raise?": → var. peš A; → du ₁₀ -ba ŠA ₃ (peš _x ?)
PEŠ(.PEŠ)	uncertain meaning: A 181*
-pi-	→ ddim ₃ -pi(-me)-ku ₃ .g
PI	→ NIĠ ₂ .ŠU(.)PI
piriġ	"lion": A 184; 238 (A); C 52; H 9 (broken)
piriġ an-na	"celestial lion" (as part of a weapon): → i-mi-tum/ġešmitum piriġ an-na
PIRIĠ	→ anš _{en} isku(m)(PIRIĠ)
pu-uški	GN: Cadaster A iv 3; 4
PU ₂ ĥulu	"perilous pit": A 183*

PU ₂ -saĝ	"pit": → saĝar PU ₂ -saĝ-ĝa ₂ (-k)
PUZUR ₄ .dMUŠ ₃ . EREN(-k)	PN Puzur/Kutik-Inšušinak (of Elam): IB 1537 rev. v' 15'
ra	non-standard "to make"(?): → šu dul ₃ ra; → AK
ra-aĥ	"to gnash": → e ₂ -zu ₂ -ra-aĥ
ra ₂	"to carry"(?): → a DU(ra ₂ ?)
ĝešrab	"shackle": F 30
rab diĝir-re-e-ne	"shackles of the gods": F 13*; → non-standard a-ra ₂ -ab diĝir-re-ne
re ₇	"to go" (<i>h.</i> , pl.): → ĝen
ri	"to throw, to inspire" (said of fear), "to ejaculate" (said of semen), "to navigate": → a ša ₃ ku ₃ -ge ri; → ga-ri nu-tuku; → gaba-ri nu-tuku; → ma ₂ ri; → ni ₂ ri; → šu-ta ri
(-)ri-MU	non-standard "at Ur/in my city"(?): D (Ur, C) 30'* (obs-cure)
RI	obscure: Cadaster: A i 30; ii 1
ri ₂ -ig-mu-uš-KALAG	GN: Cadaster A iii 8; 9
rib-ba	"mighty": A 232
rig ₂	→ ĝeš ga-rig ₂
rig ₇	→ saĝ(-e)-eš ₍₂₎ rig ₇
ru	→ a ru
RU	A 68 (Susa, obscure, broken); → NE.RU-du, NE. RU.m; → var. tab
ĝešRU	uncertain meaning: C 9*
sa-g(i)	non-standard "head": B 69; → saĝ
sa-gid ₂ -da	"s a g i d a" (rubric): B 39
sa-ĝar-ra	"s a ĝ a r a" (rubric): B 72
sa-ĥa-ar	non-standard "sand (dunes)": → si-im sa-ĥa-ar-e(-)ed-b(u)
sa-ra	uncertain meaning: G 22 23* (broken)
sa ₂	"to attain, to be zealous": A 162; → si sa ₂ ; → si si-DI (sa ₂ /de); → šu-a sa ₂
sa ₂ du	non-standard "to arrive, to reach": A 51* (Susa); → sa ₂ du ₁₁ .g
sa ₂ du ₁₁ .g	"to arrive, to reach, to subdue (said of evil)": A 51; 146 147; → niĝ ₂ -NE.RU sa ₂ du ₁₁ .g; → niĝ ₂ -si-sa ₂ sa ₂ du ₁₁ .g; → u ₄ sa ₂ du ₁₁ -ga; → non-standard sa ₂ du; → non-standard si du ₁₁ .g
sa ₂ -du ₁₁ -še ₃ ĝar	"to establish as regular offerings": CU 29-30
sa ₆ .g	"(to be) pleasant, good, fine, benevolent, favourable, propitious, beneficial, to do well": A 173 (broken, obscure); C 63; G 15; → ĝiškim sa ₆ .g; → d _h uš-bi-sa ₆ .g; → ki sa ₆ .g; → ki ur ₅ sa ₆ .g; → d _l amma sa ₆ .g; → nam tar-ra sa ₆ .g; → u ₂ sa ₆ .g; → d _u dug sa ₆ .g
sa ₇ .g	"(to be) azure, green, verdant, magnificent, flourishing, comely, beautiful": A 106 (Susa); → an(-gin ₇) sa ₇ .g; →

	en sa ₇ .g; → gud sa ₇ .g; → ħur-saġ sa ₇ .g; → ul sa ₇ .g; → var. si ₃ .g [?] B; → var. sig [?] B
sa ₁₂ -ti-um-ma	→ a ₂ tumu-sa ₁₂ -ti-um-ma
sag ₃	"to demolish", "to strike, to fell" (said of a tree), "to (make) shake" (said of bodies, the earth): A 2; 46* (Susa); C 32; → e ₂ -sag ₃ -ga; → ki sag ₃ ; → var. su ₃ .g
saga ₁₁	→ ġiri ₃ -saga ₁₁ du ₁₁ .g
saġ	"head": A 121; D (Ur) 25* (obscure); F 51 (obscure); → dumu saġ den-lil ₂ -la ₂ ; → ħur-saġ; → saħar PU ₂ -saġ-ġa ₂ (-k); → ur-saġ; → uz ₃ -saġ; → non-standard sa-g(i)
saġ gi ₆ .g	"Black-Headed": A 3; B 38; → uġ ₃ saġ gi ₆ .g
saġ AK	"to fully satisfy (+ loc.-term.)": A 150*; → var. šu dul ₃ ra
saġ(-e)-eš ₍₂₎ rig ₇	"to present with": B 69 (broken); C 23; D (Ni) 21 (broken); G 8; 47 , 1:7
saġ(-)gu ₂ (-)-ġal ₂	non-standard "proud one, noble one": A 42* (Susa); → saġ(-)ku ₃ (-)-ġal ₂
saġ-ġa ₂ ge.n	"to firmly rest on the head": A 178
saġ-ġa ₂ ġal ₂	"to place on the head": D (Ur) 16'
ġeš saġ-ġu ₁₀	non-standard "bolt": A 68* (Susa); → ġeš saġ-kul
saġ(-ġa ₂) ħa-za	"to take care of somebody, to be at the disposal of": A 177*
saġ il ₂	"to raise the head, to lift the head": B 11; 68; D (Ni) 9 D (Ur) 10'
saġ an-še ₃ il ₂	"to lift the head heavenward": B 10
saġ-kal	"foremost" (ep. Inana): A 196; 237 (G); → var. ki-sikil
saġ-ki	"frown, forehead": → ki(-)saġ-ki kalam-ma
saġ-ki gid ₂	"to look at somebody/something angrily, to frown": A 13; C 39; 47 , 4:3-4
saġ-ki ħuš den-lil ₂ -la ₂	"Enlil's fierce forehead": A 200
saġ-ki zalag bar	"to turn the shining forehead toward somebody, to smile radiantly upon somebody": D (Ni) 13
saġ(-)ku ₃ (-)-ġal ₂	"proud one, noble one": A 42*; → non-standard saġ(-)gu ₂ (-)-ġal ₂
ġeš saġ-kul	"bolt": A 68; → non-standard ġeš saġ-ġu ₁₀
saġ saħar-re-eš dub	"to pile up heads as sand dunes": B 52 53; non-standard → si-im sa-ħa-ar-e(-)ed-b(u)
saġ saħar-eš tu.b	non-standard "to pile up heads as sand dunes": B 52 53 (D)
saġ-ur-saġ	"s a ġ u r s a ġ": C 84*
saġ us ₂	"to provide, to support, to observe": A 210*
saġ-us ₂ uri ₂ ki-ma	"supporter of Ur" (ep. Urnamma): D (Ni) 38
saġ zi.g	"to raise the head": A 208*
SAG [?] .ME	obscure: A 38 (broken)
tu ₂ saġšu	"head-dress": A 123

saḥar	"sand (dunes), dust": → <i>i</i> ₇ -saḥar; → saḡ saḥar-re-eš dub; → IŠ
saḥar PU ₂ -saḡ-ḡa ₂ (-k)	"dust of a pit": A 190*
saḥar-ra tuš	"to be set in the dust, to squat in the dust": 47, 4:6 (broken)
saḥar ses	"bitter dust, alkali": A 69
sar A	"to drive away": A 233
sar B	→ dub-sar; → mu sar-ra (+ loc.) šu ur ₃ /uru ₁₂
SAR	obscure: A 99; C 15; H 3; → e ₂ -dnin-SAR-ka; → i ₃ SAR; → ḡeš isimu ₃ SAR; → ki(-)SAR; → mu ₂
ses A	"brother, sweetheart": A 50*; CU 173
ses dbil ₃ -ga-mes	"brothers of Gilgameš": C 112
ses ki-aḡ ₂	"beloved brother" (ep. Gilgameš): A 143
ses B	"bitter, bloody": A 83; → saḥar ses; → mun ₄ (-na)
SES	obscure: A 171
SES.KI	→ amar banda ₃ ^{da} SES.KI
si A	"to fill something (+ loc.-term.) with something (+ abs.), to occupy, to be choked up, to fill up on": A 54; 154*; 186; B 9*; C 13; D (Ni) 27 28; → var. sud ₍₄₎ .r, su ₃ -ud
si B	"horn": → dag-si AK
si.g	"to be(come) weary, to become silent, calm": A 22; → kar si.g
si du ₁₁ .g	non-standard "to reach": A 146* 147 (Susa); → sa ₂ du ₁₁ .g
si-ḡar kala.g	"strong bolt": F 31
si-ig	"to tear out": A 181
si-im sa-ḥa-ar-e(-)ed-b(u)	non-standard "to pile up heads as sand dunes": B 52 53; → saḡ saḥar-re-eš dub
si-pa ur-dna-na-ma(-k)	non-standard "shepherd Urnamma": B 53; 56; 60; 64; 68; → sipa d _{ur} -dnamma(-k)
si sa ₂	"to put in order, to administer, to provide for, to perform properly, to set aright, to make fall right into something (+ loc.-term), to be properly arranged, to prepare": A 132 133; 196 (Susa, broken); B 13; 14; C 21; 37; 71; G 18; 26 (broken); → urudaba-an si-sa ₂ lugal-la dim ₂ ; → di si-sa ₂ ku ₅ (-ku ₅ .r); → ḡiri ₃ si sa ₂ ; → niḡ ₂ -si-sa ₂
si si-DI(sa ₂ /de)	"to guide": D (Ni) 16 (broken) (Ur) 17*
si-un ₃ -na	"zenith": A 13
SI	obscure: C 102 (broken)
SI.A	obscure: A 32
si ₂ .g	→ ku ₃ -sig ₁₇ , ku ₃ -si ₂ (ZI).g
si ₃ .g A	"to collapse, to throw": A 2; → gu ₃ teš ₂ -a si ₃ .g; → ŠUM ₂

si ₃ .g [?] B	"to provide with, <i>to form as</i> ": A 106; → sig [?] ("EREN ₂ ") B; → var. sa ₇ .g
sig A	"(situated?) below, to be narrow": A 99 (Susa); Cadaster B i 19
sig-ta igi nim-še ₃	"from below to above": A 223 (broken); year name "4"
sig [?] ("EREN ₂ ") B	obscure: A 106; → si ₃ .g [?] B; → var. sa ₇ .g
SIG ₂ .SUD	→ tu _g ₂ z/sulu(m)ḫu/i(SIG ₂ .SUD)
sig ₄	→ še _g ₁₂
sig ₇	→ sa ₇ .g
sig ₉	"to drive in, to inlay": → temen ku ₃ sig ₉ ; → ul-la sig ₉
sig ₁₇	→ ku ₃ -sig ₁₇ , ku ₃ -si ₂ (ZI).g
siki	→ nu-siki
sikil	"pure": → ḡešbansur sikil; → ki(-)sikil
silā A	non-standard "joy": D (Ur) 40'; → silā _x (UBARA)
silā B	"street, square": → TAR
silā daḡal	"broad square": A 19
silā ₃	"s i l a" (measuring unit): CU 28
silā ₃ ge.n	"to standardize as a s i l a": CU 137; 139; 142 (broken)
silā ₃ zabar dim ₂	"to fashion a bronze s i l a": CU 143-144
silā _x (UBARA)	"joy": D (Ni) 40; → non-standard silā A
silim	1. "to be vigorous, to make healthy, to restore": → eren ₂ silim-ma; → nam-ga-eš ₈ silim 2. "salvation": → KA ₂ -silim-ma
sipa.d	"shepherd": A 117; 150; 213; B 6; C 78; F 50; → ḡešma-nu nam-sipa-da; → non-standard si-pa
sipa ku ₃ -zu	"wise shepherd": A 31
sipa ur-dnamma(-k)	"shepherd Urnamma": A 91; 96; 101 105 109 113 119 122a (Susa, broken) 128 131a (Susa, broken); 234; B 68 (D); C 107; 115 (broken)
sipa d _{ur} -dnamma(-k)	"shepherd Urnamma": B 10; 14; 20; 36; 37; 53; 56; 60; 64; 68; F 45 (broken); 51; → non-standard si-pa ur-dna-na-ma(-k)
sipa zi.d	"faithful shepherd" (ep. Urnamma): A 6; 18; 21; 39; 84; 155; 202; C 76
sipa zi ur-dnamma	"faithful shepherd Urnamma": A 7; B 4; 12
sir ₂ .d/r	"to accumulate": → IM.UD sir ₂ -da
sizkur ₂ niḡ ₂ du ₁₀ .g	"pleasing sacrifices": A 52
su A	"to be(come) inundated, to sink": A 23 (A); 65 → non-standard su ₁₃ (BU)
su B	non-standard " <i>to grow tall</i> ": → ḡeštir-gin ₇ su; → sud ₍₄₎ .r, su ₃ -ud
su C	"body": C 32; → ni ₂ su-e us ₂
su-a	"family": CU 174
su-ub	"to sweep away": B 59 61; → non-standard du B

su-zi.g	"dread, awe":
su-zi gal ₂	"to be imbued with dread": B 27
su-zi guru ₃ ^{ru}	"to be full of awe": E 9'
SU	obscure: A 69
su ₃ .g	1. "(to be) empty, desolate, to strip, to cut clear": A 8; 46*; 73; → edin bar su ₃ -ga(-k); → var. sag ₃ ; → var. sud ₍₄₎ .r, su ₃ -ud
su ₃ -ud	2. "to be full": → SU ₃
SU ₃	→ sud ₍₄₎ .r, su ₃ -ud
su ₆ za-gin ₃ su _{3/13} -su _{3/13}	"to be full": D (Ni) 35* 36; → sud ₍₄₎ .r, su ₃ -ud; → su ₃ .g; → gi-SU ₃
su ₁₃ (BU) A	"to wear a long lapis lazuli beard": E 24'; F 5; 45
su ₁₃ (BU) B	non-standard "to be(come) inundated": A 23 (B); → su A
su ₁₃ (BU)-su ₁₃ (BU)	→ sud ₍₄₎ .r, su ₃ -ud
suba/i ₂	→ su ₆ za-gin ₃ su _{3/13} -su _{3/13}
sud ₍₄₎ .r, su ₃ -ud	uncertain meaning: C 53*; 78
	"(to be) long, far, to lengthen, to withdraw, to remove": A 27*; 54 (Susa); 73 (Susa); E 15'; H 2 10; → an-gin ₇ su ₃ -ud; → su ₆ za-gin ₃ su _{3/13} -su _{3/13} ; → ša ₃ su ₃ -ra; → u ₄ sud-ra ₂ -še ₃ ; → var. si A; → var. su ₃ .g; → SU ₃ ; → non-standard su ₁₃ (BU)-su ₁₃ (BU)
sud-ra ₂ -aĝ ₂	" <i>electrum</i> ": B 23
SUD	→ tu _{g2} zulu(m)ḥu/i(SIG ₂ .SUD); → udu zulu(m)ḥu/i _x (TUG ₂ .SUD)
dsu'en(EN.ZU)	DN Su'en: C 44; F 24; → a-ša ₃ -dsu'en; → dumu gal dsu'en-na; → e ₂ dsu'en-na; → ki-aĝ ₂ dsu'en-na; → ki sur-ra dsu'en(-k); → para ₁₀ -dsu'en; → sul dsu'en
dsu'en-ra tum ₂	"to be worthy of Su'en" (ep. Urnamma): F 31
sug	"marsh(es)": 27 , 1:9; 10
suḥ	"to choose": D (Ni) 11; → var. suḥ ₁₀
suḥ ₃	"to become troubled, confused, twisted" (said of roads): A 46 (Susa); 74 75; → var. kur ₂
suḥ ₁₀	"to choose": D (Ur) 12'; → var. suḥ
suḥ ₁₀ kar ₂ -kar ₂ -ka	"radiant crown": B 42* 48
suḥur ^{ku} ₆	"s u ḥ u r-fish": D (Ni) 27* 28
suḥuš ge.n	"to make the foundation (of the throne) firm": D (Ni) 15 D (Ur) 15'; → ur ₂ ge.n
sukud	"eminent": → en sukud
sul	"youth(ful)": D (Ni) 10 (Ur) 11'
sul dsu'en	"youthful Su'en": D (Ni) 8
sul ur-saĝ dnin-ĝeš-zi-da	"youthful hero Ningēšzida": A 118
sul zi.d	"faithful young man, faithful youth" (ep. Urnamma): B 34; 43 49; D (Ni) 6; → var. dsul-gi.r
dsul-gi.r	PN Sulgi: D (Ur) 8'*; → var. sul zi.d

sulu(m)ḫu/i _(x)	→ tuḡ ₂ z/sulu(m)ḫu/i _(x)
sumun ₂	a wild bovine race: → ^d nin-sumun ₂ (-na-k)
sumur, sumur _x	"furious, gusty" (said of winds): → e ₂ -sumur-ra; → tumu sumur _(x)
sun ₅ -na-bi	"humbly": A 199
sur	"to mark off, to demarcate": → i ₇ ki sur-ra(-k); → ki sur-ra
sur ₂ , sur ₁₄	→ sumur, sumur _x
ša-aš	non-standard "to deliver, to bring, to make": B 68; → AK; → DU; → non-standard pe-e ša-aš
ša-ša	(var.) non-standard "to rage": B 52 53; → AK
ša ₃ .g	"heart, inside, stomach, womb, depth, midst, interior, centre": A 84; 84a (Susa); 154; 160; 222 (A, broken, obscure); B 30; C 6; 21; 37; 48; F 8; E 3' F 9; E 13'; 14'; CU 155-156; → a ₍₂₎ ša ₃ -ḡu ₁₀ du ₁₁ .g; → ab-ša ₃ .g; → an-ša ₃ .g; → niḡ ₂ ša ₃ .g
ša ₃ den-lil ₂ -la ₂	"heart of Enlil": D (Ni) 37
ša ₃ ku ₃ .g	"pure womb": → a ša ₃ ku ₃ -ge ri
ša ₃ sud.r	"impenetrable heart/inside": C 92 (obscure)
ša ₃ (-ge/ga) DU	"to be moved": B 9*
ša ₃ -ge pa ₃ .d	"to choose in the heart": F 24; 29; → ^d nin-ša ₃ -ge-pa ₃ -da
ša ₃ ku ₃ -ge pa ₃ .d	"to choose in the precious heart": E 26' (broken)
ša ₃ gur	"to be merciful": F 10
ša ₃ ḫul ₂	"to be joyful, to delight": A 149 (Susa); → ki-tuš ša ₃ ḫul ₂ -la; → var. ḫul ₂
ša ₃ (-)ka-tab	"listless": A 12
ša ₃ usan _x ?(AN.USAN)	"midst of the evening": A 8*
ša ₃ zi-ta(/da)	"from the true womb on": D (Ni) 9 D (Ur) 10'
ŠA ₃ (peš _x ?)	"to raise?": → du ₁₀ -ba ŠA ₃ (peš _x ?)
ŠA ₃ ×TAR?.A	→ LU ₂ .ŠA ₃ ×TAR?.A(-k)
ša ₄	→ DU
šagan	→ bur-šagan šu du ₇ -a
šandana tuku	"to obtain gardeners": CU 161
šar-ru-la-ba	GN: Cadaster A iii 18; 19
šar ₂	"to multiply, to be(come) innumerable": C 78; → gud gaz - udu šar ₂ ; → uḡ ₃ šar ₂ (-šar ₂)
^d šara ₂	DN Šara: 32 :1; 34 :1 (broken, uncertain)
še A	non-standard in → mu še "to name": → mu še ₂₁
še B	"barley, grain": CU 26
še daḡal	"vast barley (fields)": A 228
še du ₁₀ .g	"good barley, to make the barley good": G 10; 11; 12
še gu-nu	"mottled barley": A 23; C 23*; D (Ur) 37'; G 8
še ku ₅ .d	"to hold off grain": → KA ₂ (-)še-nu-ku ₅ .d
še la ₂	"to load grain": C 88

- še
 še-er-ka-an du₁₁.g
 še-er-us₂-sa
 še-ga den-lil₂-la₂
še-ri-im-tum
 -še₃
- (-)ŠE₃
- še₈-še₈
 še₂₁
 šed₇
 še_g₁₂
 še_g₁₂ e₂-kur-ra(-k)
 še_g₁₂ uri₂ki-ma
 še_g₃
- še_g₇
 šem
- šen
 šen-šen
 šer₇-da
 ši-ši
ši-ma-at
 šibir(EN×GANA₂-t.)
 šibir₂
 ġeššini_g?
 šir₃-nam-šub-dnanna(-k)
 šu A
 šu B
- šu dugud
 šu nam? tar?-ra
 šu za-gin₃
 šu za-gin₃-na tum₂
 šu-a ge₄(-ge₄)
- šu-a sa₂
 šu ba.r
- a₂-še
 "to decorate something (+ loc.)": **B** 23
 → i₇-še-er-us₂-sa
 "favourite of Enlil" (ep. Urnamma): **D** (Ur) 38*
 GN: Cadaster B iii 24; 25
 → an-še₃; → igi (+ poss. suff.)-še₃; → ki-bi-še₃; → ki-še₃; → me₃-še₃ DU; → mu ... -a-še₃; → nam-til₃-la-ni-še₃ a ru; → nam-til₃ ur-dnamma(...)-še₃ a ru; → sa₂-du₁₁-še₃ ġar; → sig-ta igi-nim-še₃; → šu-(+ poss. pron.)-še₃ šum₂; → u₄ sud-ra₂-še₃; → u₆ di-še₃ gub
A 66 (obscure, read perhaps → ŠU); → diġir-ŠE₃ du₂.d;
 → in-ŠE₃ dub₂; → iti₆-ŠE₃; → za-pa-aġ₂-ŠE₃ ġar
 → ir₂ gig še₈-še₈/ši-ši
 → mu še₂₁; → non-standard še A
 "to relieve, to appease": **A** 160
 "brick(work)":
 "Ekur's brickwork": **B** 7
 "the brickwork of Ur": **A** 165
 "to rain, to precipitate": **A** 59* (Susa); → im an-ta še_g₃;
 → var. ġen
 → im
 "resin, perfume, fragrance": → kur šem ġešeren-na; → u₂-šem-gin₇ mu₂
 → dub-šen
 "combat": → me₃ šen-šen
 "offense": **C** 32*
 → ir₂ gig še₈-še₈/ši-ši
 → i₇-ši-ma-at-[...]; → i₇-ši-ma-at-der₃-ra
 "staff": **A** 103a (Susa); **D** (Ni) 17; → var. šibir₂
 "staff": **D** (Ur) 18' (broken); → var. šibir
 "tamarisks?": **C** 100
 "š i r n a m š u b of Nanna" (subscript): **F** 52
 non-standard "to give": **B** 54 ll 56; → šum₂
 "hand, handle": **CU** 18 (obscure); 124 (obscure); → ġešniġ₂-šu.k
 "heavy hand": **A** 183
 "hand of fate?": **A** 169 (broken, obscure)
 "lapis lazuli handle" (of a treasure chest): **A** 110
 "to be worthy of a shining hand": **A** 103 (Susa)
 "to return to somebody/something's control, to keep secure": **C** 72*; 86; **26**, 2:4; **47**, 2:4; → šu ge₄
 "to take possession": **D** (Ni) 16 (broken) ll (Ur) 17
 "to release": → a šu ba.r

- šu dab₅ "to seize with the hands": A 36; 60 (Susa); → var. šu gid₂
 šu du₇ "to equip, to make perfect, to put in full force": Ni. 4375 v 3'; → a₂ šu du₇; → bur-šagan šu du₇-a; → gi₁₆-sa šu du₇-a
 šu-du₁₁-ga "creature" (ep. Urnamma): C 111
 šu dul₃ ra "to put a protecting hand over somebody/something (+ loc.-term.)": A 150* (Susa); → var. saĝ AK
 šu ge₄ "to return, to turn back, to repay" → enim šu ge₄; → šu-a ge₄(-ge₄)
 šu gid₂ "to stretch out hands, to reach out": A 53 (Susa); 60*; C 36; → var. šu dab₅; → var. KA(enim) ge₄
 šu gig gid₂ "to stretch out afflicted hands": A 52*
 šu ġar "to place the hand": → gaba-šu-ġar nu-tuku
 šu lul bala "to alter deceitfully": A 9
 šu ni₁₀-ni₁₀ "to hurry along, to return quickly to (+ term.)": A 74 ll 75; 165
 šu-(+ poss. pron.)-še₃ šum₂ "to give into the hands, to put something into somebody's control": A 141; C 61
 šu šu₂-šu₂ "to clasp, to clamp down": C 36*
 šu-ta ri uncertain meaning: A 179* ll 235 (broken)
 šu tag 1. "to seize": A 52 (Susa); → NI₃ šu tag; → var. tag
 2. "to decorate with (+ abs.)": A 111
 šu ti/te (*h.*), ti/te.ġ (*m.*) "to receive, to obtain, to take": A 162
 šu-tum → e₂-šu-tum ki-aġ₂
 šu urin-na du₈ "to put in bloody fetters": C 90*
 šu ur₃/uru₁₂ "to erase": → mu sar-ra (+ loc.) šu ur₃/uru₁₂
 šu zi ġal₂ "to bestow": B 70* (broken)
 ŠU obscure: A 66 (read perhaps → ŠE₃); → NIĠ₂.ŠU(.)PI
 šu₂ "to cover, to give way": A 74 ll 75*; 135 (obscure); → an-ki šu₂; → gu₂-da šu₂; → ġa₂-ġeš-šu₂-a; → šu šu₂-šu₂; → var. šub
 → za₃ šu₄
 šu₄ "to fall, to fall into (+ loc.), to tear down" (said of a wall), "to be felled": A 45; 74 ll 75 (Susa); 139 (Susa); 170; 184; 192 (Susa); C 92; → i₇-ġeš-šub-ba; → ki šub-ba ġar; → nam-ġeš-šub galam; → nam-šub; → šir₃-nam-šub-dnanna(-k); → ġeš u₃-šub-ba; → var. nu₂; → var. šu₂; → var. ug₅
 šub
 ġeš šudul₄ "yoke": → DIŠ gud ġeš šudul₄-a
 ġeš šudul₄ zi.g "to lift the yoke": C 84
 šum → pa₅-urdu-šum-ma
 šum₂ "to give": A 122*; 131 (broken); B 54 ll 56; C 72; → a₂ šum₂; → nam-lugal (uri₃^{ki}-ma) šum₂; → niġ₂-ba šum₂;

	→ šu-še ₃ šum ₂ ; → non-standard šu A; → var. ku ₄ .r; → ŠUM ₂
ŠUM ₂	"to impose": F 35*; → si ₃ .g A; → šum ₂
-ta	→ a-ta DU; → a-ta e ₃ /e ₁₁ .d; → a ₂ -person-ta; → abzu-ta mu ₂ ; → an-ta; → an-ur ₂ -ta e ₃ ; → bar-ta gub; → ki-bi-ta; → ku ₃ -sig ₁₇ -ta gunu ₃ ; → dmes-lam-ta-e ₃ -a, → sig-ta igi nim-še ₃ ; → ša ₃ zi-ta(da); → šu-ta ri
tab	"to devastate, to double, to block": A 68 (obscure); → amaš tab; → iri-maš-tab; → kiri ₈ -tabki; → ša ₃ (-)ka-tab; → var. RU
TAB	obscure: A 32
tag	"to touch, to seize, to stretch out": A 52; → daġal tag; → ġeš tag; → ki tag; → nam-EN-na tag; → var. šu tag
TAG	→ NIĠ ₂ .DA.TAG.GA
taka ₄	"to abandon": A 58; → ġal ₂ taka ₄
TAKA ₄	→ ġal ₂ -TAKA ₄ .TAKA ₄ -ga
tam	→ bar tam
tar	"to cut (off)": → nam tar; → dnam-tar
TAR	obscure: A 69 (Susa); → LU ₂ .ŠA ₃ ×TAR?.A(-k); → var. ġar; → sila B; → ku ₅ (-ku ₅).r/.d, kud
ġeš taškarin	"boxwood tree": A 47
te (<i>h.</i>), te.ġ (<i>m.</i>)	"to (make) approach (+ loc.(-term.)), to be brought": A 40; 41; IB 1537 rev. v' 10'; → me-te; → ni ₂ -te; → ni ₂ te, te.ġ; → šu ti/te, ti/te.ġ; → ti, ti.ġ
te-en-te	"to refresh": → ni ₂ te-en-te
te-li	non-standard "to drift (along)": D (Ur) 32' 33' 34'; → diri.g
temen	"foundation (pegs)": → e ₂ -temen-ni ₂ -guru ₃ (ru)
temen ku ₃ sig ₉	"to drive in the sparkling foundation pegs": B 17
teš ₂ (-a)	1. "vigour, shame"; → me-teš ₂ A 2. "together, homogeneous": → gu ₃ teš ₂ -a si ₃ .g; → kalam teš ₂
teš ₂ kalam-ma	"the land's vigour" (ep. Urnamma): A 45*; 72
teš ₂ mu i-i	"to reveal" vigour and name": E 8' 12' 19' 23'
(ti)	non-standard "to come out": → ki ut-ti; → e ₃ .Ø/.d
ti	"arrow": → ġeš gag(-)ti
ti (<i>h.</i>), ti.ġ (<i>m.</i>)	"to approach": → te, te.ġ; → šu ti/te, ti/te.ġ
TI	obscure: 47 , 4:1
tigi ₂	"t i g i-instrument": A 187*
tigi ₂ den-lil ₂ -la ₂ (-k)	"t i g i of Enlil" (subscript): B 72 (broken)
til	"to finish, to complete, to come to an end, to exhaust, to spend": A 20; 148; 168; 191 (obscure); → hi-li til; → TUR til; → u ₄ til
til ₃	1. "life": C 107; → nam-til ₃

2. "to sit, to be present at (+ loc.), to live": A 196; → *ḥulu til*₃
 (ḡeš)tir "grove, riverine thickets":
 ḡeštir-gin₇ su "to grow tall like riverine thickets": D (Ur) 37*
 (ḡeš)tir ḥa-šu-ur₂(-ra) "grove of ḥ a š u r-trees": A 46*
 tu.b A non-standard "to heap up": → kur tu.b
 tu.b B non-standard in → saḡ saḥar-eš tu.b "to pile up heads as sand dunes": → saḡ saḥar-re-eš dub; → non-standard (-e)d-b(u)
 tu.r → *ḏnin-tu.r*
 TU obscure: A 174; → dur₁₁; → ku₄.r
 tu-di-da "toggle pin": → var. tu-di-tum; → var. du-di-da
 tu-di-da ku₃-sig₁₇ ku₃-babbar "toggle pin made of gold and silver": A 121
 tu-di-tum "toggle pin": A 121*; → var. du-di-da; → var. tu-di-da
tu-la₂-um GN: Cadaster B iv 33
 tu-tu-ub₂^{ki} GN Tutub: → ma-da tu-tu-ub₂^{ki}
 tu₁₁.b "to heap up": → kur tu₁₁.b; → non-standard tu.b A
 tuḡ₂ "cloth, garment, robe": → tuḡ₂ dugud; → tuḡ₂ pala₃ nam-nin-a; → tuḡ₂ sagšu; → tuḡ₂ zulu(m)ḥu/i(SIG₂.SUD)
 TUG₂.SUD → udu z/sulu(m)ḥu/i_x(TUG₂.SUD)
 tuḥ "to open, to loosen, to release": C 85; → me-lim_x tuḥ-tuḥ
 tuku, TUKU.TUKU "to have, to possess, to get, to obtain": A 129 (Susa); 223; C 50; 60; → ga-ri nu-tuku; → gaba-ri nu-tuku; → gaba-šu-ḡar nu-tuku; → ḡuruš? gu₂ tuku den-lil₂-la₂; → ku₃ tuku; → lu₂ a₂ tuku; → lu₂ niḡ₂ tuku; → lugal mu tuku; → šandana tuku
 ḡeštukul "weapon, arms": A 139; → lu₂ ḡeštukul-la
 tum₂ A → DU A
 tum₂ B "to be worthy of somebody (+ dat.), something (+ loc.(-term.))": → e₂-temen-ni₂-guru₃^{ru} tum₂; → nam-en-na tum₂; → *ḏsu*'en-ra tum₂; → šu za-gin₃-na tum₂
 tum₃ "to bring, to carry": → DU A
 tumu-ḡar₇-du₂ "western": → a₂ tumu-ḡar₇-du₂
 tumu-mir-ra "northern": → a₂ tumu-mir-ra
 tumu-sa₁₂-ti-um-ma "eastern": → a₂ tumu-sa₁₂-ti-um-ma
 tumu sumur_(x) "gusty winds": A 182
 tumu-ulu₃ "southern": → a₂ tumu-ulu₃
 tur 1. "to diminish": A 24*
 2. "young, small": A 153 (Susa, obscure); → nin₉ tur
 TUR til "to exhaust . . .": A 191
 tur₃ "cattle pen": A 29; C 26
 tur₃ amaš daḡal "wide cattle pens and sheepfolds": C 77
 tur₃ gul "to destroy the cattle pen": A 206

tuš (*h.* sg.), dur₂ (*m.* sg.),
durun (*m.*, *h.* pl.)

TUS

u

U

U.EN×GANA₂-t.u₂u₂ a-niru₂ il₂u₂ kur-rau₂-lal₃u₂ naġ-ġa₂u₂ nir-ġal₂u₂ sa₆.gu₂-šem-gin₇ mu₂u₂ za-gin₃u₂-au₂-a ki-en-gi ki-uriu₂-a nibrukiu₂-gu de₂, ug-gu de₂u₂-ruu₂-ša-ru-umkiu₂-tu-ug ma-ḥeu₃u₃-du₂.du₃ kuu₃ du₁₀ ku-kuu₃-mu-unġeš u₃-šub-bau₄.du₄ du₁₀-du₁₀.gu₄ ḥe₂-ġal₂-lau₄ ḥušu₄ ia₂u₄ iminu₄ uu₄-verb-a

"to sit, to squat, to seat, to install, to dwell, to be found": **A** 3; 70 || 71*; 82; 136; 190; → ḥul-ġal₂-la tuš?; → ki-tuš; → saḥar-ra tuš; → var. TUS

"to seat": **A** 69 (Susa); 136 (Susa); 190 (Susa); → var. tuš; → var. DU A

"ten": → u₄ u

uncertain meaning: **A** 234

"nose-leash": → ešgiri

"plant, herb, food, fuel":

"mourning grass": **A** 28

"to gather fuel": **C** 56

"the food of the netherworld": **A** 83

"honey-plant": **D** (Ni) 27 || 28*; **D** (Ur) 36'

"pastures and watering places": **C** 78*

"splendid food, tasty food": **A** 27; **C** 75

"fine grass": **A** 28* (broken)

"to grow like herbs": **A** 214

"fresh herbs": → ġeš-nu₂ u₂ za-gin₃ bara₃.g

"provider":

"provider for Sumer and Akkad" (ep. Urnamma): **D** (Ur) 39'

"provider for Nippur" (ep. Urnamma): **D** (Ni) 38

"to (make) disappear": **A** 27; **CU** 179

non-standard "storm": **B** 58 || 60; → uru₂ A

GN Ušarum: **CU** 129

non-standard "huge u t u g-weapon": **B** 52 || 53; → utug₂ (tuġ₂) maḥ

"and": **A** 120 (Susa); **CU** 128a; Cadaster B iv 27

"to create, to produce, to procreate": → du₂.d, u₃-du₂.d

"to fall asleep, to sleep": **A** 163

"to sleep soundly": **A** 20

ES "lord": **F** 3; 26

"brickmould": **B** 13

"day(light), time, storm": **A** 14; 54; **D** (Ur) 40'; → UD; → dutu

"very auspicious day": **C** 58

"days of abundance": **D** (Ur) 30*; → var. i₇ ḥe₂-ġal₂-la

"fierce storm" (ep. Inana): **A** 204*

"five days": **A** 145 (Susa); → var. u₄ imin

"seven days": **A** 145; → var. u₄ ia₂

"ten days": **A** 145

"when": **CU** 31; **28**, 1:8-9; **40**:8-9; **47**, 1:12-13

u ₄ -ba	"at that time": CU 36; 87; 104 (broken); 125; 150; 182; IB 1537 rev. v' 7'
u ₄ -da	"daily": F 48
u ₄ -da gub	"occupied with the day, serving by day": A 162*
u ₄ du ₁₁ -ga	"appointed time": A 51* (broken); → var. u ₄ sa ₂ du ₁₁ -ga
u ₄ e ₃ (-a)	"breaking daylight, rising day": A 211 (Susa); → ki u ₄ e ₃ (-a); → d _{utu} e ₃ ; → d _{utu} -gin ₇ kalam-ma e ₃ ; → non-standard ut-ti
u ₄ -gin ₇ kar ₂	"to make shine forth like daylight": B 8
u ₄ ġar	"to set light": E 10' F 15
u ₄ nam-ġe ₂ -a AK	"prosperous times": B 15*
u ₄ -ri-m(a)	non-standard "Ur": B 67; → uri _{2/5} ki.m
u ₄ sa ₂ du ₁₁ -ga	"appointed time": A 51 (Susa); → var. u ₄ du ₁₁ -ga
u ₄ sud-ra ₂ -še ₃	"for all time": B 12; 37; D (Ni) 18 (broken)
u ₄ til	"to spend the time": A 163; → var. u ₄ zal(-zal)
u ₄ zal	"to spend the day, to pass time": A 21; 145; 167 175; D (Ni) 40; → non-standard za-e-en-za-e-l(e); → var. u ₄ til
u ₅	"to ride high": F 3*-5
u ₆ du ₁₁ .g (ġ.), e (m.), di.d	"to look at in admiration, to be spectacular": A 230 (broken); C 8; F 40 (broken)
u ₆ di-še ₃ gub	"to place something for admiration, to excite admiration": B 21
u ₆ -e ki-aġ ₂	"to love marvellous things": C 44
u ₁₈ -lu, ulu ₃	"(sand)storm, Southern (wind/storm)": B 63 65; → a ₂ tumu-ulu ₃
u ₁₈ -lu-da dul	"to cover with a storm (from the South)": A 49
u ₁₈ -lu ₇	→ nam-lu ₂ -ulu ₃ /u ₁₈ -lu ₇
u ₁₈ -ru maḥ	"huge <i>tornado</i> ": B 30*
ub	"corner": → lugal an(/-ne ₂) ub-da limmu ₂ -ba(/bi)
ub-ba	obscure, non-standard: D (Ur) 30'*
UB?	obscure: B 1 (broken)
UBARA	→ sila _x (UBARA)
UD	→ H _U ?.UD; → IM.UD sir ₂ -da; → kur-gal UD den-lil ₂ ; → babbar ₍₂₎ ; → u ₄ .d; → zalag
UD.dNANNA	"liquorice": → u ₂ munzer
udu	"sheep": CU 27; → gud gaz - udu šar ₂ ; → lu ₂ 1 udu
udu A.LUM	"A L U M-sheep": A 102* (Susa)
udu dab ₅	"to <i>hold</i> sheep": CU 95 (broken); 120
udu diri ġal ₂	"to increase the flock": C 76
udu niga	"fattened sheep": A 87; 128a (Susa); 129 (Susa)
udu z/sulu(m)ġu/i _x (TUG ₂ .SUD)	"long-fleeced sheep": A 102* (Susa)
d _u dug	"u d u g-spirit"
d _u dug ġulu	"evil u d u g-spirit": A 233
d _u dug sa ₆ .g	"benevolent u d u g-spirit": A 176*

- ug-gu de₂
 ug₅
 ugur₂-igi
 uĝ₃
 uĝ₃ daĝal
 uĝ₃ saĝ gi₆.g
 uĝ₃ šar₂(-šar₂)
 uĝ₃ uri₂ki-ma
 uĝnim
 uku₂.r
 ul DU
 ul-la sig₉
 ul-li₂-a
 ul sa₇.g

 UL?
 ul₄
 UL₄-gal ki-en-gi-ra
 ulu₃
 umbin
 umuš kalam-ma
 un₃
 UN

 unuki.g
 unu₂ gal
 unken
 ur
 ur-ab-ba ensi₂
 ur-dnamma(-k)

 → u₂-gu de₂, ug-gu de₂
 "to die": **A** 77; 78; 139; 173; 218; → var. šub
 "lintels": **B** 23
 "people": **A** 5; 79 || 80; 203; **B** 4; 11; **C** 75; **G** 9
 "widespread people, numerous people": **A** 26 (Susa); **C** 94; **D** (Ni) 17 || (Ur) 18' (broken)
 "black-headed people": **F** 23; → saĝ gi₆.g
 "innumerable people, endless multitude of people": **B** 5; 21; **D** (Ni) 16 || **D** (Ur) 17'
 "the people of Ur": **D** (Ni) 39
 "troops, army": **IB** 1537 rev. vi' 12'
 → dumu-uku₂-ra
 "to decorate": **B** 32*
 "to inlay with blossoms": **B** 26*
 → niĝ₂ ul-li₂-a-ke₄ pa e₃
 "to (make) flourish, to ripen something (+ loc.-term.)": **B** 19*
 obscure: **A** 49 (B)
 "to be quick, to rush (against)": **A** 3
 ". . . of Sumer" (ep. Urnamma): **A** 39*
 → nam-lu₂-ulu₃/u₁₈-lu₇
 "wheel": **A** 114
 "the senses of the land": **A** 27; → var. BU kalam-ma(-k)
 → si-un₃-na
 obscure: **C** 22; 40; **E** 4'; Ni. 4375 v 7'; → kalam; → uĝ₃
 GN Uruk: year name "8"; → en unuki-ga
 "large dining hall": **B** 34
 "assembly": **C** 71 (broken); → me-te[?] unken-na
 "dog": **A** 185; → KISIM₂-ur-mara₂-da^{ki}-ka
 "Uraba (was) e n s i₂": year name "3"
 PN Urnamma: **A** 17; 34; 35 (Susa); 40; 41; 43; 58; 61; 63; 71; 75 (broken); 80; 82; 84a (Susa); 86; 133 (broken); 136; 142; 147; 210 (Susa); 216 (C); 218; 221 (broken); 222; 231; 242 (broken); **B** 4; **C** 14; 19; 31; 50; 70; **D** (Ur) 6'; 11'; 39'; 41'; **E** 20'; 23'; **G** 17; 20; 23 (broken); **H** 1 || 10; **CU** 10 (broken); 36; 104; 1:1; 2:1; 3:1; 4:1; 5:3; 6:4; 7,1:3; 8:4; 9 1:3; 10:5; 11:3; 12:3; 13 obv. 4; 14 obv. 3; 15 obv. 3; 16:4; 17:4; 18:3; 19:3; 21:3; 22:4; 23:4; 24:3; 25:6; 26,1:5; 27,1:5; 28,1:4; 29, a:1; 30:3 (broken); 31:3; 32:3; 33:3; 34:3; 38:3 (broken); 39:2' (broken); 40:4; 42:2'; 43,1:1 (broken); 44:3 (broken); 45:4; 46:3; 47,1:8; Al-Rawī, *Sumer* 46 (1989-90) 84:4; **IB** 1537 rev. v' 1'; year name "4"; → nam-til₃ ur-dnamma (...) -še₃ a ru; → sipa (zi) ur-dnamma(-k)

ur-dnamma lugal	"king Urnamma": Cadaster A i 16 ii 23 iv 23 B iv 32; year name "1"; → <i>dumu ur-dnamma lugal</i>
^d ur-dnamma(-k)	PN Urnamma: B 44 50; 71; D (Ni) 5; 10; 38; 41; F 4; 24; 27; 28; E 26* F 29; E 28' F 33; E 30'; E 32' F 35; E 34'; E 36' F 37; E 38' F 42; F 44; E 40' (broken); G 7; 9; 14; Ni. 4375 iv 2' (broken); iv 10' (broken); v 1'; v 11'; vi 7'; → <i>sipa ^dur-dnamma</i> ; → non-standard ur-dna-na-ma(-k)
ur-dna-na-ma(-k)	non-standard PN Urnamma: → <i>si-pa ur-dna-na-ma(-k)</i> ; → <i>^dur-dnamma(-k)</i>
ur-saĝ	"warrior, hero" (ep. Urnamma): A 169; → <i>a₂ nam-ur-saĝ-ĝa₂</i> ; → <i>saĝ-ur-saĝ</i> ; → <i>sul ur-saĝ ^dnin-ĝeš-zi-da</i>
<i>ur-ša-tum</i>	GN: → <i>i₇-ur-ša-tum</i>
ur ₂	"lap, thigh, base, foundation, foot" (said of a mountain): A 151; → <i>an-ur₂</i> ; → <i>i₇-gu₂-[x]-ur₂[?](-)^dnin-ĝir₂-su</i> ; → <i>kur-ur₂</i>
ur ₂ ge.n	"to make the foundation firm": D (Ur) 27'; → <i>suĝuš ge.n</i>
ur ₂ gunu ₃ -gunu ₃	"dappled thighs": A 116
ur ₂ gur-ra	"stumpy legs": C 10*
ur ₃	→ <i>mu sar-ra</i> (+ loc.) <i>šu ur₃/uru₁₂</i> ; → <i>ki-ur₃</i> ; → var. <i>uru₁₂</i>
ur ₅	"liver": → <i>ki ur₅ sa₆.g</i>
ur ₅ -bi-da	"with the same, together, common": Cadaster B i 3
ur ₅ -gin ₇	"thus": A 195
ur ₅ zi.g	"to raise oneself": A 43* (Susa); 55*; → var. <i>gu₂ zi.g</i>
urdu	"slave": → <i>nam-urdu AK</i>
urdu-šum-ma	→ <i>pa₅-urdu-šum-ma</i>
uri	"Akkad(ian)": CU 122; → <i>ki-en-gi (ki-)uri</i>
uri ₂ ^{ki} .m	GN Ur: A 25 (broken); 41 (B, Susa); B 67 (A); 71; D (Ni) 14*; 23 (broken); 26; 28; 30; 32; 34; 39; F 2 (broken); year name "6"; → <i>bad₃ uri_{2/5}^{ki}-ma</i> ; → <i>eš₃ uri_{2/5}^{ki}</i> ; → <i>lugal uri_{2/5}^{ki}-ma</i> ; → <i>saĝ-us₂ uri₂^{ki}-ma</i> ; → <i>šeg₁₂ uri₂^{ki}-ma</i> ; → <i>uĝ₃ uri₂^{ki}-ma</i> ; → non-standard <i>u₄-ri-m(a)</i>
uri ₅ ^{ki} .m	GN Ur: A 6; 41 (A); B 67 (D, broken); C 15 (broken); 41; 86; D (Ur) 14'; 40'; E 2' (broken); 7'; 21' (broken); CU 85; 27, 2:5; Ni. 4375 iv 13' (broken, read perhaps → <i>uri₂^{ki}.m</i>); → <i>bad₃ uri_{2/5}^{ki}-ma</i> ; → <i>eš₃ uri_{2/5}^{ki}</i> ; → <i>i₇ uri₅^{ki}-ma</i> ; → <i>lugal uri_{2/5}^{ki}-ma</i> ; → <i>nam-lugal uri₅^{ki}-ma šum₂</i>
urin	"bloody": → <i>šu urin-na du₈</i> ; → <i>ses B</i>
uru(ki)	→ <i>iri(ki)</i>
URU.AMBAR	GN: Cadaster A ii 14-15
uru ₂ A	"storm": B 58* 60; → non-standard <i>u₂-ru</i>
uru ₂ B	ES "city": F 1* (broken); 3
uru ₁₂	→ <i>mu sar-ra</i> (+ loc.) <i>šu ur₃/uru₁₂</i> ; → var. <i>ur₃</i>
uru ₁₆ .n	"massive, unswerving, valiant": → <i>en uru₁₆.n</i> ; → EN

URU ₃	→ i ₇ -EN.URU ₃ .GAL
urum ₂ ki	GN: Cadaster A iv 21 (broken)
us ₂	"to (make) touch, to follow": A 71 (Susa); 117; IB 1537 rev. vi' 2' (obscure); → an-še ₃ gu ₂ us ₂ ; → ġiri ₃ [ki?] us ₂ ; → i ₇ -še-er-us ₂ -sa; → ir ₂ us ₂ ; → ki(-a) us ₂ ; → ni ₂ su-e us ₂ ; → saġ us ₂ ; → za ₃ e ₂ -gar ₈ -e us ₂
us ₂ AŠ-a dab ₅	"to hew to the one and same path": C 34
US ₂	obscure: A 38 (Susa)
USAN	→ PA.USAN; → ša ₃ usan _x ?(AN.USAN)
usan _x ?	→ ša ₃ usan _x ?(AN.USAN)
USAR.x.GABA-an-na	GN: Cadaster B iii 22; 23
usu ġal ₂ ?	"to have? strength": A 168*
uš ₍₈₎	"foundations": F 2*
uš ₍₈₎ dug ₃	"to make the foundations well": B 17
uš e ₂ dnin-gublaga	"foundation of the temple of Ningublaga": year name "17"
ušumgal	"dragon": C 52; E 14'; H 9
ut-ti	non-standard " <i>breaking daylight</i> ": → ki ut-ti
đutu	DN Utu, "the sun": A 14; 186*; C 27; E 10' F 15; E 22'; F 38; 11:1; → di niġ ₂ ge-na đutu; → enim ge-na đutu; → (lu ₂) i-đutu(-ka); → u ₄ .d
đutu e ₃	"rising sun": G 21
đutu-gin ₇ kalam-ma e ₃	"to rise like the sun over the land": C 46
utug ₂ (tuġ ₂) maḥ	"huge u t u g-weapon": B 52 53; → non-standard u ₂ -tu-ug ma-ḥe
utul ₄	"herdsman": CU 93 (broken); 119
uz ₃ -saġ	uncertain meaning (ep. Urnamma): C 62*
za-am-za-am	"z a m z a m-instrument, tambourine": A 187*; → non-standard za ₃ -za ₃ .m(/-mi ₂)
za-e	personal pronoun 2nd sg. "you": D (Ur) 40'; F 49*
za-e-en-za-e-l(e)	non-standard in "to pass" (?): D (Ur) 40'; → u ₄ zal
(na ₄)za-gin ₃	"(colour of) lapis lazuli, shining, fresh" (said of herbs): A 111; C 110; H 6; → e ₂ -kur-za-gin ₃ ; → eš ₂ -gana ₂ za-gin ₃ ; → ġeš gu-za za-gin ₃ ; → kar-za-gin ₃ (-) ^{dn} nanna(-k); → na ₄ .kišib za-gin ₃ ; → ġeš-nu ₂ u ₂ za-gin ₃ bara ₃ .g; → su ₆ za-gin ₃ su _{3/13} -su _{3/13} ; → šu za-gin ₃ (-na tum ₂)
(ġeš)za-ḥa-da	"battle-axe": A 94
za-pa-aġ ₂	"tumult, roar": A 38 (Susa)
za-pa-aġ ₂ ġar	"to set a tumult, to be(come) tumultuous": A 79 80
za-pa-aġ ₂ -ŠE ₃ ġar	"to set as a roar": F 34*
za ₃ .g	"side, front, edge (of a seal)": A 120 (Susa); CU 148; → an-za ₃ .g
za ₃ (-)bar-ra	uncertain meaning: A 124*
za ₃ e ₂ -gar ₈ -e us ₂	"to prop against the wall": A 188*

za ₃ -ga gub	"to stand at the side": A 122; → var. a ₂ gabu ₃ ^{bu} gub; → var. a ₂ zi-da gub
za ₃ -mi ₂	"praise": A 240; C 115; D (Ni) 41 D (Ur) 41'; → non-standard za ₃ -za ₃ .m(/-mi ₂)
za ₃ šu ₄	"to mark": IB 1537 rev. vi' 10'
za ₃ -za ₃ .m(/-mi ₂)	non-standard "z a m z a m-instrument": A 187 (Susa); → var. za-am-za-am
ZA ₃ .LA ₂	uncertain meaning: C 85
zabar	"bronze": → sila ₃ zabar dim ₂
zal	"to flow, to pass": → gir ₁₇ -zal; → u ₄ zal; → non-standard za-e-en-za-e-l(e)
zalog	"(to be) shining": → saĝ ₂ -ki zalag bar
zalog ₂	"to (make) shine": CU 86
zi	"life": C 69 (broken, obscure); D (Ni) 18
zi kalam-ma	"the life of the land": A 23
zi u ₃ -du ₂ .d	"to engender life": C 51*
zi.d	"good, just, faithful, correct, right, proper, authoritative": C 26 (obscure); E 20' (obscure); → a ₂ zi-da gub; → du ₁₁ -ga eš-bar zi.d; → d ^d dumu-zi.d; → engar zi GANA ₂ daĝal-la; → GANA ₂ zi.d; → gu ₃ zi de ₂ ; → ĝeš-ḥur zi.d; → igi zi bar; → KA(enim?) ĝal ₂ ku ₃ zi.d; → mi ₂ zi-de ₃ -eš (i-i); → mi ₂ zi du ₁₁ .g; → munus zi gir ₁₇ -zal; → nin(-)da-zi-mu ₂ -a; → d ⁿ nin-ĝeš-zi-da; → sipa zi.d (ur-d ⁿ amma); → sul zi.d; → ša ₃ zi-ta(/da); → šu zi ĝal ₂
zi.g	"to raise, to elevate, to lift, to grow tall": C 55; 59; 83; → gu ₂ zi.g; → niĝ ₂ -a ₂ -zi.g; → saĝ zi.g; → su-zi.g; → ĝeššudul ₄ zi.g; → ur ₅ zi.g
ĝeš zi-gan	"rudder": A 67
zi-ka	→ non-standard mi-ri-e-zi-ka du ₁₁ .g
zi-mu-dar ^{ki}	GN Zimudar: → ma-da zi-mu-dar ^{ki}
ZI	→ ku ₃ -sig ₁₇ , ku ₃ -si ₂ (ZI).g
zu	"to know, to experience, to inform, to fathom": A 79 80; 84; 84a (Susa); 140 (broken); 156 (D, Susa); E 3' F 9; E 14'; → di zu; → enim zu; → ĝeštu ₂ maḥ lu ₂ zu; → ki nu-zu; → lu ₂ nu-zu; → ni ₂ zu; → var. mud
	→ ku ₃ -zu
zu ₂	→ ĝiri ₂ -zu ₂ gal/galam
zu ₂ ra-aḥ	→ e ₂ -zu ₂ -ra-aḥ
zubi	→ i ₇ -zubi
zuḥ	→ ni ₂ -zuḥ
tu _g ₂ z/sulu(m)ḥu/i(SIG ₂ .SUD)	"long-fleeced garment": A 98*
z/sulu(m)ḥu/i _x (TUG ₂ .SUD)	"long-fleeced": → udu z/sulu(m)ḥu/i _x (TUG ₂ .SUD)
x	→ USAR.x.GABA-an-na
ṛx ¹ -bur ₂ ?	obscure: A 210 (A); → var. ĝeš-ḥur

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APPENDIX

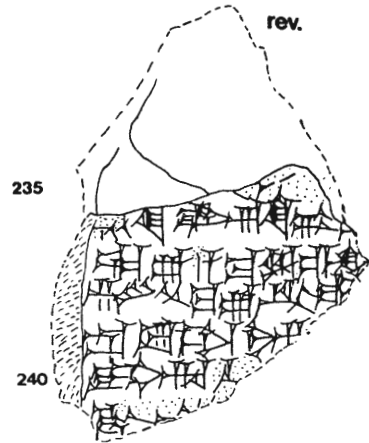
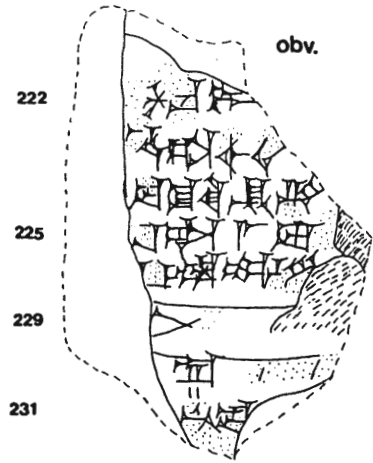
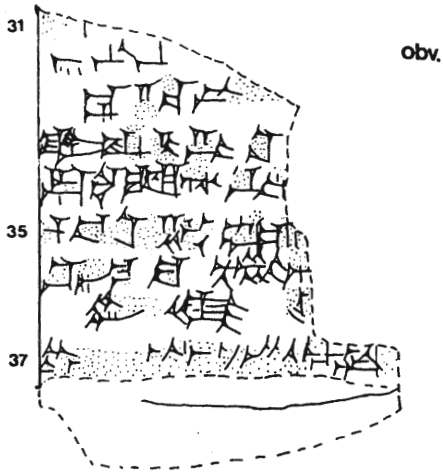
Ni. 4375 = ISET 1 (1969/71) p. 177 (no. 119)

Transliteration and Translation

iv	1'	ṛxṛ [...]	. . . [...]
iv	2'	d[ur-dnamma]	[I? Urnamma],
iv	3'	lugal [...]	the king [...],
iv	4'	gu-ti-[umki(...)]	made the Guti [(...)],
iv	5'	lu ₂ ḫul'-[ḡal ₂ ?(...)]	the evil ones [(...)],
iv	6'	kur-ṛbaṛṛ im-m[i-ge ₄]	[return] to their? country.
iv	7'	en lugal [...]	e n and king [...]
iv	8'	ṛxṛ-bi [...]	[...] its [...].
iv	9'	ḡa ₂ -la nu-[dag-ge (...)]	ince[ssant(ly) (...)]
iv	10'	du[r-dnamma]	I? U[rnamma]
iv	11'	nam-luga[l...]	[...] kingship,
iv	12'	numun na[m-en-na (...)]	the offspring of [e n-shi]p.
iv	13'	ur[i _{2/5} ki...]	[...] Ur [...],
iv	14'	bad ₃ ṛxṛ [...]	[...] the wall.
iv	15'	AN ṛxṛ [...]	. . . [...],
iv	16'	ṛx (x)ṛ [...]	. . . [...]
iv	17'ff.	[...]	[...]
v	1'	[... du]r-ṛdnammaṛ	[... I Ur]namma,
v	2'	ṛx xṛ nam-en-ni	. . . put verily his/her
v	3'	šu ḫe ₂ -bi ₂ -du ₇	e n-ship in full force.
v	4'	nam(-)tar-ra ṛx xṛ-ni?	Decreed fate . . .
v	5'	e ₂ -kiš-[nu-ḡal ₂]-ṛlaṛṛ	in? the Ekiš[nuḡal].
v	6'	ḡe ₂₆ -e ṛxṛ [...] ṛxṛ	It is me who [...],
v	7'	ṛUNṛ [...] ṛxṛ	. . . [...] . . .
v	8'	IGI [...] ṛx xṛ	. . . [...] . . .
v	9'	ṛlugalṛ [...] ḡal ₂ ? AK	The king, <i>making</i> ? [...].
v	10'	mu-ṛḡu ₁₀ ṛ [...] peš-a	My <i>reputation</i> which . . . [...],
v	11'	du[r-dnamma]	I, Urnamma,
v	12'	in-dub ki-en-gi-ra	when I had <i>confirmed</i>
v	13'	KA baṛṛ(ZU)-ge-na-ba	the (border) territory of Sumer,
v	14'	[...] ṛx x x (x)ṛki-a-ke ₄	[...] . . .
v	15'ff.	[...]	[...]
vi	1'	[...] ṛxṛ	[...] . . .

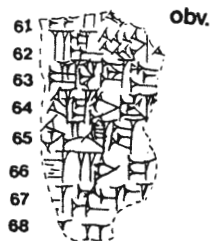
vi	2'	[...] ʽxʽ	[...] . . .
vi	3'	[...] ʽxʽ	[...] . . .
vi	4'	[...] ʽaʽ-me-ʽenʽ	[...] am I.
vi	5'	[...] -ba	[...] . . .
vi	6'	[...] -du ₁₀ ?-me-en	[...] sweet? [...] am I.
vi	7'	[...] d _{ur}]-ʽdʽnamma	[...] Ur]namma,
vi	8'	[...] ki]-en-gi-ra	[...] of? Su]mer,
vi	9'	[...] ʽxʽ-me-en	[...] am I.
vi	10'	[...] ʽxʽ-da	[...] . . .
vi	11'	[...] -me]-ʽenʽ	[...] am] I.

PLATES



C = N 3135

G = N 2355



A = N 7095



Sb₁ = Sb 12363, obverse



Sb₁ = Sb 12363, edge



Sb₁ = Sb 12363, reverse



Sb₂ = Sb 14137, obverse



Sb₂ = Sb 14137, edge



Sb₂ = Sb 14083, obverse



Sb₂ = Sb 14083, edge



Sb₂ = Sb 14083, reverse



Sb₂ = Sb 14137, reverse



Sb₃ = Sb 12358 + Sb 12362, obverse



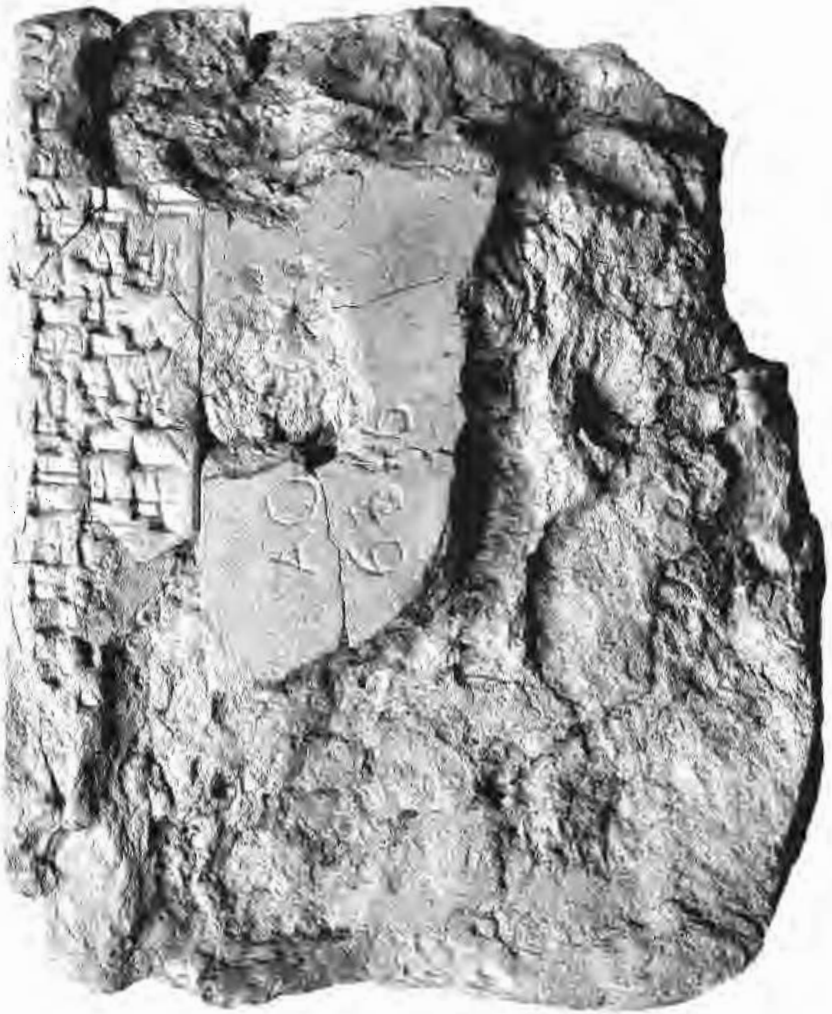
Sb₃ = Sb 12358 + Sb 12362, edge



Sb₃ = Sb 12358 + Sb 12362, reverse



B = AO 6316, obverse



B = AO 6316, reverse



AO 5378, obverse



AO 5378, edge



AO 5378, reverse



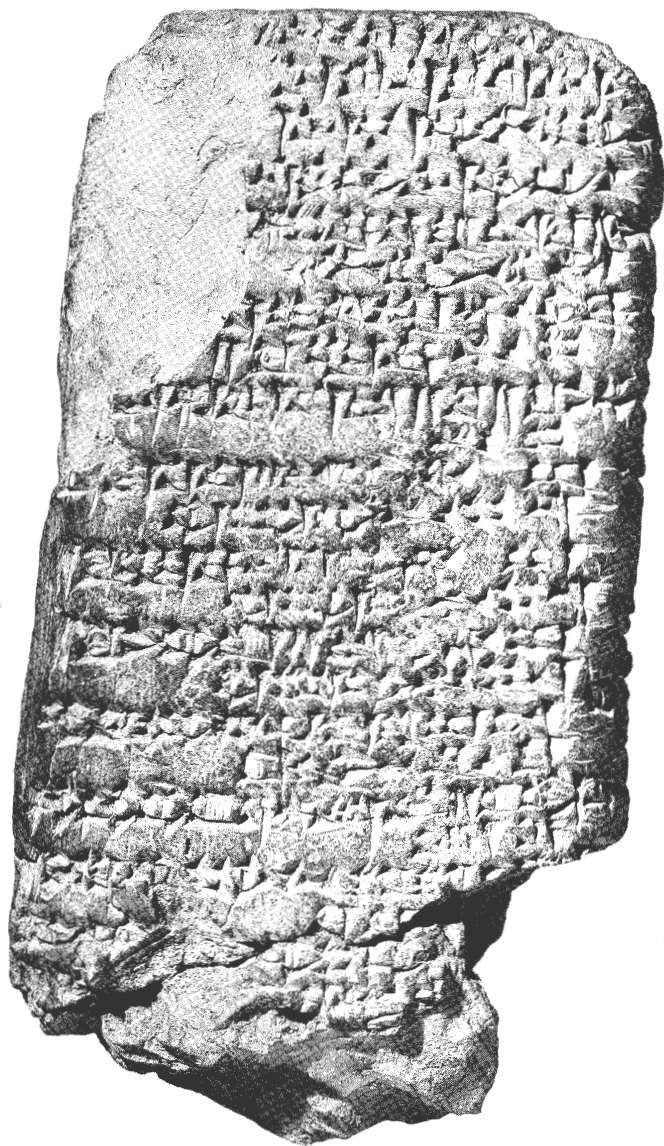
AO 5378, lower reverse



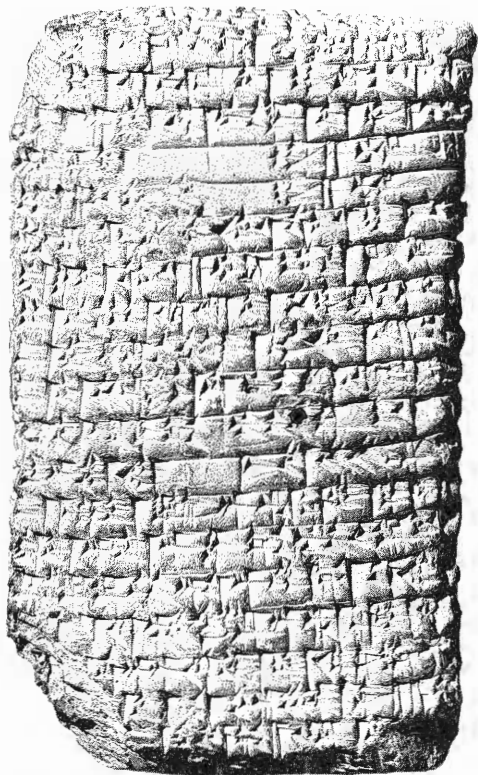
AO 5378, reverse



B = U 16895 + *UET* 6 *147, obverse



B = U 16895 + UET 6 *147, reverse



URNAMMA F, B = BM 78183, obverse



URNAMMA D, C = U 16860, obverse




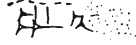









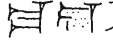



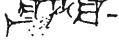
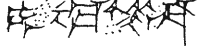


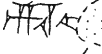

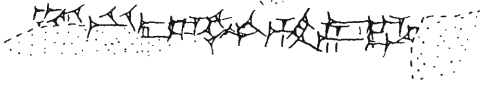
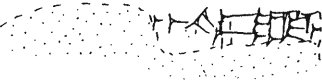
URNAMMA F, B = BM 78183, reverse



URNAMMA D, C = U 16860, reverse

collations

convex side

- 7' 1-5  ; 8-9 
- 8' 11-13 
- 9' 2  ; 10-18 
- 10' 8  ; 12-15 
- 11' 2-7  nam 'bî-du₁₀ - ge
- 12' 2-13/4 
- 13' 10-11  du₁₀ - ga - àm
- 14' 2  ; 9-11  - zu du₁₀ - ga - àm
- 15' 3-4  gud - dè ba -  ; 10-11  du₁₀ - ga - àm
- 17' 10-12  - e - ni - du₇
- 18' 10-15 
- 19' 2  zi ; 10-11 
- 20' 11-12 
- 21' 9-11 
- 22' 
- 23' 

flat side

- 1' 
- 2' 

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Summary

This book presents new standard editions of all the hitherto known hymns of Urnamma, the founder of the Third Dynasty of Ur (fl. 2100 B.C.), and adds new perspectives to the composition and development of the genre of Sumerian royal hymns in general.

The first chapter (I) is introductory in nature (historical background, the reading of the name Urnamma, Sumerian royal hymns). The second chapter (II) presents a general survey of Urnamma's hymnic corpus, including arguments for a broader definition of Sumerian royal hymns and an attempt at classifying the non-standard orthography found in Urnamma's hymns. The third chapter (III) deals with correlations of Urnamma's hymns with other textual sources pertaining to him. A fourth chapter (IV) is devoted to aspects of continuity and change in royal hymnography by analysing the Urnamma hymns in relation to other royal hymns and related genres. A discussion of topoi of legitimation and kingship and narrative materials in different text types during different periods of time and other findings concerning statues, stelae and royal hymns add new perspectives to the ongoing discussion of the original setting of royal hymns. Also, reasons are given why a version of the Sumerian King List may well be dated to Urnamma and the thesis advanced that Išmédagan of Isin was not only an imitator of Šulgi but also of Urnamma. The final of the chapter IV shows that Urnamma A, also known as Urnamma's Death, uses the language of lamentation literature and Curse of Agade which describe the destruction of cities, and applies it to the death of a king. The last chapter (V) presents critical editions of Urnamma hymns A-H.